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THE

# HISTORY

OF

# PHILOSOPHY,

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES

TO THE BEGINNING OF THE PRESENT CENTURY;

DRAWN UP FROM

BRUCKER's

*HISTORIA CRITICA PHILOSOPHIÆ.*

BY

WILLIAM ENFIELD, LL. D.

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N. B. *The Diviſion of this Hiſtory having occaſioned ſome Inequality in the Size of the Volumes, the Index to the Second Volume is placed at the End of the Firſt.*

# BOOK III.

## OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE ROMANS.

### CHAP. I.

#### OF THE STATE OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.

IN relating the hiſtory of Philoſophy during THE FIRST PERIOD, we have traced its riſe and progreſs, in every age and country in which it has appeared, from the earlieſt times to the æra of the eſtabliſhment of the ſchools of Alexandria. THE SECOND PERIOD, on which we are now entering, will comprehend the whole ſeries of philoſophical hiſtory, from the æra juſt mentioned to the revival of letters; and will exhibit the forms, under which philoſophy ſucceſſively appeared, among the Romans; among the Eaſtern Nations, particularly the Jews and Saracens; and among the Chriſtians.

The hiſtory of philoſophy among the Romans, in the infancy of their ſtate, has been already briefly conſidered, under the general head of Barbaric philoſophy; and we have little to add to what has

been related reſpecting this epocha: for, from the building of Rome, through the whole period of the regal government, and many years after the conſular power was eſtabliſhed, the Romans diſcovered little inclination to cultivate any other kind of knowledge, than that which was barely neceſſary for the ordinary purpoſes of life, and for their military operations. The riſe of philoſophy in Rome may be dated from the time of the embaſſy, which was ſent from the Athenians to the Romans, deprecating a fine of five hundred talents, which had been inflicted upon them for laying waſte Oropii, a town of Sicyonia. The exact time of this embaſſy, which has been already mentioned, is unknown, but it is probable that it happened about the 156th Olympiad, or towards the cloſe of the ſixth century from the building of Rome, that is 156 years before Chriſt [a]

The immediate effect of the diſplay which theſe philoſophical miſſionaries made of their wiſdom and eloquence was, to excite in the Roman youth of all ranks an ardent thirſt after knowledge. Lelius, Furius and Scipio, young men of the firſt diſtinction and higheſt expectations, diſcovered an earneſt deſire to enliſt themſelves under the banners of philoſophy; and much was to be hoped for from their future patronage, when they ſhould occupy important offices in the ſtate. But Cato the Cenſor, whoſe inflexible virtue gave him an oracular authority among his countrymen, diſapproved this ſudden innovation in public manners; and philoſophy was ſternly diſmiſſed.[b] Not that Cato was himſelf illiterate, or wholly untinctured with philoſophy; for he wrote a celebrated treatiſe upon agriculture. When he was a young man, in the ſervice of Fabius Maximus, at the taking of Tarentum, he is ſaid to have converſed with Nearchus, one of the diſciples of Pythagoras[c]; and, at an advanced age, whilſt he was prætor in Sardinia, he was inſtructed in the Greek language by Ennius[d]. But he was

[a] Cic. Ac. Qu. l. iv. c. 45. Plut. in Caton. maj. Cic. de Senectute, c. 5. Aul. Gell. l. xv. c. 11. Cic. Tuſc. Qu. l. iv. c. 2.

[b] Plut. l. c. [c] ib.

[d] Cic. Cato maj. c. 1. 8. Lucullus c. 2. Quintil. l. xii. c. 11. Aurel. Vict. de Vir. illuſt. c. 47.

apprehenſive,

apprehenſive, that the introduction of philoſophical ſtudies into Rome would effeminate the ſpirit of its young men, and enfeeble thoſe hardy virtues which were the foundation of their national glory.

By this viſit of the Grecian philoſophers a ſpirit of inquiry was, however, raiſed among the Roman youth, which the injudicious caution of Cato could not ſuppreſs. The ſtruggle between philoſophy and voluntary ignorance was, indeed, for ſome time maintained: for we read, that, in the conſulſhip of Strabo and Valerius, a decree of the ſenate paſſed, probably in conſequence of repeated viſits from Grecian philoſophers, requiring the prætor Pomponius to take care, that no philoſophers were reſident in Rome[a]. Some years afterwards, the cenſors, as if reſolved at once to ſhut the door againſt philoſophy and eloquence, iſſued a ſimilar edict againſt rhetoricians, in terms to this effect: "Whereas we have been informed, that certain men, who call themſelves Latin rhetoricians, have inſtituted a new kind of learning, and opened ſchools, in which young men trifle away their time day after day, we, judging this innovation to be inconſiſtent with the purpoſe for which our anceſtors eſtabliſhed ſchools, contrary to antient cuſtom, and injurious to our youth, do hereby warn both thoſe who keep theſe ſchools, and thoſe who frequent them, that they are herein acting contrary to our pleaſure[b]." And this edict was afterwards revived, in the year of Rome 662[c], under the conſulate of Pulcher and Perpenna. But at length philoſophy, under the protection of thoſe great commanders who had conquered Greece, prevailed; and Rome opened her gates to all who profeſſed to be teachers of wiſdom and eloquence.

SCIPIO AFRICANUS was one of the firſt among the Roman youths of patrician rank, who, in the midſt of military glory, found

[a] Aul. Gell. l. xv. c. 11. Suet. de Rhet. c. 1. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. l. xxix. c. 1. Conf. Bayle, P. Cato.

[b] A. Gell. & Suet. l. c. [c] B. C. 91.

leiſure to liſten to the precepts of philoſophy. Whatever time he could ſpare from military operations, he devoted to ſtudy: his companions were Polybius, Panætius, and other men of letters [a]; and he was intimately converſant with the beſt Greek writers, particularly Xenophon. Panætius was perfectly qualified to aſſiſt his illuſtrious pupil in acquiring a general knowledge of philoſophy; for, though himſelf a Stoic, he held the writings of Plato in high eſtimation, and was thoroughly acquainted with the ſyſtems of other philoſophers. And the exalted character of Scipio leaves no room to doubt, that he imbibed from his preceptors the wiſdom, without ſuffering himſelf to be tinctured with the extravagancies, of ſtoiciſm. Lelius and Furius were alſo great admirers of Greek learning [b]. The former, whilſt he was young, attended the lectures of Diogenes the Stoic, and afterwards thoſe of Panætius. The circumſtance chiefly worthy of admiration in theſe great men is, that, although they did not join themſelves to the band of philoſophers, but ſought for glory in the offices of civil or military life, they made uſe of the leſſons of philoſophy in acquiring the moſt exalted merit; ſo that, as Cicero relates [c], by the happy union of natural diſpoſitions the moſt excellent and noble with habits formed by diligent cultivation, theſe three illuſtrious men attained a degree of perfection in moderation, ſobriety, and every other virtue, ſcarcely to be paralleled.

Animated by ſuch examples, many other perſons of eminence in Rome attached themſelves to the ſtudy of philoſophy, particularly among thoſe who were devoted to the profeſſion of the law. Quintius Tubero [d], a nephew of Scipio Africanus, who was at this time one of the moſt celebrated maſters of civil law, was alſo converſant with philoſophical learning, and profeſſed himſelf a follower of the Stoic ſect. The moral doctrine of this ſect was peculiarly ſuitable to his natural temper, and to the habits of temperance and moderation which he had learned from his father, one of thoſe excellent

[a] Velleius Paterc. l. i. c. 13. 17. 18. Cic. de Fin. l. iv. c. 9. Tuſc. Qu. l. i. c. 38. l. ii. Orat. pro Muræna. [b] De Orat. l. ii. De Fin. l. ii.
[c] Orat. pro Archia. [d] Pro Muræna. Tacit. Ann. l. xvi. A. Gell. l. xv.

Romans,

Romans, who, in the higheſt offices of the ſtate, retained the ſimplicity of ruſtic manners. Confirmed in theſe habits by the precepts of Panætius, when Tubero was called upon, as prætor, to give a public entertainment in honour of his uncle[a], he provided only wooden couches covered with goat ſkins, earthen veſſels, and a frugal repaſt. The people, who expected a ſplendid feaſt, were diſſatisfied, and diſmiſſed him from his office: but the action reflected no diſcredit either upon the lawyer or the philoſopher; for, it was, as Seneca remarks[b], an inſtructive leſſon of moderation to the Romans, who, when they ſaw the ſacred tables of Jupiter ſerved with earthen veſſels, would learn, that men ought to be contented with ſuch things as the gods themſelves did not diſdain to uſe. Panætius dedicated to his pupil a treatiſe upon patience, and adviſed him to commit to memory the diſcourſes of the Academic Crates concerning grief[c]; whence it appears, that Tubero ſtudied the Stoic philoſophy chiefly with a view to the conduct of life.

LUCULLUS was at this time an active patron of philoſophy. Whilſt he was quæſtor in Macedonia, and afterwards, when he had the conduct of the Mithridatic war, he had frequent opportunities of converſing with Grecian philoſophers, and acquired ſuch a reliſh for philoſophical ſtudies, that, as Cicero relates, he devoted to them all the leiſure he could command[d]. His conſtant companion was Antiochus, the Aſcalonite, who was univerſally eſteemed a man of genius and learning. This philoſopher, though a pupil of Philo, who, after Carneades, ſupported the doctrine of the Middle Academy, was a zealous advocate for the ſyſtem of the Old Academy, and was often called upon by Lucullus, who himſelf favoured that ſyſtem, to argue, in the private diſputations which were carried on at his houſe, againſt the patrons of the Middle Academy, among whom was Cicero. This is the reaſon why Cicero, in the fourth book of his *Academic Queſtions*, aſſigns to Lucullus the office of defending the Old Academy.

[a] Senec. Ep. 95. Val. Max. l. vii. c. 5. l. iv. c. 4. Cic. pro Mur.
[b] Ep. 96. 99. [c] Cic. de Off. l. iii. Fragm. Tuber. Fabric. Bib. Lat. t. i. p. 828. [d] Acad. Quæſt. l. iv. c. 4. Plut. Lucull.

In

In order to promote a general taſte for learning and philoſophy, Lucullus made a large collection of valuable books, and erected a library, with galleries and ſchools adjoining, to which he invited learned men of all deſcriptions, and which, particularly, afforded a welcome retreat to thoſe Greeks, who, at this time, ſought in Rome an aſylum from the tumults of war [a]. This place became the daily reſort of men of letters, where every one enjoyed the benefit of reading or converſation, as beſt ſuited his taſte. Lucullus himſelf frequently appeared among his friends (for by this noble act of public munificence he had made all the lovers of ſcience and literature his friends) and converſed with them in a manner which ſhewed him to be, not only a patron of philoſophers, but himſelf a philoſopher. Others were ſtimulated, by this example, to afford countenance and protection, in ſimilar ways, to learning of every kind; ſo that this period may be conſidered as the firſt age of philoſophy in Rome.

The Greek philoſophy having been thus tranſplanted to Rome, the exotic plant flouriſhed with vigour in its new ſoil. Partly through the inſtructions of thoſe Grecian philoſophers who reſided in Rome, and partly by means of the practice, which was now commonly adopted, of ſending young men from Rome to the antient ſchools of wiſdom for education, ſcience and learning made a rapid progreſs, and almoſt every ſect of philoſophy found followers and patrons among the higher orders of the Roman citizens. If, however, we apply the term philoſopher to thoſe who ſpeculated in Rome, it muſt be in a ſenſe ſomewhat different from that, in which we have hitherto uſed it with reſpect to the Greeks. Among them we have ſeen, that a philoſopher was one, who profeſſionally employed his time in ſtudying and teaching philoſophy; and ſeveral of theſe, about the time of which we are now treating, became reſident, in this capacity, at Rome. But, among the Romans themſelves, there were ſcarcely any, who were philoſophers by profeſſion. They who

[a] Plut. l. c. et Vit. Ciceronis. Cic. in Lucull. Ac. Qu. l. iv. Epiſt. ad Fam. ix. Ep. 8. l. xiii. Ep. 1.

are

are ſpoken of under this denomination were, for the moſt part, men of high rank, inveſted with civil or military offices, and occupied in public affairs. They ſtudied philoſophy, as they cultivated other liberal arts, rather as a means of acquiring ability, and obtaining diſtinction, in their civil capacities, or as an elegant amuſement in their intervals of leiſure, than as in itſelf an ultimate object of attention.

This circumſtance will ſerve to account for a fact, which, at firſt view, may ſeem ſurprizing; that, notwithſtanding the high ſpirit of the Roman people, they choſe rather to pay homage to a conquered nation, by adopting the dogmas of their ſects, than to attempt, from their own ſtores, to form for themſelves a new ſyſtem of philoſophy. They did not want ability for undertakings of this nature, but they wanted leiſure. They wiſhed to enjoy the reputation, and the benefit of wiſdom; and therefore ſtudied philoſophy under ſuch maſters as accident caſt in their way, or their particular profeſſion and turn of mind led them to prefer. Thus, the Stoic philoſophy was, on account of the utility of its moral doctrine, peculiarly adapted to the character and office of lawyers and magiſtrates; the Pythagoric and Platonic ſuited the taſte of the gloomy and contemplative; and the Epicurean was welcome to thoſe ſelfiſh ſpirits, who were diſpoſed to prefer ignoble ſloth to public virtue. Every one found, in the doctrines of ſome one of the Grecian ſects, tenets which ſuited his own diſpoſition and ſituation; and therefore no one thought it neceſſary to attempt farther diſcoveries or improvements in philoſophy. Perhaps, too, it may be added, that the Romans looked up to the ſchools of Greece with a degree of reſpect, which would not ſuffer them to undertake any thing new, in a walk in which ſo many eminent men had exerted their talents. Deſpairing of doing more than had been already done by the illuſtrious founders of the ſeveral ſects of philoſophy, they thought it ſufficient to make choice of ſome one of theſe as their guide. Hence Greece, which had ſubmitted to the arms, in her turn ſubdued the underſtandings, of the Romans; and, contrary to that which in theſe caſes commonly hap-

pens, the conquerors adopted the opinions and manners of the conquered.

The antient Italic, or Pythagorean ſchool, does not appear to have extended beyond that part of Italy formerly called *Magna Græcia*. And though afterwards the fame of this ſingular ſect, and of the marvellous actions, and myſterious doctrines of its founder, reached the Romans[a], and excited ſome degree of ſuperſtitious veneration among an ignorant people, it does not appear that Pythagoras had any followers in Rome before the ſeventh century from the building of the city, unleſs the poet Ennius be reckoned ſuch, concerning whom Perſius intimates, that he adopted the Pythagorean doctrine of *Metempſychoſis*, and ſuppoſed the ſoul of Homer to have paſſed, after ſeveral migrations, into *his* body.

> Cor jubet hoc Enni, poſtquam deſtertuit eſſe
> Mæonides Quintus pavone ex Pythagoreo[b].*

Publius Nigidius, ſurnamed Figulus, who was a contemporary and friend of Cicero, was a profeſſed advocate for the doctrine of Pythagoras. Cicero[c] ſpeaks of him as an accurate and penetrating inquirer into nature, and aſcribes to him the revival of that philoſophy, which formerly, for ſeveral ages, flouriſhed in the Pythagorean ſchools, both in Italy and Sicily. He was a conſiderable proficient in mathematical and aſtronomical learning, and, after the example of his maſter, applied his knowledge of nature to the pur-

[a] Liv. l. 1. c. 8. Plin. Hiſt. N. l. xxxiv. c. 6. [b] Sat. vi. v. 10.

* ——— In Ennius' deathleſs ſtrains,
Strains, in the mould of ſober reaſon caſt,
When all his tranſmigrating dreams were paſt.
Brewster.

[c] De Univerſitate, c. i.

poſes

poſes of impoſture[a]. He held frequent diſputations with Cicero and his friends on philoſophical queſtions. In civil affairs, he attached himſelf to the party of Pompey; and, upon Cæſar's acceſſion to the ſupreme power, he was baniſhed from Rome[b]. After his time, the Pythagorean doctrine was much neglected; few perſons being now able to decipher, with accuracy, the obſcure dogmas of this myſterious ſect[c]."

The philoſophy of the OLD ACADEMY, as it was revived and corrected by Antiochus, found many advocates at Rome. Among theſe, beſides Lucullus, was the illuſtrious defender of Roman liberty, MARCUS BRUTUS. Plutarch ſays of him[d], that there was no Greek philoſopher, on whom he did not attend, nor any ſect with whoſe tenets he was not converſant, but that he, for the moſt part, embraced the doctrine of Plato, and followed the Old, rather than the New or Middle Academy; and, on this account, was a great admirer of Antiochus the Aſcalonite, and admitted his brother Ariſto into his confidence. Cicero relates the ſame, and adds[e], that "Brutus, excelling in every kind of merit, ſo ſucceſsfully tranſplanted the Greek philoſophy into the Latin tongue, as to render it almoſt unneceſſary to have recourſe to the original, in order to gain a competent knowledge of the ſubject." Notwithſtanding his civil and military engagements, he wrote treatiſes, on *Virtue*, on *Patience*, and on the *Offices of Life*; which, though in point of ſtyle conciſe even to abruptneſs, contained an excellent ſummary of ethics, framed partly from the doctrines of Plato, and partly from thoſe of the ſtoical ſchool[f]: for Brutus, after his maſter Antiochus, was diſpoſed to favour the union of theſe two ſects.

[a] Apul. Apol. A. Gell. l. x. c. 11. l. xi. c. 11. l. vi. 14. Dio, l. xlv. p. 306. Suet. in Aug. c. 94. Lucan. Pharſ. l. i. v. 639, &c. Macrob. Sat. l. vi. c. 8. l. ii. c. 12.
[b] Dio et Suet. l. c. A. Gell. l. xi. c. 11. Plut. in Ciceron. Cic. l. c. et Fam. Ep. l. iv. ep. 31. Euſeb. Chron. 183. 4. [c] Val. Max. l. iv. c. 3.
[d] In Brut. t. v. p. 688, &c. [e] In Bruto, c. ult. Ac. Q. l. i. c. 3.
[f] Plut. l. c. Cic. Ep. Fam. l. ix. ep. 15. Ad Attic. l. xii. ep. 46. Dialog. de Cauſ. corr. eloq. Tuſc. Q. l. v. c. 1. De Fin. l. i. c. 3. Sen. Conſ. ad Helv. c. 9.

It reflects immortal honour upon the memory of Brutus, that he was a philoſopher in actions as well as in words. His gentle manners, his noble mind, his entire ſelf-command, and his inflexible integrity, rendered him beloved by his friends, and admired by the multitude, and would not ſuffer even his enemies to hate or deſpiſe him. If it be thought, that he tarniſhed the luſtre of his merit by liſting up his hand againſt Cæſar, it ſhould be remembered, that in the ſoul of a Roman, whilſt Roman virtue remained, every private paſſion was loſt in the love of his country. The ardour of his patriotic ſpirit would not ſuffer him to ſurvive that public liberty which he could no longer preſerve; and, after the example of his uncle Cato, he fell by his own hand: an action, which, though nothing can juſtify, ſuch a ſituation may be allowed in ſome meaſure to excuſe [a].

Another ornament of the Old Academy was M. Terentius Varro, who was born at Rome in the 638th [b] year of the city. Cicero, in a letter in which he recommends him as quæſtor to Brutus [c], aſſures the commander, that he would find him perfectly qualified for the poſt, and particularly inſiſts upon his good ſenſe, his indifference to pleaſure, and his patient perſeverance in buſineſs. To theſe virtues he added uncommon abilities, and large ſtores of knowledge, which qualified him for the higheſt offices of the ſtate. He attached himſelf to the party of Pompey, and in the time of the triumvirate was proſcribed with Cicero: and, though he eſcaped with his life, he ſuffered the loſs of his library, and of his own writings; a loſs, which would be ſeverely felt by one who had devoted a great part of his life to letters [d]. Returning, at length, to Rome, he ſpent his laſt years in literary leiſure. He died in the 727th year of the city. His proſe writings were exceedingly numerous, and treated of various topics in antiquities, chronology, geo-

[a] Plut. l. c. p. 706. Florus, l. iv. c. 7. Dio, lib. 47. [b] B. C. 115.
[c] Ep. Fam. l. xiii. ep. 10.
[d] A. Gell. l. iii. c. 10. Plin. N. Hiſt. l. xxix. c. 4. Sen. ad Helv. c. 8. Arnob. adv. Gent. l. v. p. 158. Aug. de Civ. D. l. iv. c. 1. l. vi. c. 2. l. xii. c. 4. l. xix. c. 1. Quint. Inſt. l. x. c. 1. Lact. l. i. c. 6.

graphy,

graphy, natural and civil hiſtory, philoſophy and criticiſm. He was, beſides, a poet of ſome diſtinction, and wrote in almoſt every kind of verſe. His piece *De re ruſtica*, "On agriculture," and a few fragments, are all that is extant of his works [a].

To Varro we may add M. PISO, whom Cicero introduces as maintaining at large the opinion of the Old Academy concerning moral ends, not, however, without a mixture of the Peripatetic doctrine, which he had learned at Athens from Staſeas, a Peripatetic preceptor [b].

The MIDDLE ACADEMY, no leſs than the Old, had its patrons at Rome. A ſmall degree of attention to the ſtate of philoſophy at this time will be ſufficient to diſcover the cauſe. The ſyſtems of the dogmatic philoſophers lay open to ſo many objections, and in many particulars reſted upon ſo precarious a foundation, as to afford great encouragement to ſcepticiſm. Many wiſe men, when they obſerved the contradictory opinions which were advanced by different ſects, and the plauſible arguments by which oppoſite doctrines were ſupported, were inclined to look upon truth as a treaſure, which lies too deep to be fathomed by the line of the human underſtanding, and contented themſelves with ſuch probable concluſions, as were ſufficient for the practical purpoſes of life. The Middle Academy, therefore, which was founded upon a conviction of the imbecility of human reaſon, without running, with the Pyrrhoniſts, into the extravagance of an entire ſuſpenſion of opinion, became a favourite ſect among the Romans. It was peculiarly ſuited to the character of a public pleader, as it left the field of diſputation perfectly free, and would inure him to the practice of collecting arguments from all quarters, on oppoſite ſides of every doubtful queſtion. Hence it was that Cicero, under the inſtruction of Philo, addicted himſelf to this ſect, and without difficulty perſuaded others to follow his example. This illuſtrious Roman, who eclipſed all his contemporaries in eloquence, has alſo

[a] Cic. Ac. Q. l. i. c. 2, 3. Quint. l. i. c. 4. Fabric. Bib. Lat. t. i. l. 1. c. 7. p. 76.

[b] Cic. de Fin. l. v. c. 1.

acquired no ſmall ſhare of reputation as a philoſopher [a]. It will, therefore, be neceſſary that we enter into the particulars of his life, ſo far as may enable us to form a judgment concerning his real merit in this capacity.

Marcus Tullius Cicero was born at Arpinum, in the 647th [b] year of the city [c]. During his childhood he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in literary conteſts with his companions, and ſtudied under ſeveral maſters, among whom he particularly mentions Plotius, a Greek preceptor, Phædrus, an Epicurean philoſopher, and Archias, the poet. He made ſeveral juvenile attempts in poetry; but, if we may judge from the few fragments of his verſes which remain, with no great degree of ſucceſs. After he had finiſhed his puerile ſtudies, he applied his mature judgment to philoſophy under Philo of Lariſſa; a philoſopher, who was held in the higheſt eſteem among the Romans, both for his learning and manners. From the ſame preceptor he alſo received inſtruction in rhetoric; for, from the firſt, Cicero made philoſophy ſubſervient to eloquence [d].

In the eighteenth year of his age, Cicero ſtudied law under the direction of Mucius Scævola, an eminent augur, to whom he was introduced by his father, when he put on the manly dreſs, with this advice, never to loſe an opportunity of converſing with that wiſe and excellent man [e]. After a ſhort interval, in which he engaged in military expeditions, firſt under Sylla, then under Pompey, he returned with great impatience to his ſtudies [f]. At this time, he put himſelf under the conſtant tuition of Diodotus, a Stoic, chiefly for the ſake of exerciſing himſelf in dialectics, which the Stoics conſidered as a re-

[a] Conf. Lact. l. i. c. 15. iii. 14. Quint. l. x. c. 1. Macrob. in Somn. Scip. l. i. c. 17, 27. Plut. in Cicer. t. vi. p. 55. Eraſm. ep. l. xxvii. op. 1. l. ii. ep. 26. Horn. Hiſt. Phil. l. iv. c. 5. Morhoff. Polyh. t. i. l. iv. c. 11. § 7. Fabr. Bib. Lat. t. ii. p. 165.

[b] B. C. 106. [c] A. Gell. l. xv. c. 28. Cic. in Brut. et Ep. ad Fam. l. vii. 5. l. xiii. 41.

[d] Plut. in Cic. Sueton. de Clar. Rhet. c. 2. Cic. Orat. pro Archia, c. 1. De Orat. l. iii. c. 28. Tuſc. Q. l. ii. c. 2. Voſſ. de Poet. Lat. p. 16. Fabr. B. Lat. t. i. p. 129. [e] Cic. de Amic. c. 1. Plut. l. c. [f] Ib. et Cic. Philipp. xii. 11.

ſtricted

ſtricted kind of eloquence, but not without an aſſiduous attention to many other branches of ſtudy, in which this learned philoſopher was well qualified to inſtruct him. About the age of twenty years, he tranſlated into the Latin tongue Xenophon's *Oeconomics*, and ſeveral books of Plato. A ſpecimen of his verſion of the Timæus of Plato is preſerved in his works [a].

Having thus prepared himſelf for his profeſſion by indefatigable ſtudy, Cicero made his firſt appearance in public at twenty-ſix years of age, and pleaded in defence of Roſcius againſt the accuſation of Sylla. Soon afterwards, under the plea of recruiting his ſtrength, which he had impaired by the violence of his oratorical exertions, but perhaps chiefly through fear of Sylla, whom he had oppoſed, he withdrew to Athens. Here he attended upon Antiochus the Aſcalonite; but not approving his doctrine, which differed from that of the Middle Academy, he became a hearer of Poſidonius the Rhodian. By frequenting the ſchools of theſe and other preceptors, he acquired ſuch a love of philoſophy, that after his return to Rome, amidſt the buſineſs of the forum and the ſenate, he always found leiſure for the ſpeculations of the ſchools. Upon his ſecond appearance in public, he met with ſome diſcouragement from a prevalent opinion, that he was better qualified for the ſtudy of philoſophy than for the buſineſs of active life. But his ſuperior powers of eloquence ſoon ſubdued every prejudice againſt him, and raiſed him to the higheſt diſtinction among his fellow citizens. In the ſucceſſive offices of quæſtor, ædile, and prætor, he acquitted himſelf with great reputation. In the conſulate he obtained immortal honour by his bold and ſucceſsful oppoſition to the machinations of Cataline and his party, and received the glorious title of the Father of his Country [b].

The popularity which Cicero had acquired during his conſulſhip,

[a] In Brut. c. 90. Ep. ad Fam. l. xiii. ep. 16. et in Lucullo. De Off. l. ii. c. 24. Quint. l. i. c. 2. l. iii. c. 1. Hieron. Pref. in Euſeb. Chron.

[b] Orat. pro Roſcio. Aul. Gell. l. xv. c. 28. Quint. l. xii. c. 6. Plut. l. c. Cic. in Brut. c. 91. Orat. pro Planc. in Piſ. pro Sext. in Catal.

expoſed

expoſed him to the envy of his rivals. Soon afterwards, his unſucceſsful attempt to bring Clodius to public juſtice brought upon him the reſentment of that daring and ſeditious profligate; and, notwithſtanding all the efforts of the ſenate to protect him, the affair terminated in his baniſhment from Rome[a]. Leaving Italy, he paſſed over into Greece, and viſited his friend Plancius at Theſſalonica, who afforded him a hoſpitable aſylum. All good men lamented his diſgrace; and many Grecian cities vied with each other in offering him tokens of reſpect. But nothing could alleviate the dejection which he ſuffered, whilſt he lay under a ſentence of baniſhment from the country, which had been the ſeat of all his former honours. He remained inconſolable, till, after an interval of ſixteen months, the Clodian party was ſuppreſſed by Pompey, and, by the unanimous voice of the ſenate and people, he was recalled[b].

In Cicero's ſubſequent quæſtorſhip in Cilicia, his conduct was highly meritorious; for, he exerciſed his authority with exemplary mildneſs and integrity, and, in the midſt of war, cultivated the arts of peace. On his return, he called at Rhodes, and made a ſhort ſtay at Athens; where he had the ſatisfaction of reviſiting the places in which his youthful feet had wandered in ſearch of wiſdom, and of converſing with many of his former preceptors and friends[c].

When the flames of civil diſſention between Pompey and Cæſar began to burſt forth, Cicero uſed his utmoſt influence with each party to bring them to terms of accommodation[d]. Finding every attempt of this kind unſucceſsful, he long remained in anxious deliberation, whether he ſhould follow Pompey in a glorious and honourable, but ruined cauſe; or ſhould conſult his own ſafety, and that of his friends, by following the riſing fortunes of Cæſar. Had the latter motive preponderated, he would have liſtened to the counſel of Cæſar, who adviſed him, if on account of his advancing years he were averſe to military life, to retire into ſome remote part of Greece, and paſs the remainder of his days in tranquillity. But

[a] Dio l. xxxviii. Velleius P. l. ii. [b] Plut. l. c. Cic. Orat. pro domo ſua.
[c] Plut. l. c. [d] Ep. Fam. l. vi. ep. 6. l. vii. ep. 3. l. xiii. ep. 11.

he could not perſuade himſelf to deſert the antient conſtitution of his country, which he had hitherto honeſtly defended, and, therefore, determined to join the party of Pompey. Afterwards, however, when he found that Pompey ſlighted his friendſhip, he repented of his reſolution; and, after the memorable battle of Pharſalia, inſtead of accepting the charge of the armament which lay at Dyrrachium, as Cato adviſed, he met Cæſar on his return from Aſia, and accepted his friendſhip [a].

From this time, Cicero, no longer able to ſerve his country in the manner he wiſhed, retired from public affairs, reſolving to devote himſelf wholly to the ſtudy of philoſophy. He employed the unwelcome leiſure, which the ruin of the republic afforded him, in reading or writing; and he found more ſatisfaction in converſing with the dead in his valuable library at Tuſculum, than in viſiting Rome to pay homage to Cæſar. His tranquillity was, however, ſoon interrupted by domeſtic vexations and afflictions. From cauſes which are not fully explained, he divorced his wife Terentia; and his daughter Tullia, who was married to Lentulus, died in child-bed [b].

Soon after the death of Cæſar, although it does not appear that Cicero had any concern in the conſpiracy, he fell a ſacrifice to the reſentment of Antony, who could not forget the ſevere Philippics which the orator had delivered againſt him. When the triumvirate was formed, and it was reciprocally agreed that ſome of the enemies of each party ſhould be given up, Antony demanded the head of Cicero. Accordingly, after much contention, and on the part of Octavius a delay of three days, Cicero was regiſtered among the hundred and thirty ſenators who were doomed to deſtruction by this ſanguinary proſcription. Apprized by his friends of his danger, he fled from place to place for ſafety; always thinking, as was natural in ſuch a ſituation, any other place more ſecure than the preſent. His laſt

[a] Plut. l. c. [b] Plut. l. c. Cic. Tuſc. Q. l. i. c. 1. De Off. l. ii. c. 1, 2. Ep. Fam. l. xiii. ep. 77. l. ii. ep. 5. l. i. ep. 7. l. vi. ep. 19. l. ix. ep. 11. Val. Max. l. viii. c. 13.

retreat

retreat was to a ſmall farm which he had at Caieta. The houſe was ſurrounded by the appointed executioners of the bloody commiſſion. After an unſucceſsful attempt of his attendants to ſave him by conveying him away on a litter towards the ſea, Popilius Lænas, a military tribune, in whoſe behalf Cicero had formerly pleaded when he was accuſed of parricide, came up to the litter, and ſtruck off his head, while ſome of the ſoldiers, who were ſtanding by, cut off his hands. Theſe mangled remains of this great man were conveyed to Antony, who, in triumphant revenge, placed them upon the *roſtra* of that pulpit from which the orations againſt him had been delivered: not however without exciting much indignation in the populace, who bitterly lamented the tragical end of this father of his country. His death happened in the 710th[a] year of the city, and in the ſixty-fourth year of his age[b].

From the whole hiſtory of the life of Cicero it appears, that, though exceedingly ambitious of glory, he wanted ſtrength of mind ſufficient to ſuſtain him in the purſuit. Perpetually fluctuating between hope and fear, he was unable to ſupport with equanimity the convulſions of a diſordered ſtate, and the commotions of a civil war; and therefore was always attempting to reconcile the contending parties, when he ought to have been maintaining, by vigorous meaſures, the cauſe which he approved. He was, in his natural temper, ſo averſe to contention, that his ſpirits were depreſſed, more than became a wiſe man, by private injuries and domeſtic vexations. On many public occaſions he diſcovered a ſurprizing degree of timidity. When, under the immediate apprehenſion of danger from popular tumult, he undertook the defence of Milo, his panic was ſo great, that he was ſeized with a univerſal tremor, and was ſcarcely able to ſpeak; ſo that his client, notwithſtanding his innocence, was ſentenced to exile[c]. His chief delight was in the ſociety and converſation of learned men; and many elegant ſpecimens remain of his ability in relating, or framing, philoſophical conferences. But in

[a] B. C. 43. [b] Plut. l. c. Vid. Liv. apud Senec. App. Dion. Vell. Paterc. &c. Mart. l. iii. ep. 66. [c] Dio l. xlvi. Plut. l. c.

his

his private intercourſe with his friends, as well as in the forum and the ſenate, he diſcovered a degree of vanity ſcarcely to be reconciled with true greatneſs of mind. From theſe circumſtances, compared with the general character of his writings, it ſeems reaſonable to conclude, that Cicero's chief excellencies were fertility of imagination and readineſs of invention; and that his talents were better adapted to the ſplendid offices of eloquence, than to the accurate and profound inveſtigations of philoſophy.

What kind and degree of ſervice Cicero rendered to philoſophy will, in ſome meaſure, appear from a diſtinct enumeration of his philoſophical writings. On the ſubject of the philoſophy of nature, his principal works are, the fragment of his tranſlation of Plato's Timæus, entitled *De Univerſitate*, "on the Univerſe;" and his treatiſe *De Natura Deorum*, "on the Nature of the Gods," in which the opinions of the Epicureans and Stoics concerning the divine nature are diſtinctly ſtated and examined. To the ſame claſs may be referred the books "On Divination and Fate," which are imperfect, and "The Dream of Scipio" (commented upon by Macrobius) which is founded upon the Platonic doctrines concerning the ſoul of the world, and the ſtate of human ſouls after death. On moral philoſophy, Cicero treats in ſeveral diſtinct works. In his treatiſe *De Finibus*, "on Moral Ends," which is a hiſtory of the doctrine of the Grecian philoſophers concerning the ultimate ends of life, he ſtates the different opinions of the ſeveral ſects upon this ſubject, enumerates the leading arguments by which they were ſupported, and points out the difficulties which preſs upon each opinion. In his *Quæſtiones Tuſculanæ*, "Tuſculan Queſtions," he treats of the contempt of death; patience under bodily pain; the remedies of grief, anxiety and other painful perturbations of mind; and the ſufficiency of virtue to a happy life. In the dialogues entitled *Cato* and *Lælius*, he diſcourſes concerning the conſolations of old age, and concerning the duties and pleaſures of friendſhip. His explanation of "Six Stoical Paradoxes," ſeems rather to have been written as a rhetorical exerciſe, than as a ſerious diſquiſition in philoſophy. His treatiſe *De Officiis*, "on Moral Offices," addreſſed

dreſſed to his ſon Marcus, contains an excellent ſummary of practical ethics, written chiefly upon Stoical principles, but not without ſome mixture of the Peripatetic. The grounds of juriſprudence are explained in his book *De Legibus*, "On Laws," which is not entire. Cicero no where ſo clearly diſcovers his own opinions, as in his *Quæſtiones Academicæ*, "Academic Queſtions," of which only two books are extant, the ſecond inſcribed with the name of Lucullus. In this work he raiſes up the whole edifice of Grecian doctrine, that, after the manner of the Academic ſect, and particularly of Carneades, he may demoliſh it. As a ſtorehouſe of materials for an hiſtory of the Grecian ſects, this piece is of great value. It is much to be regretted, that, among the philoſophical works of Cicero, we do not now find his *Hortentius*, or "Exhortation to the Study of Philoſophy," which Auguſtine confeſſes operated upon his mind, as a powerful *ſtimulus* to the purſuit of wiſdom. His "Oeconomics" and "Republic" are alſo loſt.

Upon the moſt curſory inſpection of Cicero's philoſophical writings, it muſt appear, that he rather related the opinions of others, than advanced any new doctrine from his own conceptions. It may, however, be of ſome importance to inquire, more particularly, how a man, who devoted ſo much of his leiſure to ſtudy, philoſophiſed, and what tenets he eſpouſed.

Although, for reaſons already explained, Cicero attached himſelf chiefly to the Academic ſect, he did not neglect to inform himſelf of the doctrines of other ſects, and diſcovered much learning and ingenuity in refuting their dogmas. In the ſects which he rejected, he could eaſily diſtinguiſh thoſe parts of their doctrine which were moſt valuable; and he had the good-ſenſe and candour to profit by wiſdom, wherever he found it. He was an admirer of the doctrine of the Stoics concerning natural equity, and civil law; and adopted their ideas concerning morals, as he himſelf informs his ſon[a], not with the ſervility of an interpreter, but with that freedom which left him the full exerciſe of his own judgment. That he held Plato in high

[a] De Of. l. 1. c. 2.

reſpect

reſpect, eſpecially for his philoſophy of nature, appears from his own words [a], and from the labour which he beſtowed upon the Timæus. As he conceived the Peripatetic philoſophy to differ but little, on the ſubject of ethics, from the Socratic and Platonic doctrine, he paid it ſome reſpect in his moral writings [b], although in other places it fell under his cenſure. The ſect to which he was moſt averſe, notwithſtanding that one of his earlieſt preceptors, and ſeveral of his intimate friends, belonged to this ſchool, was the Epicurean [c]: and the contempt in which he held the doctrine of this ſect led him to liſten with too much credulity to the calumnies, with which the character of its founder was loaded.

Upon the whole, there can be no doubt that Cicero belonged to that claſs of Academics, who, after Carneades, whilſt they confeſſed the imbecility of the human underſtanding, admitted opinions on the ground of probability. "I do not," ſays Cicero [d], "rank myſelf among thoſe, who ſuffer their minds to wander in error, without any guide to direct their courſe. For, of what uſe is the human intellect, or rather, of what value is human life, if all principles, not only of reaſoning, but of action be taken away? If I cannot, with many philoſophers, ſay, that ſome things are certain and others uncertain, I willingly allow that ſome things are probable, others improbable." It may be eaſily perceived, from the general caſt of Cicero's writings, that the Academic ſect was beſt ſuited to his natural diſpoſition. Through all his philoſophical works, he paints in lively colours, and with all the graces of fine writing, the opinions of philoſophers; and relates, in the diffuſe manner of an orator, the arguments on each ſide of the queſtion in diſpute: but we ſeldom find him diligently examining the exact weight of evidence in the ſcale of reaſon, carefully deducing accurate concluſions from certain principles, or exhibiting a ſeries of arguments in a cloſe and ſyſtematic arrangement. On the contrary we frequently hear him declaiming eloquently inſtead of reaſoning concluſively, and meet with unequi-

[a] Tuſc. Qu. l. i. c. 21. [b] De Off. l. i. c. 3. [c] De Orat. l. iii.
[d] De Off. l. ii. c. 2. Tuſc. Q. l. ii. c. 2. l. iv. c. 4.

vocal proofs, that he was better qualified to diſpute on either ſide with the Academics, than to decide upon the queſtion with the Dogmatiſts. In fine, Cicero appears rather to have been a warm admirer, and an elegant memorialiſt of philoſophy, than himſelf to have merited a place in the firſt order of philoſophers[a].

The reader will eaſily perceive from what has been advanced, that, notwithſtanding the great number of philoſophical writings which Cicero has left, it would be in vain to attempt a delineation of his philoſophical doctrines. For, following the Academic method of philoſophiſing, he inſtituted no ſyſtem of his own, but either employed himſelf in oppoſing the tenets of other ſects, or, where he choſe to dogmatiſe, ſelected from different ſects ſuch opinions, as, he apprehended, could be moſt plauſibly ſupported, or would moſt eaſily admit of rhetorical decoration. In phyſics, if we except his tranſlation of the *Timæus* of Plato, and what he has written in the Platonic manner in "The Dream of Scipio," Cicero has advanced nothing in his writings, which is not purely academical, and adapted to overturn the ſyſtems of the Dogmatiſts. In ethics, however, eſpecially upon ſubjects of practical morality, he made Panætius, and other Stoics, his chief guides, and after them adopted a preceptive tone, and a ſyſtematic arrangement. But it is wholly unneceſſary to enter into the detail of his moral doctrine, which is of the ſame colour with that of the Stoic ſchool, except where it takes a ſlight tincture from the Peripatetic. With reſpect to theology, there is little reaſon to doubt that Cicero, whilſt he ſuſpended his judgment concerning the ſubtle queſtions which had agitated the Grecian ſchools, adhered to the fundamental principles of religion on the ground of probability, as naturally dictated by reaſon, and therefore commonly embraced by mankind[b].

The Stoic as well as the Academic ſchool was patroniſed by many eminent men in the Roman republic. The moſt diſtinguiſhed

[a] Aug. de Civ. Dei l. ii. c. 27. Heuman. Act. Phil. p. 459.
[b] Lib. iii. De Nat. D.

lawyers

lawyers were, as we have ſeen, inclined towards this ſect, on account of the fitneſs of its moral doctrine to the purpoſes of civil policy. Q. LUCILIUS BALBUS became ſo eminent a maſter of the Stoic philoſophy, that Cicero, in his dialogue "On the Nature of the Gods [a]," appoints him to the office of defending the Stoical theology. Several of the moſt zealous and able ſupporters of the tottering republic, derived no ſmall part of their ſtrength from the principles of Stoiciſm. But the man, who above all the reſt claims our notice, as a Stoic in character as well as opinion, is the younger Cato.

CATO of UTICA, ſo called from the laſt memorable ſcene of his life, was a deſcendant of Cato the Cenſor, whoſe rigid virtue, as we have ſeen, oppoſed the firſt admiſſion of Grecian learning into Rome. From his childhood he diſcovered in his countenance and language, and even in his ſports, an inflexible ſpirit. He had ſuch a natural gravity of aſpect, that his features were ſcarcely ever relaxed into a ſmile. He was ſeldom angry, but when provoked, was not without difficulty appeaſed. In acquiring learning, he was ſlow of perception, but his memory faithfully retained whatever it received. Being in early life elected to the office of a *flamen* of Apollo, he made choice of Antipater, a Tyrian, of the Stoic ſect, as his preceptor in morals and juriſprudence, that, in his ſacred character he might exhibit an example of the moſt rigid virtue. His language, both in private and public, was a true image of his mind, free from all affectation of novelty or elegance; plain, conciſe, and ſomewhat harſh; but enlivened with ſtrokes of genius, which could not be heard without pleaſure. He inured himſelf to endure, without injury, the extremes of heat and cold. To expreſs his contempt of effeminate and luxurious manners, he refuſed to wear the purple robe which belonged to his rank, and often appeared in public without his tunic, and with his feet uncovered: and this he did, not for the ſake of attracting admiration, but to teach his fellow citizens, that a wiſe man ought to be aſhamed of nothing which is not in itſelf ſhameful [b].

[a] l. i. c. 4. [b] Plut. in Cat. Val. Max. l. iii. c. 1. Cic. Orat. pro Muræna, c. 29. Ep. Fam. xv. 5.

In

In the civil war, Cato carried his virtues with him into military life, and exhibited before his fellow commanders an example of unuſual moderation, ſobriety, and magnanimity. Whilſt he was in Macedonia, in the capacity of military tribune, it happened that his brother Cæpio, whom he had always loved, periſhed in ſhipwreck. Cato, upon this occaſion, forgot his Stoical principles, and ſo far yielded to the impulſe of nature, as to embrace, with many tears and lamentations, the dead body which had been caſt upon the ſhore, and to bury it with ſplendid ſepulchral honours. So difficult is it, by any artificial diſcipline of philoſophy, to ſubdue the feelings of nature[a]. During his reſidence in Greece, Cato having heard of an eminent Stoic, Athenodorus Cordyliones, who had rejected the proffered friendſhip of ſeveral princes, and was now paſſing his old age in retirement at Pergamus, reſolved if poſſible to make him his friend; and, as he had no hopes of ſucceeding by meſſage, undertook, for this ſole purpoſe, a voyage into Aſia. Upon the interview, Athenodorus found in Cato a ſoul ſo congenial with his own, that he was eaſily prevailed upon to accompany him into Greece, and, after the term of Cato's military ſervice was expired, to reſide with him, as his companion and friend, at Rome. Cato boaſted of this acquiſition, more than of all his military exploits. After his return, he devoted his time either to the ſociety of Athenodorus, and his other philoſophical friends, or to the ſervice of his fellow-citizens, in the forum[b].

When Cato had, by diligent ſtudy, qualified himſelf for the duties of magiſtracy, he accepted of the office of quæſtor. He corrected the abuſes of this important truſt, which negligence or diſhoneſty had introduced, and by his upright and ſteady adminiſtration of juſtice merited the higheſt applauſe. In every other capacity, he manifeſted the ſame inviolable regard to truth and integrity. Whilſt he was engaged in the buſineſs of the ſenate, he was indefatigable in the diſcharge of his ſenatorial duty: and even when he was

[a] Plut. ib. [b] Plut. ib.

among

among his philoſophical friends at his farm in Lucania, he never interrupted his attention to the welfare of the ſtate. It was during a receſs of this kind, that he diſcovered the danger which threatened the republic from the machinations of Metellus; and, with a truly patriotic ſpirit, he inſtantly determined, that private enjoyment ſhould give way to public duty. That he might be in a capacity to oppoſe with effect the deſigns of Metellus, he offered himſelf candidate for the office of Tribune of the people; and, being choſen, executed the office (notwithſtanding the illiberal jeſts which Cicero, inconſiſtently enough with his general profeſſions and character, on this occaſion caſt upon his Stoical virtue) with a degree of probity, candour and independence, which fully eſtabliſhed the public opinion of his ſuperior merit[a].

At a period when the Roman affairs were in the utmoſt confuſion, and powerful factions were repeatedly formed againſt the ſtate, Cato withſtood the aſſaults which were made upon liberty by Marcellus, Pompey, Cæſar and others, with ſuch a firm and reſolute adherence to the principles of public virtue, that no apprehenſion of danger to himſelf or his family could ever induce him to liſten to any propoſal, which implied a treacherous deſertion of his country. Whilſt ſome were ſupporting the intereſt of Cæſar, and others that of Pompey, Cato, himſelf a hoſt, withſtood them both, and convinced them that there was another intereſt ſtill exiſting, that of the ſtate. When he ſaw that the neceſſity of the times required it, in order that, of two impending evils, the leaſt might be choſen, he perſuaded the ſenate to create Pompey ſole conſul, that, if poſſible, he might cruſh the growing power of Cæſar, which threatened deſtruction to the freedom of the republic. It was with this deſign alone, that, upon Cæſar's approach towards Rome, he declared himſelf on the ſide of Pompey, and that he afterwards became a companion of his flight, and at the head of an army ſupported his

[a] Plut. ib. Cic. Pref. parad. Epiſt. Fam. xv. 5. Orat. pro Muræna, c. 29.

cauſe. The ſame public ſpirit afterwards prompted him to endeavour to ſave his country from the laſt extremities of civil war, by propoſing a reconciliation between the contending powers. And when Pompey treated the propoſal with neglect, and ſeemed to diſtruſt the adviſer, Cato, ſtill true to the cauſe of freedom, at the battle of Dyrrachium rouſed the languid ſpirit of the ſoldiers by an animated addreſs; but afterwards when, in the courſe of the engagement, he ſaw his countrymen butchering one another, he bitterly lamented the fatal effects of ambition [a].

After the battle of Pharſalia, which at once cut off the hopes of Pompey, Cato, with a ſmall band of ſelect friends, and fifteen cohorts, of which Pompey had given him the command, ſtill attempted to ſupport the expiring cauſe of liberty. His determination was, to follow Pompey into Egypt, and there ſhare his fate: but when he arrived upon the African coaſt, he was met by Sextus, Pompey's younger ſon, who informed him of his father's death. Cato, upon hearing theſe tidings, marched the ſmall force which was under his command into Lybia, to meet Scipio, Pompey's father in law, and Varus, to whom Pompey had given the government in Africa, and who were paying their court to Juba. Though ſtrongly importuned, he refuſed to take the command of the African forces from thoſe officers, to whom it had been legally appointed: but, at the requeſt of Scipio, and of the inhabitants, he took the charge of Utica [b].

The defeat of Scipio and Juba, in the battle of Thapſus, contracted the remaining ſtrength of the Roman republic, within the walls of this ſmall city. Here Cato, as his laſt effort in the ſervice of his country, convened his little ſenate to deliberate upon meaſures for the public good. Their conſultations proved ineffectual; and Cato deſpaired of being longer able to ſerve his country. He therefore adviſed his friends to provide for their ſafety by flight, but, for his own part, reſolved not to ſurvive the liberties of Rome. At the

[a] Plut. ib. Vell. Flor. Dio. &c. Sen. Ep. 95. 14. [b] Plut.

cloſe

close of an evening, in which he had conversed with more than usual spirit on topics of philosophy, he retired with great cheerfulness into his chamber, where, after reading a portion of Plato's *Phædo*, he ordered his sword to be brought. His attendants delayed; and his son and friends importuned him to desist from his purpose. The stern philosopher dismissed them from his apartment, and again took up the book. After a short interval, he executed his purpose by stabbing himself below the breast. By those who have been better instructed, this action will, doubtless, be deemed criminal; and will be imputed to rashness, or to weakness. But it should be remembered, that the situation of Cato, in concurrence with his Stoical principles, strongly impelled him to this fatal deed; and that whatever censure he may deserve on this account, he supported, through his whole life, a character of inflexible integrity, and uncorrupted public spirit. Whilst he lived, he held up before his fellow-citizens a pattern of manly virtue; and when he died, he taught the conquerors of the world, that the noble mind can never be subdued [a].

—— Cuncta terrarum subacta,
Præter atrocem animum Catonis [b]. *

The PERIPATETIC PHILOSOPHY found its way into Rome, in the time of Sylla, with the writings of Aristotle and Theophrastus. That tyrant, during the siege of Athens, had shewn his contempt of the Muses, by sacrilegiously invading their antient seats, the groves of Academus, and the Lyceum, in order to furnish himself with materials for carrying on the assault: and when the city fell into his hands, among other articles of plunder, he became possessed of the library of Apellicon, who, as we have before related, had purchased

[a] Plut. l. c. Conf. Florus, l. iv. c. 2. Senec. ep. 20, 24, 26. De Providentia, c. 2. Arr. Epict. l. i. diss. 9, 24.

[b] Hor. Carm. l. ii. Od. i. v. 24. Conf. Lucan. l. ii. v. 385. l. ix. 581, &c.

* —— I see the world subdued,
All but the mighty soul of Cato.

the writings of Ariſtotle and Theophraſtus from their illiterate deſcendants, in whoſe hands they had long lain concealed. This rich prize was brought to Rome, and ſoon engaged the attention of thoſe who knew the value of Greek learning. Tyrannio, an eminent grammarian and critic, whom Lucullus had brought as a captive from Pontus, and whoſe learning and genius ſoon procured him liberty, and raiſed him to diſtinction, obtained permiſſion to peruſe, and, wherever he choſe, tranſcribe the manuſcripts. His firſt care was, to bring to light the writings of Ariſtotle and Theophraſtus. When Andronicus Rhodius, who was not ignorant of the fame of theſe philoſophers, was informed of Tyrannio's good fortune, he was exceedingly deſirous of poſſeſſing the writings of theſe philoſophers, and engaged Tyrannio to give him an exact copy of the originals. Finding, upon peruſal, that they were in many places imperfect, through the decay of the materials upon which they were written, he ſupplied the deficiencies by conjecture, and at the ſame time attempted to illuſtrate obſcure paſſages by notes. In this corrected, or rather adulterated ſtate, theſe works of Ariſtotle and Theophraſtus were diſperſed among the Romans [a].

The obſcurity of the writings of Ariſtotle greatly obſtructed the progreſs of the Peripatetic philoſophy. Cicero, in the preface to his Topics, written after the death of Cæſar, relates [b], that Trebatius, a celebrated lawyer, meeting with Ariſtotle's treatiſe on Topics in Cicero's library, attempted to read it, but was obliged to call in the aſſiſtance of a ſkilful rhetorician; and, after all, complained to Cicero, that he was unable to underſtand the work. Cicero replied, "I am not at all ſurprized, that your rhetorician could not explain to you the writings of this philoſopher, who is underſtood by very few even of the philoſophers themſelves." But, notwithſtanding theſe difficulties, the doctrine of Ariſtotle was not without its admirers and patrons in Rome. Cato, though entirely devoted to the Stoic philoſophy, had among his philoſophical friends Demetrius, a

[a] Plut. in Sylla et Lucullo. Heſych. & Suidas in Tyran. Porphyr. Vit. Plotin. c. 26.
[b] Ad Trebatium.

Peripatetic, and converſed with him a little before his death[a]. Craſſus paid ſome attention to the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, and employed Alexander Antiochenus, of this ſchool, as his preceptor[b]. Piſo, whom Cicero repreſents as well read in philoſophy, had with him, many years, a Peripatetic of ſome note, named Staſeas[c]. The father of Roman eloquence himſelf, notwithſtanding his predilection for the Academic ſect, gave ſufficient proof that he had ſome reſpect for the Peripatetic philoſophy, by undertaking to explain the Topics of Ariſtotle; by mixing ſeveral things from his ſchool with the Stoical doctrine of morals, in his Offices; and, above all, by committing the charge of his ſon's education at Athens to Cratippus, the Peripatetic, whom he pronounces to be, in his judgment, not only the firſt of all the Peripateties, but the moſt excellent philoſopher of his age[d]. Brutus, when he paſſed with his army into Greece, during his ſtay at Athens, attended upon Theomneſtus the Academic, and Cratippus the Peripatetic, and converſed with them upon philoſophy[e]. And Pompey, after his defeat at Pharſalia, meeting with Cratippus at Mytilene, diſcourſed with him concerning divine providence[f].

The EPICUREAN PHILOSOPHY, in conſequence of the violent oppoſition which it had met with in Greece from the Stoics, and the irregularities which had been practiſed by ſome of its followers, entered Rome under a heavy load of obloquy. This was greatly increaſed by the vehemence with which Cicero inveighed againſt this ſect, and by the eaſy credit which he gave to the calumnies induſtriouſly circulated againſt its founder[g]. Nevertheleſs, there were many perſons of high diſtinction in Rome, to whom the character of Epicurus appeared leſs cenſurable, and who were of opinion that true philoſophy was to be found in his garden. Among theſe were

[a] Plut. in Cat. [b] Id. in Craſſo. [c] Cic. de Fin. l. v. c. 1. De Orat. l. i. c. 22. [d] De Univ. c. 1. De Off. l. iii. c. 2. l. i. c. 1. Ep. Fam. l. xvi. ep. 21. Plut. in Cic. [e] Plut. in Bruto. [f] Id. in Pomp.
[g] Cic. de Fin. l. ii. Tuſc. Q. l. i. 3. Fam. ep. xiii. 1. Orat. in Piſonem, c. 28.

Torquatus, Velleius, Trebatius, Piſo, Albutius, Panſa, and Atticus[a]; men of reſpectable characters in Rome, ſeveral of whom lived in habits of intimacy with Cicero[b]. Atticus, particularly, was his boſom friend, to whom he wrote many confidential letters, afterwards collected in ſixteen books, and preſerved among his works. Fond of literary leiſure, Atticus withdrew from the diſturbances of the ſtate to Athens, where he was highly reſpected by the citizens of every rank. Here he ſtudied the doctrines of Epicurus, under Phædrus and Zeno the Sidonian. That he entirely devoted himſelf to this ſchool, appears from many paſſages in the writings of Cicero, and from the particulars of his life, given by Cornelius Nepos. C. Caſſius, too, according to Plutarch[c], is to be added to the liſt of Epicureans. Several Greek philoſophers of this ſect enjoyed the patronage of illuſtrious Romans, among whom may be particularly mentioned Patro, whom Cicero recommended to the protection of Memmius[d].

Some admirers of Epicurus attempted to introduce his philoſophy into Rome in the Latin tongue. Amafanius, Catius Inſuber, and others, borrowing their notions of pleaſure, not from the founder of the ſchool, but from ſome of his degenerate followers, under the notion of Epicurean doctrine wrote precepts of luxury. Quintilian[e] ſpeaks of Catius as an amuſing trifler: Horace thus ridicules him[f]:

> Unde et quo Catius? non eſt mihi tempus aventi
> Ponere ſigna novis præceptis, qualia vincant
> Pythagoram, Anytique reùm, doctumque Platona.*

[a] Gaſſend. de Vit. Epic. l. i. c. 6. [b] Ac. Qu. l. iv.
[c] Plut. in Brut. t. v. p. 690. 711. Cic. Phil. ii. [d] Fam. ep. xiii. c. 1.
[e] Inſt. l. i. c. 1. [f] Sat. l. ii. ſ. 4.

* Whence comes my Catius? whither in ſuch haſte?
I have no time in idle prate to waſte:
I muſt away, to treaſure in my mind
A ſet of precepts novel and refin'd;
Such as Pythagoras could never reach,
Nor Socrates, nor ſcienc'd Plato teach. FRANCIS.

The

The true doctrine of Epicurus was not fully ſtated by any Roman writer, till Lucretius, with much accuracy of conception and clearneſs of method, as well as with great ſtrength and elegance of diction, unfolded the Epicurean ſyſtem in his poem *De Rerum Natura*; "*On the Nature of Things.*" That T. CARUS LUCRETIUS was a Roman, is certain, but it is doubtful whether he was of the antient and noble family of the Lucretii. He was born, according to Euſebius, in the year of Rome ſix hundred and fifty-nine[a]. Of his parentage and education little is known, but it is probable that he was ſent to Athens, and there ſtudied philoſophy under Zeno the Sidonian, and Phædrus. Towards the cloſe of his life he was often inſane; and it was during his lucid intervals that he wrote his celebrated poem. It is addreſſed to his friend and patron Memmius: it was reviſed by Cicero, and is ſtill extant. Lucretius died by his own hand, in the forty-fourth year of his age, and in the ſeven hundred and third year of Rome[b].*

The PYRRHONIC or SCEPTIC ſect was not followed among the Romans: not becauſe the method of philoſophiſing adopted by this ſect had no admirers, but becauſe it was ſuperſeded by the Academic philoſophy, which purſued the ſame track, but with greater caution and ſobriety. The heights of extravagance, to which the Sceptics had by this time advanced, both in theory and practice, had brought ſuch a general odium upon the ſect, that although Æneſidemus attempted to revive Pyrrhoniſm at Alexandria, and inſcribed his works to Lucius Tubero, an illuſtrious Roman, it does not appear that Rome gave any public countenance to the Sceptic philoſophy[c].†

[a] B. C. 94.

[b] Euſeb. Chron. Vid. Lambin. Gifan. Bayl. de Vit. Lucr. Voſs. de Poet. Lat. p. 15. * B. C. 50. [c] Cic. de Fin. l. ii.

† Vidend. Heumann. Act. Phil. v. iii. p. 63. Gaudent. de Phil. apud Rom. initio, &c. Piſ. 1643. Cellarii Diſſ. de Stud. Rom. Budd. de Stud. Lib. ap. Rom. Falſter. Qu. Rom. Schilter. Manud. Phil. Mor. ad Juriſprud. Everard. Otto de Stoica

Stoica Juriſconſ. Ph. Horn. Hiſt. Phil. l. iv. c. 4, 5. Voſs. de Hiſt. Lat. l. i. c. 7. 16. P. Blount Cenſ. Auth. p. 632. Cozzand. de Magiſterio Antiq. Phil. l. iii. p. 231. Huet de la Foibleſſe, &c. l. i. c. 14. § 25. Scaligeriana Prim. p. 146. Ciceronis Vita á Mylæo, Buſlingero, A. de Scarparia, Conſt. Felice, C. Preyſio, Corrado, P. Ramo, Lambino, Brantio, Herbeſto, Chytræo, Vallamberto, Cappello, Sagittario, Maſenio, Middleton. Kircher in Latio, c. ii. Reimman. Syſt. Ant. Lit. p. 496. Perizonius de Erud. et Induſt. Cic. Franeq. 1682. Morhoff. Polyh. Lit. t. iii. l. i. c. 17. t. i. l. iv. c. 11. § 17. Jaſonis de Nores Inſtit. in Cic. Phil. Pat. 1597. Lipſ. 1721. Buſcheri Ethic. Cic. Parker's Apology, Lond. 1702. Wopken's Lection. Tull. Amſt. 1730. Voſſ. de Poet. Lat. p. 15. Suidas. Bayle.

## CHAPTER II.

## OF THE STATE OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

### SECT. I.

### OF THE GENERAL STATE OF PHILOSOPHY UNDER THE EMPERORS.

IN the midſt of the commotions and changes which took place in the Roman ſtate, at the period when it loſt its liberty, and became ſubject to the arbitrary controul of a monarch; whilſt almoſt every thing elſe aſſumed a new aſpect, philoſophy ſtill retained its ſtation,

ſtation, and appeared with increaſing luſtre. This is, perhaps, chiefly to be aſcribed to the cultivated taſte, and elegant manners of the Auguſtan age. Many perſons of the firſt diſtinction in Rome, with Auguſtus himſelf, were patrons of literature and ſcience. During the reign of this prince, ſo generally prevalent was the ſtudy of philoſophy, that almoſt every ſtateſman, lawyer, and man of letters, was converſant with the writings of philoſophers, and diſcovered a bias towards ſome antient ſyſtem. And this taſte continued through ſeveral ſucceeding ages, even under thoſe emperors, who were more addicted to pleaſure than to wiſdom; till, in proceſs of time, the diſtinction of ſects was confounded in that monſtrous production of Monkiſh ignorance, the Scholaſtic philoſophy.

The ſentiments and language of almoſt all the Roman Poets were tinctured with the philoſophy of ſome Grecian ſect.

VIRGIL, whoſe immortal works remain a perfect model of poetic harmony and elegance, was in his youth inſtructed by Syro in the doctrine of Epicurus; and the ſpirit of this doctrine appears in ſeveral parts of his writings. It is true, that after the uſual practice of poets, and other writers of this period, he introduces alluſions to the dogmas of different ſects, where he judged that they might ſerve to illuſtrate and adorn his ſubject. Thus, in the fourth Georgic, he derives the origin of things, after the Stoics, from a divine principle, pervading the whole maſs of matter[a]:

His quidam ſignis atque hæc exempla ſecuti,
Eſſe apibus partem divinæ mentis, et hauſtus
Ætherios dixere: deum namque ire per omnes
Terraſque, tractuſque maris, cœlumque profundum.
Hinc pecudes, armenta, viros, genus omne ferarum,
Quemque ſibi tenues naſcentem arceſſere vitas.
Scilicet huc reddi deinde, ac reſoluta referri

[a] v. 220.

Omnia:

Omnia[a]: nec morti eſſe locum, ſed viva volare
Sideris in numerum atque alto ſuccedere cœlo.

In another place[b] the poet introduces Anchiſes philoſophiſing upon the ſame principles:

Principio cœlum, ac terras, campoſque liquentes
Lucentemque globum lunæ, Titaniaque aſtra,
Spiritus intus alit, totamque infuſa per artus
Mens agitat molem, et magno ſe corpore miſcet, &c.[c]

Virgil's whole doctrine concerning a future ſtate, diveſted of its mythological clothing, proceeds, indeed, upon the Stoic, rather than the Platonic, or Pythagoric ſyſtem. It muſt not however be hence inferred, that he was himſelf a Stoic. In the paſſages juſt quoted, he relates the opinions of others, and expreſsly introduces the former as ſuch: *His* QUIDAM *ſignis*. But in other parts of his works, he makes uſe of the doctrine and language of the Epicurean ſchool: for example[d]:

[a] Led by ſuch wonders ſages have opin'd,
That bees have portions of a heav'nly mind;
That God pervades, and like one common ſoul,
Fills, feeds, and animates the world's great whole;
That flocks, herds, beaſts, and men from him receive
Their vital breath, in him all move and live;
That ſouls diſcerpt from him ſhall never die,
But back reſolv'd to God and heav'n ſhall fly,
And live for ever in the ſtarry ſky. J. Warton.

[b] Æn. vi. v. 724.

[c] Know firſt a ſpirit with an active flame
Pervades and animates the mighty frame,
Runs through the wat'ry worlds, the fields of air,
The pond'rous earth, the depths of heav'n, and there
Glows in the ſun and moon, and burns in every ſtar:
Thus mingling with the maſs, the general ſoul
Lives in the parts, and agitates the whole. Pitt.

[d] Ecl. vi. v. 31, &c.

Namque

Namque canebat, uti magnum per inane coacta
Semina terrarumque, animæque marisve fuissent
Et liquidi simul ignis; ut his exordia primis
Omnia, et ipse tener mundi concreverit orbis [a].

And again [b]:

Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
Atque metus omnes et inexorabile fatum
Subjecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari [c]!

The predilection of Virgil for the Epicurean system may be also inferred from his intimate acquaintance with the poem of Lucretius, to which, in the course of his works, he is frequently indebted. It must not be omitted, that Virgil, in the fifty-second year of his age, set out for Greece, with the design of putting the finishing hand to his Æneid, and then devoting the remainder of his days to the study of philosophy: but that, being seized with illness upon his journey, he returned to Brundisium, and died. He was buried, according to his request, at Naples [d].

HORACE, through all his writings breathes the Epicurean spirit, and sometimes appears to confess his partiality to this school [e]. But we are not to suppose that he entertained a very serious attachment to any system of philosophy. He was rather disposed to ridicule the

[a] He sung, at universal nature's birth,
How seeds of water, fire, and air, and earth,
Fell thro' the void; whence order rose, and all
The beauties of this congregated ball. J. WARTON.

Georg. ii. v. 490, &c.

[c] Happy the man, whose vigorous soul can pierce
Through the formation of this universe!
Who nobly dares despise, with soul sedate,
The din of Acheron, and vulgar fears, and fate.
Id.

[d] Donatus de Vit. Virgil. ed. H. Steph. p. 6.
[e] Ep. l. i. ep. 4. Carm. l. ii. od. 34.

folly of all the ſects, than to become a ſtrenuous advocate for any one of them. He had indeed, when young, ſtudied philoſophy in the Academy at Athens[a]:

> Adjecere bonæ paulo plus artis Athenæ;
> Scilicet ut poſſem curvo dignoſcere rectum,
> Atque inter ſilvas Academi quærere verum[b].

But he expreſsly aſſerts his independence, and diſclaims ſubjection to the authority of any maſter[c]:

> Quid verum atque decens curo, et rogo, et omnis in hoc ſum;
> Condo, et compono, quæ mox depromere poſſim:
> At ne forte roges, quo me duce, quo lare tuter;
> Nullius addictus jurare in verba magiſtri,
> Quo me cunque rapit tempeſtas, deferor hoſpes.
> Nunc agilis fio, et merſor civilibus undis;
> Virtutis veræ cuſtos rigiduſque ſatelles,
> Nunc in Ariſtippi furtim præcepta relabor[d].

[a] Ep. I. ii. ep. 2. v. 43.

[b] Athens, kind nurſe of ſcience, led my youth
From error's maze to the ſtraight path of truth;
In ſearch of wiſdom taught my feet to rove
Thro' the learn'd ſhades of Academus' grove.

[c] Ep. I. i. ep. 1. v. 11, &c.

[d] What right, what true, what fit we juſtly call,
This ſhall be all my care; for this is all:
To lay this harveſt up, and hoard with haſte
What every day will want, e'en to the laſt.
But aſk not to what teacher I apply;
Sworn to no maſter, of no ſect am I:
Still as the tempeſt drives I ſhape my way;
Now active plunge into the world's wide ſea;
Now virtue's precepts rigidly defend,
Nor to the world—the world to me ſhall bend.
Now down a ſtream more yielding ſmoothly glide,
And the gay Ariſtippus make my guide.

The

The works of OVID abound with paſſages, which prove him to have been well acquainted with the Greek philoſophy, and particularly with the antient theogonies. In his *Metamorphoſes* he introduces the doctrines of the Pythagorean ſchool concerning the tranſmigration of the ſoul, and the viciſſitudes of nature[a]. But no certain judgment can be formed concerning his philoſophical opinions, from tenets which are introduced merely to embelliſh a work of imagination.

MANILIUS, in his aſtronomical poem, dedicated to Auguſtus, ſtrenuouſly oppoſes the doctrine of Epicurus concerning nature, and maintains with the Stoics, that God is the ſoul of the world, pervading and animating all things[b]:

Quis credat tantas operum ſine numine moles
Ex minimis cæcoque creatum fœdere mundum[c]? &c.

LUCAN, in his *Pharſalia*, diſcovers a ſtrong affection for the Stoic ſchool, in which he was educated by Cornutus, an eminent preceptor afterwards to be noticed. He expreſſes, in forcible and beautiful language, ſeveral of the fundamental tenets of the ſect: for example[d];

——— Sic cum compage ſoluta
Secula tot mundi ſuprema coegerit hora,
Antiquum repetent iterum chaos omnia, miſtis
Sidera ſideribus concurrent: ignea pontum
Aſtra petent, tellus extendere litora nolet,
Excutietque fretum; fratri contraria Phœbo
Ibit et obliquum bigas agitare per orbem

[a] L. xv. v. 150, &c. [b] L. i v. 492. Conf. l. ii. v. 61.

[c] Who, that beholds the pond'rous orbs on high,
Will ſay, that atoms, floating in the void,
Without a guide could form this wond'rous world? &c.

[d] L. i. v. 74, &c.

Indignata, diem poſcet ſibi: totaque diſcors
Machina divulſi turbabit fœdera mundi [a].

The Stoic virtues Lucan thus repreſents in the character of Cato:

——— Hi mores, hæc duri immota Catonis
Secta fuit, ſervare modum, finemque tenere
Naturamque ſequi, patriæque impendere vitam:
Nec ſibi ſed toti genitum ſe credere mundo.
Huic epulæ, viciſſe famem: magnique penates,
Submoviſſe hiemem tecto: pretioſaque veſtis
Hirtam membra ſuper, Romani more Quiritis,
Induxiſſe togam: Veneris huic maximus uſus,
Progenies: urbi pater eſt, urbique maritus:
Juſtitiæ cultor, rigidi ſervator honeſti;
In commune bonus: nulloſque Catonis in actus
Subrepſit, partemque tulit ſibi nata voluptas [b].*

PERSIUS,

[a] So ſhall one hour, at laſt, this globe controul,
Break up the vaſt machine, diſſolve the whole:
Then Chaos hoar ſhall ſeize his former right,
And reign with anarchy and endleſs night:
The ſtarry lamps ſhall combat in the ſky,
And loſt and blended in each other, die:
Quench'd in the deep, the heav'nly fires ſhall fall,
And ocean caſt abroad o'erſpread the ball:
The moon no more her well known courſe ſhall run,
But riſe from weſtern waves and meet the ſun:
Ungoverned ſhall ſhe quit her antient way,
Herſelf ambitious to ſupply the day:
Confuſion wild ſhall all around be hurl'd,
And diſcord and diſorder tear the world. ROWE.

[b] L. ii. v. 380, &c.

* Theſe were the ſtricter manners of the man,
And this the ſtubborn courſe in which they ran:
The golden mean unchanging to purſue,
Conſtant to keep the purpoſed end in view;
Religiouſly

PERSIUS, who was alſo inſtructed by Cornutus, was a zealous advocate for the Stoical doctrine of morals. Of his his third ſatire affords a ſtriking example; where, in the perſon of a Stoic philoſopher, he reproves the Roman youth for idleneſs and effeminacy, and recommends to them the ſtudy of philoſophy as the beſt guide to virtue and happineſs.

Diſcite, o miſeri, et cauſas cognoſcite rerum
Quid ſumus, et quidnam victuri gignimur, ordo
Quis datus, aut metæ quam mollis flexus, et unde,
Quis modus argento, quid fas optare, quid aſper
Utile nummus habet, patriæ cariſque propinquis
Quantum elargire deceat; quem te Deus eſſe
Juſſit, et humana qua parte locatus es in re[a].*

The

Religiouſly to follow nature's laws,
And die with pleaſure in his country's cauſe,
To think he was not for himſelf deſign'd,
But born to be of uſe to all mankind.
To him 'twas feaſting, hunger to repreſs,
And home-ſpun garments were his coſtly dreſs:
No marble pillars rear'd his roof on high,
'Twas warm, and kept him from the winter ſky:
He ſought no end of marriage but increaſe,
Nor wiſh'd a pleaſure, but his country's peace:
That occupied the tendereſt cares of life,
His country was his children and his wife.
From juſtice' righteous lore he never ſwerv'd,
But rigidly his honeſty preſerv'd.
On univerſal good his thoughts were bent,
Nor knew what gain, or ſelf-affection meant;
And while his benefits the public ſhare,
Cato was always laſt in Cato's care. ROWE.

[a] Sat. iii. v. 66, &c.

* Attend then, wretched youth, in time attend,
To ev'ry natural cauſe, and moral end.

Look

The tragic Poet SENECA every where diſcovers what ſect of philoſophers he eſpouſed: in his dramatic writings, Stoic philoſophy treads the ſtage in buſkins.

What has been ſaid concerning the philoſophical character of the Roman poets, may alſo be aſſerted of the hiſtorians. The writings of LIVY, SALLUST, TACITUS, and others, are not without proofs, that they had profited by the ſtudy of philoſophy [a]. STRABO, in his excellent geographical work, caſts much light upon the ſubject of philoſophy, and diſcovers himſelf to have been well read in the hiſtory and tenets of the Grecian ſects. He claſſes himſelf among the Stoics, and follows their dogmas [b].

We might add to the liſt of thoſe Romans, who ſtudied philoſophy, and were patrons of philoſophers, the names of many perſons of rank; ſuch as MÆCENAS, whoſe liberal attention to learned men of all deſcriptions has immortalized his name;—CANIUS JULUS [c], who met the death inflicted upon him by Caligula with Stoic firmneſs, expreſſing his ſatisfaction that he was ſo ſoon to make the experiment which would determine whether the ſoul is immortal;—THRASÆAS PÆTUS, a Roman ſenator, who in his life emulated the virtues of Cato, and in whoſe death Nero, ſays Tacitus, hoped to cut

> Look into man with philoſophic eye;
> Conſider what we are, conſider why:
> The race of life contemplate; how to ſtart,
> And how to turn the goal with niceſt art.
> Learn, to what limits wealth ſhould be confin'd,
> Learn to what uſes 'twas by heav'n aſſign'd.
> Reflect, what pray'rs with reaſon we may frame;
> What debts our friends, our parents, country, claim.
> Know, we are poſted here by power divine;
> And think, what poſt that power has deſtin'd thine.
>
> BREWSTER.

[a] Senec. Ep. 100. Lipſ. Manud. ad Phil. Stoic. l. i. diſs. 17.
[b] Vid. Geogr. l. i. ii. xiv. xvi. [c] Sen. de Tranq. c. 14.

off

off virtue herſelf[a];—together with many others, not inferior in merit, who flouriſhed at this period. But we muſt haſten to conſider more diſtinctly the ſtate of the ſeveral ſects of philoſophers under the Emperors.*

[a] Tac. An. l. xv. c. 20. l. xvi. c. 21. Plin. l. viii. ep. 22.

* Vidend. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 815. Bib. Lat. l. i. c. 4. t. ii. p. 381. 364. Gaudentius. c. 124. Cudworth. c. v. § 4. § 29. c. iv. § 14. 20. Stoll. Hiſt. Mor. Gent. § 195, 208.

## SECT. 2.

### OF THE PHILOSOPHERS WHO REVIVED THE PYTHAGORIC SECT.

AFTER the ſociety of the Pythagoreans in *Magna Græcia* was broken up, the ſect was never revived as a diſtinct body, ſubject to the inſtitutions of its founder. Even at Athens, where ſo many regular ſchools of philoſophy flouriſhed, this was never attempted. We are not therefore to expect, that, in the time of the Roman Emperors, when, as Seneca complains[a], "no one attended to philoſophy, or any liberal ſtudy, except to fill up the tedious intervals of public amuſements, or to occupy the heavy hours of a rainy day," the Pythagoric ſect ſhould appear with all the formalities of an eſtabliſhed ſchool. But we ſhall find, during this period, philoſophers who embraced the doctrines of Pythagoras as far as they were then known, or who attempted to introduce a mode of living, in ſome degree ſimilar to that of the antient Pythagoreans. There

[a] Qu. Nat. l. vii. c. 32.

were

were alſo many who boaſted, that they poſſeſſed the true Pythagorean wiſdom, but who in fact perverted and corrupted it, by blending with it the doctrines of Plato and other philoſophers. Theſe latter, who are diſtinguiſhed by the name of Eclectics, will be treated of in a diſtinct ſection. Of the former, the philoſophers, whoſe celebrity entitles them to particular notice, are Anaxilaus, Sextus Sotion, Moderatus, Apollonius Tyanæus, Secundus, and Nicomachus

ANAXILAUS of Lariſſa, who lived in the time of Auguſtus, profeſſed himſelf a follower of Pythagoras[a], but chiefly that he might obtain the greater credit to the pretenſions which he made to an intimate acquaintance with the myſteries of nature. Pliny[b] relates ſeveral curious arts, by which he raiſed the wonder and terror of the ignorant multitude, among which was that of giving a livid and ghaſtly hue to the countenance by means of ſulphureous flame. It is probable, that he practiſed his deceptions under the notion of ſupernatural operations; for he was baniſhed from Italy, by the order of Auguſtus, for the crime of magic[c].

QUINTUS SEXTIUS, as long as the republic exiſted was a zealous ſupporter of the liberties of Rome; but when he ſaw the tyranny and cruelty of the triumvirate, he deſpaired of being longer able to ſerve his country, and determined to devote the remainder of his days to philoſophy. Naturally of a gloomy temper, which was increaſed by the calamities of the times, Sextius made an attempt to ſubject his countrymen to a rigorous kind of diſcipline, hitherto unknown among them. The particulars of this attempt, which proved abortive, are not preſerved: but it is more probable, that he endeavoured to revive the rigours of the Pythagoric ſchool, than that, contrary to the univerſal practice of the Romans, he undertook, as Seneca has been underſtood to aſſert, the inſtitution of a ſect entirely new[d]. On account of the noble ſpirit of intrepid

[a] Euſeb. Chron. [b] N. Hiſt. l. xix. c. 1. l. xxviii. c. 11. l. xxxv. c. 15. Iræn. l. i. c. 7. Epiphan. Hær. 34. [c] Euſeb. l. c.
[d] Sen. Ep. 98. 59. Plin. l. xviii. c. 28. Sen. Qu. Nat. l. vii. c. 32. Plutarch de Sent. Virt. Prof. t. i. p. 186.

virtue

virtue which his writings expreſſed, Seneca ranked him among the Stoics: but this ſeems rather deſigned as a rhetorical encomium upon his character, than as an accurate relation of his philoſophical principles. From the circumſtance of his making choice of Sotion, a Pythagorean, for his preceptor; from his abſtaining from animal food, and following the Pythagorean rule of reviewing his actions at the cloſe of every day; but eſpecially from the nature of the inſtitution which he planned, it appears highly probable, that Sextius was a follower of Pythagoras [a]. But whatever may be thought of his ſect, the manner in which Seneca ſpeaks of his writings leaves little room to doubt, that he was an excellent practical moraliſt. "You will find," ſays he [b], "in his writings, a degree of vigour and ſpirit ſeldom to be met with in any other philoſopher. Other moraliſts preſcribe, argue, cavil; but they inſpire the reader with no ardour, becauſe they themſelves poſſeſs none. But when you read Sextius, you ſay, he is alive, animated, bold, and even riſes above humanity. He ſends me away full of hardy confidence. Whatever be my diſpoſition when I take up his writings, I confeſs to you, I never lay them down without being ready to invite calamity, and to exclaim, Let fortune do her worſt, I am prepared: give me ſome great occaſion for the exerciſe of my patience, and the diſplay of my virtue. Sextius hath this excellence, that he ſhews you the value of a happy life, and forbids you to deſpair of attaining it. You ſee the prize placed on high, but not inacceſſible to him who ardently purſues it: virtue preſents herſelf in perſon before you, at once to excite your admiration, and inſpire you with hope." Writings, upon which ſuch an encomium could with any degree of propriety be paſſed, muſt have been a valuable treaſure. But we have to regret, that we cannot form a judgment of their merit; for it is very uncertain, whether the piece, publiſhed under the title of *Sententiæ*

[a] Euſeb. Chron. n. 2010. Lipſ. ad Sen. ep. 59. Scheffer de Phil. Ital. c. ult. Gale Præf. ad Sententias Sexti, apud Opuſc. myth.

[b] Sen. Ep. 6. Vid. ep. 73. 108. De Ira l. iii. c. 36.

*Sexti Pythagorei,* "Sentences of Sextus the Pythagorean," be the genuine work of this moralist[a].

Under the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius flourished SOTION ALEXANDRINUS[b], the preceptor of Seneca, who says of him, that he inspired him with a great respect for the institutions of Pythagoras, and especially for the custom of abstaining from animal food. Hence it seems not unreasonable to class Sotion among the Pythagoreans, although his moral doctrine, as represented by Seneca[c], is tinctured with Stoicism. This may be the more easily admitted, as Zeno himself had raised a great part of his system upon Pythagoric principles. Passages said to have been written by Sotion are preserved in Stobæus[d], and in Antoninus and Maximus[e]; but their authenticity is doubtful.

MODERATUS, who lived in the time of Nero, must also be ranked among the followers of Pythagoras[f]. He deserves mention, chiefly because he collected, from various antient records, the remains of the Pythagoric doctrine, and illustrated it in several distinct treatises, particularly in eleven books "On the tenets of the Pythagorean sect." His works were much read and admired by Origen, Jamblichus, Porphyry, and others of the Alexandrian school.

APOLLONIUS TYANÆUS was another follower of the Pythagoric doctrine and discipline. The principle circumstances of his life, as far as credit can be given to his fabulous biographer, Philostratus, are as follows[g].

Apollonius, of an antient and wealthy family in Tyana, a city of Cappadocia, was born about the commencement of the Christian æra. At fourteen years of age, his father took him to Tarsus, to be instructed by Euthydemus, a rhetorician; but he soon became dissa-

[a] Fabr. Bib. Lat. t. i. p. 732. Galei Opuscula, p. 645. ed Amst. Sextii Enchir. a Sibero. Lipsi. 1725. 4to. [b] Euseb. Chron. [c] Ep. 108. Lipsi. in Ep. 49. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 412. [d] Serm. 98. [e] Serm. 99.
[f] Plut. Symp. l. viii. qu. 7. Porph. Vit. Pyth. n. 48.
[g] Vid. Philostrat. Vit. Apoll. passim. Prideaux's Life of Apollonius.

tisfied

tisfied with the luxury and indolence of the citizens, and obtained permiſſion from his father to remove, with his preceptor, to Ægas, a neighbouring town, where was a temple of Eſculapius. Here he converſed with Platoniſts, Stoics, Peripatetics, and Epicureans, and became acquainted with their doctrines. But, finding the Pythagorean tenets and diſcipline more conſonant to his own views and temper, than thoſe of any other ſect, he made choice of Euxenus for his preceptor in philoſophy; a man who indeed lodged his maſter's precepts in his memory, but paid little regard to them in practice. Apollonius, however, was not to be diverted from the ſtrictneſs of the Pythagorean diſcipline even by the example of his preceptor. He refrained from animal food, and lived entirely upon fruits and herbs. He wore no article of clothing made of the ſkins of animals. He went bare-footed, and ſuffered his hair to grow to its full length. He ſpent his time chiefly in the temple of Eſculapius among the prieſts, by whom he was greatly admired.

After having acquired reputation at Ægas, Apollonius determined to qualify himſelf for the office of a preceptor in philoſophy by paſſing through the Pythagorean diſcipline of ſilence. Accordingly, he remained five years without once exerciſing the faculty of ſpeech. During this time he chiefly reſided in Pamphylia and Cicilia. When his term of ſilence was expired, he viſited Antioch, Epheſus, and other cities, declining the ſociety of the rude and illiterate, and converſing chiefly with the prieſts. At ſun-riſing, he performed certain religious rites, which he diſcloſed only to thoſe who had paſſed through the diſcipline of ſilence. He ſpent the morning in inſtructing his diſciples, whom he encouraged to aſk whatever queſtions they pleaſed. At noon he held a public aſſembly for popular diſcourſe. His ſtyle was neither turgid nor abſtruſe, but truly Attic. Avoiding all prolixity, and every ironical mode of ſpeech, he iſſued forth his dogmas with oracular authority, ſaying, on every occaſion, This I know, or, Such is my judgment; herein imitating the manner of Pythagoras. Being aſked, why, inſtead of dogmatically aſſerting his tenets, he did not ſtill continue to inquire; his anſwer was: "I have ſought for truth when I was young; it becomes me

now no longer to ſeek, but to teach what I have found." Apollonius, that he might ſtill more perfectly reſemble Pythagoras, determined to travel through diſtant nations. He propoſed his deſign to his diſciples, who were ſeven in number, but they refuſed to accompany him. He therefore entered upon his expedition, attended only by two ſervants. At Ninus, he took, as his aſſociate, Damis, an inhabitant of that city, to whom he boaſted, that he was ſkilled in all languages, though he had never learned them, and that he even underſtood the language of beaſts and birds. The ignorant Aſſyrian worſhipped him as a god; and, reſigning himſelf implicitly to his direction, accompanied him wherever he went.

At Babylon, Apollonius converſed with the Magi, receiving from them much inſtruction, and communicating to them many things in return; but to theſe conferences Damis was not admitted. In his viſit to India, he was admitted to an interview with the king, Phraotes, and was introduced by him to Iarchus, the eldeſt of the Indian gymnoſophiſts. Returning to Babylon, he paſſed from that city into Ionia, where he viſited Epheſus, and ſeveral other places, teaching the doctrine, and recommending the diſcipline, of Pythagoras. On his way to Greece, he converſed with the prieſts of Orpheus at his temple in Leſbos. Arriving at Athens at the time when the ſacred myſteries were performing, Apollonius offered himſelf for initiation; but the prieſt refuſed him, ſaying, that it was not lawful to initiate an enchanter. He diſcourſed with the Athenians concerning ſacrifices, and exhorted them to adopt a more frugal manner of living.

After paſſing through ſome other Grecian cities, and the iſland of Crete, Apollonius went into Italy, with the deſign of viſiting Rome. Juſt before this time, Nero, probably either becauſe he had been deceived by the pretenſions of the magicians, or was apprehenſive of ſome danger from their arts, gave orders, that all thoſe who practiſed magic ſhould be baniſhed from the city[a]. The friends of Apollonius apprized him of the hazard which was likely, at this junc-

[a] The credit of this fact reſts wholly upon the authority of Philoſtratus.

ture,

ture, to attend his purpoſed viſit to Rome; and the alarm was ſo great, that, out of thirty-four perſons who were his ſtated companions, only eight choſe to accompany him thither. He nevertheleſs perſevered in his reſolution, and under the protection of the ſacred habit, obtained admiſſion into the city. The next day he was conducted to the Conſul Teleſinus, who was inclined to favour philoſophers of every claſs, and obtained from him permiſſion to viſit the temples, and converſe with the prieſts.

From Rome Apollonius travelled weſtward, to Spain. Here he made an unſucceſsful attempt to incite the procurator of the province of Bœtica to a conſpiracy againſt Nero. After the death of that tyrant, he returned to Italy, on his way to Greece; whence he proceeded to Egypt, where Veſpaſian was making uſe of every expedient to eſtabliſh his power. That prince eaſily perceived that nothing would give him greater credit with the Egyptian populace, than to have his cauſe eſpouſed by one who was eſteemed a favoured miniſter of the gods; and therefore did not fail to ſhew him every kind of attention and reſpect. The philoſopher, in return, adapted his meaſures to the views of the new emperor, and uſed all his influence among the people in ſupport of Veſpaſian's authority[a].

Upon the acceſſion of Domitian, Apollonius was no ſooner informed of the tyrannical proceedings of that emperor, and particularly of his proſcription of philoſophers[b], than he aſſiſted in raiſing a ſedition againſt him, and in favour of Nerva, among the Egyptians; ſo that Domitian thought it neceſſary to iſſue an order, that he ſhould be ſeized, and brought to Rome. Apollonius, being informed of the order, ſet out immediately, of his own accord, for that city. Upon his arrival he was brought to trial; but his judge, the prætor Ælian, who had formerly known him in Egypt, was deſirous to favour him, and ſo conducted the proceſs, that it terminated in his acquittal.

[a] Conf. Tacit. Hiſt. l. ii. c. 82. [b] Sueton. in Domit. c. 10. A. Gell. l. xv. c. 11. Euſeb. Chron. n. 2104. Plin. Paneg. c. 47.

Apollonius

Apollonius now paſſed over into Greece, and viſited the temple of Jupiter at Olympia, the cave of Trophonius in Arcadia, and other celebrated ſeats of religion. Wherever he went, he gained new followers. At length he ſettled at Epheſus, and there formed a ſchool in ſome degree ſimilar to the ancient Pythagorean college; but with this material difference, that in the ſchool of Apollonius the door of wiſdom was open to all, and every one was permitted to ſpeak and inquire freely.

Concerning the fate of Apollonius, after he ſettled at Epheſus, nothing certain is related. The time, the place, and the manner of his death are unknown. It is probable, that he lived to an extreme old age, and died in the reign of Nerva. Damis, who attached himſelf to this philoſopher at Babylon, accompanied him in his ſubſequent travels, and after his death became his memorialiſt. Philoſtratus has loaded his account of the life of this extraordinary man with ſo many marvellous tales, that it is exceedingly difficult to determine what degree of credit is due to his narrative. He relates, for example, that while the mother of Apollonius was pregnant, the Egyptian divinity, Proteus, appeared to her, and told her, that the child ſhe ſhould bring forth was a god; that his birth was attended with a celeſtial light; that, in the Eſculapean temple at Ægas, he predicted future events; that, at the tomb of Achilles, he had a conference with the ghoſt of that hero; and that, whilſt he was publicly diſcourſing at Epheſus, he ſuddenly pauſed, as if ſtruck with a panic, and then cried out, Slay the tyrant, at the very inſtant when Domitian was cut off at Rome[a]. If to theſe tales we add the accounts which Philoſtratus gives, of the efficacy of the mere preſence of Apollonius, without the utterance of a ſingle word, in quelling popular tumults; of the chains of Prometheus, which Apollonius ſaw upon Mount Caucaſus; of ſpeaking trees, of pigmies, phenixes, ſatyrs, and dragons, which he met with in his eaſtern tour; and of other things equally wonderful; it will be impoſſible to heſitate

[a] Conf. Suet. Domit. c. 23. Dio, 67.

in

in aſcribing the marvellous parts, at leaſt, of Philoſtratus's narrative to his ingenuity, or his credulity.

Different opinions have been entertained concerning the character of Apollonius. Some have ſuppoſed, the whole ſeries of extraordinary events related concerning him to have been the mere invention of Philoſtratus and others, for the purpoſe of obſtructing the progreſs of chriſtianity, and providing a temporary prop for the falling edifice of paganiſm. Others, remarking that Apollonius had acquired a high degree of celebrity long before the time of his biographer, refer the origin of theſe tales to the philoſopher himſelf; but with reſpect to the manner in which this is to be done they are not agreed. Some apprehend, that he was intimately acquainted with nature, and deeply ſkilled in medicinal arts; and that he applied his knowledge and ſkill to the purpoſes of impoſture, that he might paſs among a credulous multitude for ſomething more than human: while others imagine, that he accompliſhed his fraudulent deſigns by means of a real intercourſe with evil ſpirits. The truth probably is, that Apollonius was one of thoſe impoſtors, who profeſſed to practiſe magical arts, and perform other wonders, for the ſake of acquiring fame, influence, and profit, among the vulgar. In this light, even according to his own biographer, he was regarded by his contemporaries, particularly by the prieſts of the Eleuſinian and Trophonian myſteries, and by Euphrates, an Alexandrian philoſopher. Lucian[a], who lived in the time of Trajan, and Apuleius[b], who flouriſhed under Antoninus Pius, rank him among the moſt celebrated magicians. Origen, who had ſeen a life of Apollonius, now loſt, which was written by Maragenes, prior to that of Philoſtratus, writes thus[c]: "Concerning magic, we ſhall only ſay, that whoever is deſirous of knowing whether philoſophers are to be impoſed upon by this art, let him read the memoirs of Apollonius, written by Maragenes, who, though a philoſopher, and not a Chriſtian, ſays, that philoſophers of no mean repute were deceived by the magical

[a] Pſeudomant. t. ii. p. 529. [b] Apolog. p. 248.
[c] Contra Celſum, l. vi. p. 311. ed Hoeſch.

arts of Apollonius, and viſited him as a perſon capable of predicting future events." Euſebius, in his anſwer to Hierocles[a], who wrote a treatiſe, in which he drew a compariſon between Jeſus Chriſt and Apollonius Tyanæus, ſpeaks of the latter as a man who was eminently ſkilled in every kind of human wiſdom, but who affected powers beyond the reach of philoſophy, and aſſumed the Pythagorean manner of living as a maſk for his impoſtures. The narrative of his life, by Philoſtratus, though, doubtleſs, abounding with fictions, ſerves at leaſt to confirm this opinion[b].

How ſucceſsfully Apollonius practiſed the arts of impoſture, ſufficiently appears from the events which followed. That dominion over the minds of men, which he found means to eſtabliſh during his life, remained and increaſed after his death, ſo that he long continued to be ranked among the divinities. The inhabitants of Tyana, proud of the honour of calling him their fellow citizen, dedicated a temple to his name; and the ſame privileges were granted to them, as had uſually been conferred upon thoſe cities, where temples were raiſed, and ſacred rites performed, in honour of the emperors. Aurelian, out of reſpect to his memory, ſhewed the Tyaneans peculiar favour[c]. Adrian took great pains to collect his writings, and preſerve them in his library[d]: Caracalla dedicated a temple to him, as to a divinity among men[e]: and Alexander Severus, in his domeſtic temple, kept the image of Apollonius, with thoſe of Abraham, Orpheus, and Chriſt, and paid them divine honours. The common people, in the mean time, ranked Apollonius in the number of deified men, and made uſe of his name in incantations: and even among the philoſophers of the Eclectic ſect he was regarded as a being of a ſuperior order, who partook of a middle nature between gods and men[f].

Of the writings aſcribed to Apollonius, none remain, except his "Apology to Domitian," and his "Epiſtles." The former is,

[a] C. 4. 5. p. 432. ed Olear. Conf. Plin. Hiſt. N. l. xxx. de Magia.
[b] Conf. Olearum in Philoſt. ed. Lipſ. 1709. fol. [c] Vopiſcus in Aureliano. c. 24.
[d] Phil. l. viii. c. 20. [e] Dio. l. lxxvii. p. 878. Lamprid. in Al. Sev. c. 29.
[f] Euſeb. Prep. l. iv. c. 13. p. 150. Moſheim. Diſſ. de Apoll. ap. Obſervat. Hiſt. Crit.

perhaps,

perhaps in ſubſtance genuine, but is ſtrongly marked with the ſophiſtic manner of Philoſtratus. The latter abound with philoſophical ideas and ſentiments, and are written in a laconic ſtyle, which is a preſumption in favour of their authenticity [a].

The doctrine of theſe epiſtles is for the moſt part Pythagoric. Apollonius appears, however, not to have adhered to the genuine ſyſtem of Pythagoras concerning the nature and origin of things, according to which God and matter are primary, independent principles; but to have adopted the notion of the Heraclitean ſchool, that the primary eſſence of all things is one, endued with certain properties by which it aſſumes various forms: and that all the varieties of nature are modifications of this univerſal eſſence, which is the firſt cauſe of all things, or God. Hence Apollonius taught, that all things ariſe in nature according to one neceſſary and immutable law, and that a wiſe man, being acquainted with the order of nature, can predict future events [b]. In this manner it was that Apollonius connected ſuperſtition with impiety, and made both ſubſervient to impoſture.

Concerning other philoſophers of this period, who followed the Pythagorean doctrine, little remains to be related. The only names which require diſtinct notice are Secundus the Athenian, and Nicomachus. SECUNDUS [c] (whom Suidas, with his uſual negligence, confounds with Plinius Secundus) is ſaid in one reſpect to have carried the Pythagorean diſcipline further than it was ever carried by any other philoſopher; preſerving, from the time when he commenced Pythagorean, to the end of his life, perpetual ſilence. He is chiefly celebrated on account of his *Sententiæ* [d], or Anſwers to queſtions propoſed to him by the Emperor Adrian, the authenticity of which, however, there is ſome reaſon to queſtion. They are pub-

[a] Fabric. Bibl. Gr. v. iv. p. 61.

[b] Epiſt. Apoll. Stob. Serm. 39. 82. 90. 98. 117. 120. 133. 224. 278.

[c] Suid. in Sec. [d] Ed. Rom. 1638. Lugd. Bat. 1639. 12°. Fabr. B. Gr. v. xiii. p. 565.

liſhed in Gale's *Opuſcula Mythologica*. NICOMACHUS[a], a native of Geraſa, in Cœlo Syria, was the author of two mathematical works, *Introductio in Arithmeticam*, "An Introduction to Arithmetic," and *Enchiridion Harmonicum*, "A Manual of Harmony," in which the principles of thoſe ſciences are explained upon Pythagoric principles. The exact time in which theſe philoſophers flouriſhed is uncertain; but there is no doubt that it was between the reigns of Auguſtus and Antoninus.

[a] Euſeb. Hiſt. Ec. l. vi. c. 19. Phot. Cod. 187. Fab. l. c. Suid.

[*] Vidend. Scheffer de Phil. Ital. c. ult. Gale Præf. ad Sent. Sexti. Gaudentius de Phil. Rom. c. 66. 73. Siberus in Sext. Lipſ. 1725. Voſs. de Sectis, c. 21. § 8. Jonſ. Scrip. Hiſt. l. iii. c. i. 5. Suidas. Bayle. Cudworth. c. iv. §. 14, 15. Pearſon. Proleg. in Hierocl. Moſheim. Diſs. de Exiſtimatione Apoll. Prideaux's Life of Apollonius. Tillamont. Vit. Apol. Arpe de Taliſman, p. 25. Naude Apologie, p. 238. Huet. Dem. Ev. p. ix. c. 147. §. 4. Nichols's Conf. with Deiſt. p. iii. p. 203. Voſs. de Math. p. 37. 94.

## SECT. 3.

### OF THE STATE OF THE PLATONIC PHILOSOPHY UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

THE Academic ſect, which, towards the cloſe of the Roman Republic, had ſo many illuſtrious patrons, under the emperors fell into general neglect; partly through the contempt with which it was treated by the dogmatiſts, and partly through the reviving credit of the Sceptic ſect, in which the peculiar tenets of the Middle Academy were embraced. At the ſame time, however, the true doctrine of Plato, which had formerly obtained ſuch high eſteem among

among philoſophers, and which had lately been reſtored at Athens by Antiochus, reſumed its honours. Among the GENUINE FOLLOWERS OF PLATO, we find, at this period, ſeveral illuſtrious names.

Under the emperors Auguſtus and Tiberius, flouriſhed THRASYLLUS[a], a Mendaſian. Though, according to Porphyry, he was an eminent Platoniſt, he ſo far conformed to the practice of the Pythagoreans, as to become an adept in the art of aſtrology. He long impoſed upon the credulity of Tiberius, and enjoyed his confidence, but at laſt fell a ſacrifice to his jealouſy[b].

Not long after the time of Thraſyllus lived THEON of Smyrna. Ptolemy the aſtronomer, who flouriſhed under Antoninus Pius, refers to his aſtronomical obſervations. His mathematical treatiſes, which were written on purpoſe to elucidate the writings of Plato, ſufficiently prove, that he is to be claſſed in the Platonic ſchool. At the ſame time, his diſcourſes, which treat of geometry, arithmetic, muſic, aſtronomy, and the harmony of the univerſe, may ſerve to caſt ſome light upon the Pythagorean ſyſtem[c].

ALCINOUS, whoſe age is uncertain, but is commonly placed about the beginning of the ſecond century, wrote an Introduction to Plato, containing a ſummary of his doctrine, which ſhows him to have been well read in his philoſophy. It is tranſlated into Latin by Ficinus; and an Engliſh verſion of the work is given in "Stanley's Lives of the Philoſophers[d]."

FAVORINUS, a native of Arles, lived in the reigns of Trajan and Adrian. The latter eſteemed him highly for his learning and eloquence, and frequently diſputed with him, after his uſual manner, upon ſubjects of literature and philoſophy. To many other learned men, who were inclined to do juſtice to their own talents, this unequal conteſt proved injurious, and to ſome even fatal: but Favorinus, who perceived that it was the emperor's foible not to endure a

[a] Schol. Juv. Sat. vi. v. 576. Porphyr. Vit. Plot. c. x. n. 9.
[b] Suet. in Tib. Tac. Annal. l. vi. c. 20. [c] Suidas. Ptol. Math. Synt. l. ix. c. 9. l. x. c. 1. Theon. ed. Par. 1644. [d] Fabric. Bibl. v. iv. p. 40. Conf. v. ii. p. 42. Alcin. ed. Par. 1573. Oxon. 1667. [e] Fabric. Bibl. v. iv. p. 40. Conf. v. ii. p. 42. Alcin. Ed. Par. 1573. Oxon. 1667.

defeat in diſputation, upon every occaſion of this nature prudently ceded to the purple the triumph of conqueſt. One of his friends, reproaching him for having ſo tamely given up the point in a debate with the emperor, concerning the authority of a certain word, (for the emperor was a great philologiſt) Favorinus replied, "Would you have me conteſt a point with the maſter of fifty legions?" Favorinus was inſtructed in the precepts of philoſophy by that illuſtrious ornament of the Stoical ſchool, Epictetus; but his writings, and manner of living, proved him unworthy of ſo excellent a maſter. None of his works are extant [a].

Under the reign of Antoninus Pius flouriſhed CALVISIUS TAURUS [b], of Beryta, who is mentioned as a Platoniſt of ſome note. Among his pupils was Aulus Gellius, a man of various learning, who has preſerved ſeveral ſpecimens of his preceptor's method of philoſophiſing. He examined all ſects, but preferred the Platonic: in which he had at leaſt the merit of avoiding the infection of that ſpirit of confuſion, which at this period ſeized almoſt the whole body of the philoſophers, eſpecially thoſe of the Platonic ſchool. In a work, which he wrote concerning the differences in opinion among the Platoniſts, Ariſtotelians, and Stoics, he ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the attempts of the Alexandrian philoſophers, and others, to combine the tenets of theſe ſects into one ſyſtem. He wrote ſeveral pieces, chiefly to illuſtrate the Platonic philoſophy. He lived at Athens, and taught, not in the ſchools, but at his table. A. Gellius, who was frequently one of his gueſts, and whoſe *Noctes Atticæ* "Attic Evenings" are, doubtleſs, much indebted to theſe philoſophical entertainments, gives the following account of the manner in which they were conducted [c]: "Taurus, the philoſopher, commonly invited a ſelect number of his friends to a frugal ſupper, conſiſting of lentils, and a gourd, cut into ſmall pieces upon an earthen diſh; and during

[a] Spartian. in Hadrian. c. 15. Dio. l. 69. Philoſtr. Vit. Soph. l. i. c. 8. § 1. Suidas. Aul. Gell. l. xi. c. 5. [b] Suidas. Euſeb. Chron. 148. Syncellus, p. 351. [c] Noct. Att. l. vi. c. 13. Conf. l. i. c. 26. l. ii. c. 2. l. vi. c. 13. l. xii. c. 5. l. xvii. c. 8. l. xviii. c. 2.

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the repaſt, philoſophical converſation, upon various topics, was introduced. His conſtant diſciples, whom he called his Family, were expected to contribute their ſhare towards the ſmall expence which attended theſe ſimple repaſts, in which intereſting converſation ſupplied the place of luxurious proviſion. Every one came furniſhed with ſome new ſubject of enquiry, which he was allowed in his turn to propoſe, and which, during a limited time, was debated. The ſubjects of diſcuſſion, in theſe converſations, were not of the more ſerious and important kind, but ſuch elegant queſtions as might afford an agreeable exerciſe of the faculties in the moments of convivial enjoyment; and theſe Taurus afterwards frequently illuſtrated more at large with ſound erudition."

The ſame period produced LUCIUS APULLIUS [a], of Medaura, a city in Africa, on the borders of Numidia and Getulia, ſubject to Rome. From ſome particulars which occur in his writings, it is probable that he lived under the Antonines. With conſiderable ability he united indefatigable induſtry, whence he became acquainted with almoſt the whole circle of ſciences and literature. His own account of himſelf is, that he not only taſted of the cup of literature under grammarians and rhetoricians at Carthage, but at Athens drank freely of the ſacred fountain of poeſy, the clear ſtream of geometry, the ſweet waters of muſic, the rough current of dialectics, and the nectarious but unfathomable deep of philoſophy; and, in ſhort, that, with more good will indeed than genius, he paid equal homage to every muſe [b]. Upon his removal to Rome, he ſtudied the Latin tongue with ſo much ſucceſs, that he became an eminent pleader in the Roman courts. He expended a large patrimony in his travels, which he undertook chiefly for the ſake of gaining information concerning the religious rites and cuſtoms of different countries [c]. In order to repair his fortune, he married a rich widow of Oea in Africa [d]. A rumour was upon this circulated, that he had employed magical incan-

[a] Apul. Apol. p. 203. ed Pet. Scriv. [b] Apul. Flor. c. 18. p. 366. Apol. p. 190, 370. Metamorph. l. i. c. 5. [c] Apol. p. 203. Met. l. iii. p. 47. l. xi. p. 177, 183. [d] Apol. Met. l. ii. p. 18.

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tations to obtain her love. It was to refute this report, that he wrote his Apology; a work replete with learning. Although it may be eaſily believed that this was a falſe accuſation, Apuleius was commonly ranked among the profeſſors of magic, and was, probably, no mean proficient in thoſe arts of impoſture, which he had learned from prieſts of different countries. This opinion is confirmed by his Mileſian fable, or the Metamorphoſis of Lucius into an Aſs, commonly known under the title of "The Golden Aſs." Apuleius chiefly owes his celebrity to this fanciful work, in which the ſtory of Cupid and Pſyche is a curious philoſophical romance. In philoſophy, his principal piece is, *De Dogmate Platonis*, "A ſummary View of the Doctrine of Plato;" which may be read with great advantage, together with the Introductions to the Platonic ſyſtem, written by Alcinous and Albinus. Apuleius alſo wrote an interpretation of Ariſtotle's treatiſe *De Mundo*; "An Apology for Socrates;" and a work entitled *Florida*, which, though rather rhetorical than philoſophical, ſerves in many particulars to illuſtrate the hiſtory of philoſophy [a].

Another Platoniſt, who flouriſhed under M. Aurelius Antoninus, was Atticus; chiefly memorable for the laudable pains he took to aſcertain the exact points of difference between the doctrines of Plato and Ariſtotle. Several fragments of his works are preſerved by Euſebius, in which he argues againſt Ariſtotle concerning the ultimate end of man, providence, the origin of things, the immortality of the ſoul, and other topics. Plotinus, in the Eclectic ſchool, held the writings of Atticus in high eſtimation, and recommended them as exceedingly uſeful in obtaining an accurate knowledge of the Platonic ſyſtem. Atticus pronounced it impoſſible for thoſe who had imbibed the Peripatetic notions, to elevate their minds to a capacity of underſtanding and reliſhing the ſublime conceptions of Plato [b].

[a] Apol. p. 204, 205, 216. Florid. p. 362. Fabric. Bibl. Lat. t. i. p. 516, 518.

[b] Syncell. p. 353. Euſeb. Chron. ſub. Aurel. A. 179. Prep. l. xv. c. 4, &c. Fab. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 54.

Numenius

NUMENIUS, of Apamea in Syria, was a writer of the ſame claſs with Atticus. Euſebius ranks him among the Platoniſts; and Origen and Plotinus mention him with reſpect: but none of his works are extant, except ſome fragments preſerved by Euſebius[a].

MAXIMUS TYRIUS, though chiefly diſtinguiſhed by his eloquence, has obtained ſome degree of celebrity as a philoſopher. According to Suidas he lived under Commodus; according to Euſebius and Syncellus, under Antoninus Pius. The accounts of theſe chronologers may be reconciled, by ſuppoſing that Maximus flouriſhed under Antoninus, and reached the time of Commodus. Although he was frequently at Rome, he probably ſpent the greater part of his time in Greece. Several writers ſuppoſe him to have been the preceptor, of whom the emperor Marcus Antoninus ſpeaks under the name of Maximus; but it is more probable, that this was ſome other philoſopher of the Stoical ſect. That Maximus Tyrius poſſeſſed the moſt captivating powers of eloquence, ſufficiently appears from his elegant Diſſertations: they are, for the moſt part written upon Platonic principles, but ſometimes lean towards ſcepticiſm[b].

To theſe ornaments of the Platonic ſchool in Rome muſt be added two other celebrated writers, who, though they ſtudied philoſophy, are commonly ranked among the Platoniſts; Plutarch, and Galen.

That PLUTARCH[c] ought to be admitted among the philoſophers of his time, no one will doubt who is converſant with his writings. He was a native of Chæronea in Bœotia[d], but was far from partaking of the proverbial dulneſs of his country. The time of his birth is not exactly known; it is certain, however, that he flouriſhed

[a] Porph. Vit. Plot. c. 17. Euſeb. Prep. l. xi. c. 9. l. xiii. c. 5. l. xiv. c. 5. Orig. contr. Celſ. l. iv. p. 204. l. v. p. 276. Conf. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i. p. 342. Theodoret. Therap. l. ii. [b] Max. Tyr. Diſs. xi. Suidas. Euſeb. Chron. M. Ant. de Seipſo. l. i. § 15. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 33. Stollii Hiſt. Ph. Mor. § 254. p. 572. edit. Heinſ. Lugd. Bat. 1614, 8vo. Davis, Cantab. 1703.

[c] Suid. Vit. ap. Oper. ed. Rualdi Par. 1624. D. Celer. Par. 1617.

[d] De Curioſ. t. ii. p. 237.

from the time of Nero to that of Adrian [a]. His preceptor was Ammonius, a learned philoſopher, ſometimes confounded with Ammonius Sacca, the father of the Eclectic ſect, who lived a century later [b].

As ſoon as Plutarch had completed his juvenile ſtudies, he was engaged in civil affairs. He was firſt appointed, by a public decree, legate to the proconſul, and afterwards undertook the office of archon or prætor. The emperor Trajan, a friend to learned men, patroniſed him, and conferred upon him the conſular dignity. Under Adrian, he was appointed procurator of Greece [c].

Civil occupations did not, however, prevent Plutarch from devoting a great part of his time to literary and philoſophical ſtudies. He both taught philoſophy, and was a voluminous writer. A catalogue of his works, drawn up by his ſon Lamprius [d], is ſtill extant, from which it appears, that more of his pieces have been loſt, than have been preſerved. Thoſe of his writings which remain are a valuable treaſure of antient learning, ſerving to illuſtrate not only the Grecian and Roman affairs, but the hiſtory of philoſophy. They abound with proofs of indefatigable induſtry and profound erudition; and, notwithſtanding the harſhneſs of the writer's ſtyle, they will always be read with pleaſure, on account of the great variety of valuable and amuſing information which they contain. But it is in this view chiefly that Plutarch is to be admired. In extent and variety of learning, he had few equals; but he does not appear to have excelled as much in depth and ſolidity of judgment. Where he expreſſes his own conceptions and opinions, he often ſupports them by feeble and ſlender arguments; where he reports, and attempts to elucidate, the opinions of others, he frequently falls into miſtakes, or is chargeable with miſrepreſentation. In proof of this aſſertion, we may particularly mention what

[a] Photius. Cod. 145. p. 642. Plut. de Delph. Inſcr. t. i. p. 555. Apothegm. Traj. t. i. p. 322. Syncellus, p. 349. [b] Junius ad Eunap. Voſſ. de Sect. c. 21. § 6.
[c] Precept. de ger. Rep. t. ii. 457. Sympoſ. l. vi. 2. 8. t. iii. p. 239. Suidas.
[d] Vit. Demoſth. t. iii. p. 21. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. v. iii. p. 333. Plut. Op. Ed. Franc. 1620. Par. 1624.

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he had advanced concerning Plato's notion of the ſoul of the world, and concerning the Epicurean philoſophy. To this we muſt add, that Plutarch is often inaccurate in method; and ſometimes betrays a degree of credulity unworthy of a philoſopher. On moral topics he is moſt ſucceſsful. His didactic pieces not only abound with amuſing anecdotes, but are enriched with many juſt and uſeful obſervations.

Plutarch appears to have derived his philoſophical tenets from various ſources. Ariſtotle was his chief guide in ethics: his doctrine of the ſoul he borrowed from the Egyptians, or more probably the Pythagoreans: in metaphyſics, he principally followed Plato, and the Old Academy. We ſometimes find him aſſerting with the Dogmatiſts, and ſometimes doubting with the Pyrrhoniſts; but he always wages open war with the Epicureans and the Stoics. The truth ſeems to be, that Plutarch had not digeſted for himſelf any accurate ſyſtem of opinions, and was rather a memorialiſt and interpreter of philoſophers, than himſelf an eminent philoſopher. He died about the fourth or fifth year of the reign of Adrian; that is, about the year 119, or 120[a].

GALEN[b], whom, with Plutarch, we have ranked among the Platonic philoſophers, was born in the year one hundred and thirty-one, at Pergamus in Aſia. In his childhood he was well inſtructed by his father, and other preceptors, in uſeful and ornamental learning. He ſtudied philoſophy, firſt under Caius a Platoniſt, and afterwards under Albinus; whilſt, at the ſame time, he proſecuted the ſtudy of medicine under various maſters. After travelling to Corinth, Alexandria, and other places, for improvement in medical and philoſophical knowledge, he began to practiſe ſurgery about the twenty-eighth year of his age. The countenance, which was at this time given to learned men by Marcus Antoninus, induced Galen to take up his reſidence at Rome. Here he obtained great

[a] Num Seni ger. Rep. t. ii. p. 448.

[b] Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. v. c. ult. Suidas. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. iii. p. 529.

reputation in his profeſſion, and enjoyed the favour of the emperor, and the friendſhip of many illuſtrious Romans. He remained at Rome, excepting a few interruptions, till his death, which happened about the year two hundred. Galen wrote many books, not only upon medical but philoſophical ſubjects. Among the latter are a treatiſe, "On the beſt Doctrine," againſt Favorinus; "A Diſſertation on the Opinions of Hippocrates and Plato;" "A Commentary on the Timæus of Plato," and ſeveral pieces "On Dialectics." This writer has been frequently cenſured for impiety; but his Demonſtration of Divine Wiſdom, from the ſtructure of the human body, in his treatiſe *De Uſu Partium corporis humani*, "On the Uſes of the Parts of the Human Body," is a ſufficient refutation of this calumny [a]. *

[a] Vit. ap. Op. Bas. 1562. Vit. ap. Arker. de Affectuum Cognitione, Rudolſtadt. 1715. Cleric. Hiſt. Med. Labbei Elog. Chron. in Gal. Par. 1660.

* Vidend. Jonſ. de Scrip. H. Ph. l. iii. c. 3. 7. 9. 10. Voſs. de Hiſt. Gr. l. iv. c. 10. 16. Meurs. ad Nicom. p. 166. Schmid. Diſs. de Hipparchone, Theon. Sect. ii. p. 14. Voſs. de Sc. Math. c. 33. § 13. Gaudent. de Phil. Rom. c. 93. Petav. Rat. Temp. l. v. c. 9. Bayle. Blount. Cenſ. Auth. p. 143. 170. Warb. Div. Leg. Moſ. t ii. p. 117. Moſheim. Hiſt. Chr. ante Conſtant. Sec. iii. § 21.

SECT.

## SECT. 4.

### OF THE ECLECTIC SECT.

UPON the foundation of the Platonic philoſophy, with an abundance of heterogeneous materials collected from every other ſect, was erected an irregular, cumbrous, and uſeleſs edifice, called the ECLECTIC SCHOOL. The founders of this ſect formed the flattering deſign of ſelecting, from the doctrines of all former philoſophers, ſuch opinions as ſeemed to approach neareſt the truth, and combining them into one ſyſtem. But, in executing this plan, they did nothing better than pile up a ſhapeleſs and incoherent maſs, *rudis indigeſtaque moles*, not unlike that chaos, which they admitted as an eſſential article in their doctrine of nature. In ſome particulars, indeed, they attempted to adorn and enrich the ſyſtem with fancies of their own; but with what little ſucceſs, will ſufficiently appear in the ſequel.

The Eclectic ſect took its riſe at Alexandria in Egypt; a country, which, in more remote periods, had admitted foreign dogmas and ſuperſtitions, particularly after the invaſion of the Perſians. Egypt having in conſequence of the conqueſts of Alexander become a part of the Grecian empire, the Egyptian prieſts accommodated themſelves, not only to the laws and manners, but even to the ſpeculative tenets of their conquerors. That they might not appear inferior to the Greeks in learning, they affected to admire and adopt their philoſophy. The Pythagoric and Platonic ſyſtems, eſpecially, gained an eaſy admiſſion into the Egyptian ſchools, on account of the reſpect which they paid to religion, and the opportunities which they afforded of reconciling vulgar ſuperſtitions, and vernacular traditions, with ſyſtematic ſcience.

The confuſion of opinions, which aroſe from this cauſe, was doubtleſs increaſed by the promiſcuous concourſe of ſtrangers, who, at this period, flocked from all quarters to Alexandria, bringing with them, from their reſpective countries, their different tenets in philoſophy and religion. And the evil was aggravated by the return of a body of Alexandrian philoſophers, who, under the troubleſome and oppreſſive reign of Ptolemy Phyſcon, had been diſperſed through Aſia [a], and who had there learned a new ſpecies of oriental philoſophy, chiefly derived from the Perſian Zoroaſter, which they found it not difficult to incorporate with the doctrines of Plato and Pythagoras.

The preſent ſtate of the ſeveral Grecian ſects was, in no ſmall degree, favourable to the coaleſcing plan of the Eclectic philoſophy. The dogmatiſts had now ſo long engaged in undecided conteſts, as ſufficiently to betray their weakneſs to their common adverſaries, the Academics and Scepties. Scepticiſm, on the other ſide, was ſeen to contradict the common ſenſe and experience of mankind, and to threaten the world with univerſal uncertainty and confuſion. In theſe circumſtances, nothing could be more natural, than the deſign of ſeparating from each former ſyſtem its pureſt and beſt ſupported tenets, and forming them into a new inſtitute of philoſophy, in which truth might be ſeen under a fairer and more perfect form, than ſhe had hitherto been able to aſſume.

The Chriſtian religion, too, which had now found its way to Alexandria, became, incidentally, the occaſion of encouraging and promoting this coalition of opinions. For when the Heathen philoſophers perceived that this new eſtabliſhment, ſupported by the ſplendour of its miracles, and the purity of its doctrines, was daily gaining credit even in the ſchools of Alexandria; and ſaw that, like the riſing ſun, it was likely ſoon to eclipſe every inferior light; deſpairing of being able either to refute its claims by argument, or to ſtem its progreſs by authority, they determined to oppoſe it by every

[a] Athæn. l. iv. p. 184. Conf. Juſtin. l. xxxviii. c. 9.

effort

effort of ingenuity and artifice. In order to ſupport the declining credit of their own ſchools, they incorporated Chriſtian ideas and principles into their new ſyſtem. Several fathers of the Chriſtian church themſelves, ſuch as Pantænus, Clemens Alexandrinus, and the author of the work called the Shepherd of Hermas, by ſtudying philoſophy in the Alexandrian ſchool, injudiciouſly favoured the views of their opponents, and from their ſacred magazine contributed their ſhare towards that confuſed maſs of opinions, Egyptian, Oriental, Pythagoric, Platonic, and Chriſtian, which, about the cloſe of the ſecond century, roſe up into the ECLECTIC SYSTEM.

The Eclectic ſect is not commonly known among antient writers under any diſtinct name, for this obvious reaſon, that its moſt celebrated ſupporters choſe rather to paſs themſelves upon the world as Platoniſts, than to aſſume a new title; but, that the ſect really exiſted as ſuch, no one, who attends to the facts by which its riſe and progreſs are marked, can entertain a doubt [a].

The firſt projector of this plan appears to have been POTAMO, a Platoniſt. The practice of philoſophiſing eclectically was indeed known long before his time. It had been formerly adopted, as we have ſeen, by ſeveral of the leaders of the Greek ſects, particularly Plato, Zeno, and Ariſtotle; it had been not uncommon among the Alexandrian philoſophers from the commencement of their ſchools; and it was followed in the period of which we are now treating, by Plutarch, Pliny, Galen, and others. But Potamo appears to have been the firſt who attempted to inſtitute a new ſect upon this principle. Diogenes Laertius relates [b], "that not long before he wrote his Lives of the Philoſophers, an Eclectic ſect, ἐκλεκτικὴ τις αἵρεσις, had been introduced by Potamo of Alexandria, who ſelected tenets from every former ſect." He then proceeds to quote a few particulars of his ſyſtem from his Eclectic inſtitutes, reſpecting the principles of reaſoning, and certain general topics of philoſophical inquiry;

[a] Vid. Olearii Diſſ. de Sect. Eclect. ap. Stanley's Lives of Phil. et Moſheim. Diſſ. Hiſt. Eccl. p. 85. [b] Procem. ſub fin.

quiry;[a] from which nothing further can be learned, than that Potamo endeavoured to reconcile the precepts of Plato with thoſe of other maſters. As nothing remains concerning this philoſopher beſides the brief account juſt referred to in Laertius, an obſcure paſſage in Suidas[b], and another, ſtill more obſcure, in Porphyry[c], it is probable that his attempt to inſtitute a ſchool upon the Eclectic plan proved unſucceſsful. The time when Potamo flouriſhed is uncertain. Suidas places him under Auguſtus; but it is more probable, from the account of Laertius, that he began his undertaking about the cloſe of the ſecond century.

The complete conſtitution of the Eclectic ſect muſt be referred to AMMONIUS, ſurnamed, from the kind of life which he followed, SACCA. If Plotinus attended both upon his lectures and thoſe of Potamo, as Porphyry intimates, Ammonius flouriſhed about the beginning of the third century. He was born of Chriſtian parents, and was early inſtructed in the catachetical ſchools eſtabliſhed at Alexandria. Here, under the Chriſtian preceptors, Athenagoras, Pantœnus, and Clemens Alexandrinus, by whom this ſchool was ſucceſſively conducted, and who themſelves united Gentile philoſophy with Chriſtian doctrine, he acquired a ſtrong propenſity towards philoſophical ſtudies, and became exceedingly deſirous of reconciling the different opinions which at that time ſubſiſted among philoſophers[d].

Porphyry relates[e], that Ammonius paſſed over to the legal eſtabliſhment, that is, apoſtatiſed to the Pagan religion. Euſebius[f], and Jerom[g], on the contrary, aſſert, that Ammonius continued in the Chriſtian faith to the end of his life. But it is probable that theſe Chriſtian fathers refer to another Ammonius, who, in the third century, wrote a Harmony of the Goſpels, or to ſome other perſon of this name: for they refer to the ſacred books of Ammonius;

[a] Suidas in Αἱρεσις, t. i. p. 656. et in Potam. t. iii. p. 161.
[b] Vit. Plot. c. ix. p. 108. Bibl. Gr. Fabr. vol. iv. p. 108. Olear. Diſſ. de Ph. Eclec. § 2. [c] Suidas in Ammon. t. i. p. 143. in Plot. t. iii. p. 133. Bayle.
[d] Apud Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. vi. c. 19. [e] L. c. p. 221.
[f] De h. E. c. lv. p. 132. Bib. Eccl. Fabr.

whereas

whereas Ammonius Sacca, as his pupil Longinus atteſts, wrote nothing [a]. It is not eaſy to account for the particulars related of this philoſopher, but upon the ſuppoſition of his having renounced the Chriſtian faith. It ſeems improbable, that a Chriſtian would have accepted the chair in a Pagan ſchool, or would have been followed by diſciples, who waged perpetual war againſt Chriſtianity. That he was well acquainted with the Chriſtian doctrine, and endeavoured to incorporate it into his ſyſtem, will, however, be readily admitted.

According to Hierocles, Ammonius was induced to execute the plan of a diſtinct Eclectic ſchool, by a deſire of putting an end to thoſe contentions which had ſo long diſtracted the philoſophical world. "Animoſities," ſays Hierocles [b], "having hitherto exiſted among the Platoniſts, Ariſtotelians, and other philoſophers, which were at this time carried to ſuch a height, that they did not ſcruple to corrupt the writings of their leaders, in order to furniſh themſelves with weapons of defence; Ammonius, a man divinely inſtructed, abandoning the controverſies which had ſo long diſgraced philoſophy, and clearing away the ſuperfluities of each ſyſtem, demonſtrated that, in certain great and neceſſary points, the doctrines of Plato and Ariſtotle were perfectly harmonious, and thus delivered to his diſciples an inſtitution of philoſophy free from diſpute." How far the ſyſtem, which Ammonius and his followers framed, deſerved the praiſe which Hierocles beſtows upon it, will afterwards appear.

Ammonius had many eminent followers and hearers, both Pagan and Chriſtian; who all, doubtleſs, promiſed themſelves much illumination from a preceptor, who undertook to collect into a focus all the rays of antient wiſdom. He taught his ſelect diſciples certain ſublime doctrines, and myſtical practices, and was called, Θεοδίδακτος, the heaven-taught philoſopher. Theſe myſteries were communicated to them under a ſolemn injunction of ſecrecy. Por-

[a] Compare Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. iv. p. 160. 172, Balt. Defenſe de S. Peres, l. i. c. 3. Lardner's Credibility, Part ii. c. 36. [b] De Fato ap Phot. Cod. 214. 151.

phyry relates [a], that Plotinus, with the reſt of the diſciples of Ammonius, promiſed, not to divulge certain dogmas which they learned in his ſchool, but to lodge them ſafely in their purged minds. This circumſtance accounts for the fact, already mentioned on the authority of Longinus, that he left nothing in writing. Ammonius probably died about the year two hundred and forty-three [b].

Among thoſe diſciples of Ammonius, who were admitted to the knowledge of his myſteries were, Herennius, Origines, Longinus, and Plotinus.

Herennius and Origines [c] are memorable for nothing, except their infidelity to their maſter, in violating their promiſe by divulging the ſecrets of his ſchool. This Origenes muſt not be confounded with Origen, the celebrated teacher of the Chriſtian church in Alexandria; for the former was a Pagan, and ſeems to have written only two ſmall treatiſes, which are now loſt; whereas the latter roſe to great diſtinction among the Chriſtian fathers, and was the author of many valuable works.

Dionysius Longinus [d], a native of Emeſa in Syria, was inſtructed by Cornelius Fronto, a nephew of Plutarch, in rhetoric, and afterwards became his heir. Whilſt he was young he viſited ſeveral celebrated ſeats of the muſes, particularly Athens, Alexandria and Rome, and attended upon the moſt eminent maſters in language, eloquence, and philoſophy. He was a great admirer of Plato [e], and honoured his memory with an annual feſtival [f]. He chiefly followed the Eclectic ſyſtem of Ammonius. So extenſive and profound was

[a] L. c. c. 3. [b] Jonſ. de Scr. Hiſt. Ph. l. iii. c. 3. p. 282.
[c] Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. iii. p. 120. Porph. l. c. c. 2. [d] Suidas. Porph. Vit. Plot. c. xx. c. xiv. [e] Euſeb. Prep. l. x. c. 3.
[f] The common reading in Euſebius is Πλατίνεια, but we think, with Fabricius [a], that the paſſage ſhould be read Πλατώνεια, for it is not probable that Longinus, who was contemporary with Plotinus, and wrote againſt him, ſhould obſerve a feſtival in honour of his memory. Longinus ſurvived Plotinus only a few years.

[a] Bibl. Gr. v. iv. p. 436.

his

his erudition, that he was called the living library[a]. It is much to be regretted, that none of the writings of this celebrated ſcholar are extant, except one piece, which will be an eternal monument of his genius and taſte, "A Treatiſe on the Sublime." Longinus was preceptor in the Greek language to Zenobia, queen of Palmyra; and, having been admitted to her counſels, ſhared her fortunes. That princeſs being conquered and taken priſoner by the emperor Aurelian, in the year two hundred and ſeventy-three, Longinus, her miniſter, was, by the emperor's command, put to death[b]. Longinus had ſeen the Jewiſh ſcriptures; he quotes a paſſage from the writings of Moſes, as an example of the Sublime; "And God ſaid, Let there be light, and there was light[c]."

The ſchool of Ammonius was continued, and the Eclectic ſyſtem completed, by the moſt celebrated of his diſciples, Plotinus, the chief of the Alexandrian Platoniſts, from whom the ſchool afterwards took its name. For our knowledge of the hiſtory and opinions of this philoſopher, we depend almoſt entirely upon the authority of Porphyry, who muſt, indeed, have been well acquainted with the particulars of his life, having enjoyed an intimate friendſhip with him for many years; but whoſe partiality for his ſect, and propenſity to fiction, will not ſuffer us to allow him implicit credit[d]. The probable truth with reſpect to this philoſopher is as follows:

PLOTINUS was born at Lycopolis in Egypt, in the year two hundred and five. Concerning his parents, family, and early education, nothing is known. About the age of twenty years, he began to apply to the ſtudy of philoſophy. After attending lectures in the different ſchools with which Alexandria at this time abounded, he attached himſelf to Ammonius, and continued to proſecute his philoſophical ſtudies under this maſter eleven years; probably becauſe he found in Ammonius a diſpoſition towards ſuperſtition and fanaticiſm, ſimilar to his own. Upon the death of his preceptor, having, in his ſchool, frequently heard the Oriental philoſophy commended, and

[a] Eunapii Vit. Sophiſt. p. 14. [b] Vopiſcus in Aurel. c. 30. [c] Gen. i. 3.
[d] Conf. Porph. Vit. Plotin. ap. Fab. Eunap. p. 1. Suidas in Porph. t. ii. p. 133.

expecting to find in it that kind of doctrine concerning divine natures, which he was moſt deſirous of ſtudying, he determined to travel into Perſia and India to learn wiſdom of the Magi and Gymnoſophiſts. In this deſign he was probably encouraged by the ſucceſs of Apollonius Tyanæus, whoſe magic arts, ſaid to have been derived from theſe ſources, had obtained him univerſal fame. It happened opportunely, that the emperor Gordian was, at this time, undertaking an expedition againſt the Parthians. Plotinus ſeized the occaſion, and, in the year two hundred and forty-three, joined the emperor's army. The affairs of Gordian proving unfortunate, and the emperor himſelf being killed, the philoſopher fled, not without hazard, to Antioch; and afterwards came to Rome, where the purple was now poſſeſſed by Philip.

For ſome time Plotinus was prevented from laying open the ſtores of wiſdom which he had collected, by the oath of ſecrecy which he had taken in the ſchool of Ammonius: but, after his fellow diſciples, Herennius and Origines, had diſcloſed the myſteries of their maſter, he thought himſelf no longer bound by his promiſe, and became a public preceptor in philoſophy, upon eclectic principles. During a period of ten years, he confined himſelf entirely to oral diſcourſe; always converſing freely with his diſciples, who were very numerous, and encouraging them to ſtart difficulties, and propoſe queſtions, upon every ſubject. At laſt he found it neceſſary, for his own convenience and that of his pupils, to commit the ſubſtance of his lectures to writing. Many volumes of metaphyſics, dialectics, and ethics, thus produced with haſte and inaccuracy in the midſt of various engagements, were ſuffered to paſs into the hands of his pupils without being tranſcribed. This may in part account for the great obſcurity and confuſion, which are ſtill found in theſe writings, after all the pains that Porphyry took to correct them. Theſe books, which are fifty-four in number, are diſtributed under ſix claſſes, called Enneads. Proclus wrote commentaries upon them, and Dexippus defended them againſt the Peripatetics [a].

[a] Fabricius, v. iv. p. 154.

Although

Although the novelty of the plan of inſtruction, which Plotinus followed, brought him many hearers, through the obſcurity and ſubtlety of his doctrine he had but few diſciples. Nothing could exceed the aſſiduity with which he taught thoſe who were willing to become his followers, or the ardour with which he himſelf applied to philoſophical ſpeculations. It was his frequent practice, to prepare himſelf for his ſublime contemplations by watching and faſting. In ſuch high reputation was Plotinus for wiſdom, that many private quarrels were referred to his arbitration, and parents, upon their death-beds, often ſent for him to intruſt him with the charge of their children. He reſided twenty-ſix years at Rome, where he enjoyed the friendſhip of many perſons of high rank, and particularly of the emperor Galienus. The uſe which Plotinus made of his intereſt with that prince was a memorable proof of the romantic turn of his mind. He requeſted the emperor to re-build a city in Campania, which had been formerly raſed, and to grant it, with the neighbouring territory, to a body of philoſophers, who ſhould be governed by the laws of Plato, and ſhould call the city Platonopolis; at the ſame time promiſing, that he himſelf, with his friends, would lay the foundation of this philoſophical colony. The emperor was himſelf inclined to liſten to the propoſal, but was diſſuaded by his friends.

It was another proof of the fanatical ſpirit of Plotinus, that, though well ſkilled in the medical art, he had ſuch a contempt for the body, that he could never be prevailed upon to make uſe of any means to cure the diſeaſes to which his conſtitution was ſubject, or to alleviate his pain. He had learned from Pythagoras and Plato, that the ſoul is ſent into the body for the puniſhment of its former ſins, and muſt, in this priſon, paſs through a ſevere ſervitude, before it can be ſufficiently purified to return to the divine fountain from which it flowed. Such was his contempt of the corporeal vehicle in which his ſoul was incloſed, that he would never ſuffer the day of his birth to be celebrated, or any portrait to be taken of his perſon. Amelius, one of his pupils, however, deſirous of obtaining a picture of his maſter, introduced a painter, named Caſterius, into the ſchool,

which any one was at liberty to viſit, in hopes that, by attentively obſerving his features, he might be able to delineate the likeneſs from memory. This the painter accompliſhed with great ſucceſs; and Amelius became poſſeſſed of a portrait of Plotinus without his knowledge.

By his rigorous abſtinence, and determined neglect of his health, Plotinus, at laſt, brought himſelf into a ſtate of diſeaſe and infirmity, which rendered the latter part of his life exceedingly painful. Forſaken by his friends, excepting only Euſtochius (for Porphyry was at that time in Sicily) he left Rome, and retired into Campania, to the eſtate of Zathus, one of his former diſciples, now deceaſed. By the hoſpitality of the heirs of this old friend, Plotinus was ſupported till his death. When he found his end approaching, he ſaid to Euſtochius, "The divine principle within me is now haſtening to unite itſelf with that divine being which animates the univerſe:" herein expreſſing a leading principle of his philoſophy, that the human ſoul is an emanation from the divine nature, and will return to the ſource whence it proceeded. Plotinus died in the year two hundred and ſeventy, aged ſixty-ſix years.

Porphyry, in relating the life of Plotinus, repreſents him as having been poſſeſſed of miraculous powers, ſimilar to thoſe which he aſcribes to Pythagoras, and doubtleſs with the ſame artful deſign: but the characters of fiction are ſo ſtrongly marked upon the whole narrative, that, after what has been already ſaid concerning the marvellous parts of the hiſtory of Pythagoras, and of Apollonius Tyanæus, it is wholly unneceſſary to allow thoſe of Plotinus further notice in the hiſtory of philoſophy.

From the life and writings of this philoſopher it clearly appears, that he belonged to the claſs of fanatics. His natural temper, his education, his ſyſtem, all inclined him to fanaticiſm. Suffering himſelf to be led aſtray, by a volatile imagination, from the plain path of good ſenſe, he poured forth crude and confuſed conceptions, in obſcure* and incoherent language. Sometimes he ſoared, in extatic flights,

* Vid. Eunap. p. 17.

into

into the regions of myſticiſm. Porphyry relates [a], that he aſcended through all the Platonic ſteps of divine contemplation, to the actual viſion of the deity himſelf, and was admitted to ſuch intercourſe with him, as no other philoſopher ever enjoyed. They who are well acquainted with human nature will eaſily perceive, in theſe flights, unequivocal proofs of a feeble or diſordered mind, and will not wonder that the ſyſtem of Plotinus was myſtical, and his writings obſcure. The truth ſeems to be, that this philoſopher made it the main ſcope and end of his life to dazzle his own mind, and the minds of others, with the meteors of enthuſiaſm, rather than to illuminate them with the clear and ſteady rays of truth. How much is it to be regretted, that ſuch a man ſhould have become, in a great degree, the preceptor of the world, and ſhould, by means of his diſciples, have every where diſſeminated a ſpecies of falſe philoſophy, which was compounded of ſuperſtition, enthuſiaſm, and impoſture! The muddy waters, ſent forth from this polluted ſpring, were ſpread through the moſt celebrated ſeats of learning, and were even permitted, as we ſhall afterwards ſee, to mingle with the pure ſtream of Chriſtian doctrine.

Not only at Rome, where Plotinus had taught, but firſt in Alexandria, afterwards in many of the principal cities of Aſia Minor, and even at Athens, the antient ſeat of wiſdom, the ſyſtem of Ammonius and Plotinus was embraced and propagated by men, who, in learning and abilities, were greatly ſuperior to its founders. We ſhall trace the progreſs of the Plotinian, or Eclectic, ſchool through a long ſeries of Pagan profeſſors; reſerving to a ſubſequent part of the work the conſideration of its influence upon the opinions of Chriſtian writers.

AMELIUS [b], a Tuſcan, who in his youth had been inſtructed in philoſophy by Lyſimachus, a Stoic, and who had, in the courſe of his ſtudies, acquired a great fondneſs for the writings of Plato, in

[a] L. c. c. 13. 15. 23. [b] Porph. Vit. Plot. c. 7, &c. Suidas. Fab. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 405. Eunap. l. c.

the

the year two hundred and forty-ſix became a pupil of Plotinus. His maſter found his talents and taſte ſo ſimilar to his own, that he ſoon admitted him to his friendſhip, and employed him in writing ſolutions of queſtions propoſed to him by his diſciples, and refutations of the objections and calumnies of his enemies. He had been eighteen years with Plotinus, when Porphyry entered the ſchool, and probably aſſiſted him in ſtudying the doctrine of their maſter [a]. Before the death of Plotinus, he retired to Apamea, where he ſurvived his maſter a few years.

Among the moſt celebrated preceptors of the Plotinian ſchool, and the Alexandrian ſect, is PORPHYRY, a learned and zealous ſupporter of Pagan theology, and an inveterate enemy to the Chriſtian faith. Porphyry [b] was, as we learn from himſelf, a Tyrian [c]. He was born in the year two hundred and thirty-three [d]. His father very early introduced him to the ſtudy of literature and philoſophy under the Chriſtian preceptor Origen, probably whilſt he was teaching at Cæſarea in Paleſtine [e]. His juvenile education was completed at Athens by Longinus, whoſe high reputation for learning and genius brought him pupils from many diſtant countries. Under this excellent inſtructor he gained an extenſive acquaintance with antiquity, improved his taſte in literature, and enlarged his knowledge of the Plotinian philoſophy. It is, doubtleſs, in a great meaſure to be

[a] Suidas had probably no other ground for ſaying that Porphyry was a diſciple of Amelius.

[b] Eunap. Vit. Soph. p. 17. Suidas in Porph. t. iii. p. 158. Diſſ. de Vita Porph. Rom. 1630. 8vo. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. iv. p. 207. Porph. Vit. Plot. c. viii. 107.

[c] Jerom [a] and Chryſoſtom [b] call Porphyry a Batanean: whence ſome have ſuppoſed [c], that he was born in the country of Baſan, a part of Trachonites, in Paleſtine. It is more probable [d] that Batanea was a part of Syria bordering upon Tyre, in which a colony of Tyrians had ſettled: and if this was the place of Porphyry's birth, he might chuſe rather to call himſelf a Tyrian, than to derive his appellation from an obſcure region.

[d] Ib. c. 4. [e] Euſeb. Ecc. H. l. iii. c. 19.

[a] Præf. Epiſt. ad Galat. [b] Hom. xi. in 1 Cor. p. 58. [c] Caſ. Baron. ad A. C. 325. Le Moyne ad Var. Sacr. t. ii. p. 607. [d] Stephan. in Ethnicis. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. v. iv. p. 181.

aſcribed

aſcribed to Longinus, that we find ſo many proofs of erudition, and ſo much elegance of ſtyle, in the writings of Porphyry [a].

From this time, we have little information concerning this philoſopher, till we find him, about the thirtieth year of his age, becoming, at Rome, a diſciple of Plotinus, who had before this time acquired great fame as a teacher of philoſophy [b]. Porphyry was ſix years a diligent ſtudent of the Eclectic ſyſtem; and became ſo entirely attached to his maſter, and ſo perfectly acquainted with his doctrine, that Plotinus eſteemed him one of the greateſt ornaments of his ſchool, and frequently employed him in refuting the objections of his opponents, and in explaining to his younger pupils the more difficult parts of his writings: he even intruſted him with the charge of methodiſing and correcting his works [c]. The fanatical ſpirit of the philoſophy, to which Porphyry addicted himſelf, concurred with his natural propenſity towards melancholy to produce a reſolution, which he formed about the thirty-ſixth year of his age, of putting an end to his life; purpoſing hereby, according to the Platonic doctrine, to releaſe his ſoul from her wretched priſon, the body. From this mad deſign he was, however, diſſuaded by his maſter, who adviſed him to divert his melancholy by taking a journey to Sicily, to viſit his friend Probus, an accompliſhed and excellent man, who lived near Lilybæum. Porphyry followed the advice of Plotinus, and recovered the vigour and tranquillity of his mind [d].

After the death of Plotinus, Porphyry, ſtill remaining in Sicily, appeared as an open and implacable adverſary to the Chriſtian religion [e]. Some have maintained, that in his youth he had been a Chriſtian; but of this there is no ſufficient proof. It is not improbable that, whilſt he was a boy, under the care of Origen, he gained ſome acquaintance with the Jewiſh and Chriſtian ſcriptures. He wrote fifteen diſtinct treatiſes againſt Chriſtianity, which the emperor Theodoſius ordered to be deſtroyed: an injudicious act of zeal,

[a] Vit. Plot. c. 21.
[b] Vit. Plot. c. 4. 5. [c] C. vii. 13. 20. [d] Vit. Plot. c. 11. Eunap. p. 14.
[e] Euſeb. & Hier. Conf. Lactant. l. v. c. 2.

which

which the real friends of Chriſtianity, no leſs than its enemies, will always regret: for truth can never ſuffer by a fair and full diſcuſſion; and falſehood and calumny muſt always, in the iſſue, ſerve the cauſe they are deſigned to injure. The ſpirit of thoſe writings of Porphyry which are loſt may be in ſome meaſure apprehended from the fragments which are preſerved by eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians. Many able advocates for Chriſtianity appeared upon this occaſion, the principal of whom were Methodius, Apollinaris, and Euſebius[a]. So vehement and laſting was the indignation which was excited againſt the memory of Porphyry, that Conſtantine, in order to caſt the ſevereſt poſſible cenſure upon the Arian ſect, publiſhed an edict[b], ranking them among the profeſſed enemies of Chriſtianity; and requiring that they ſhould from that time be branded with the name of Porphyrians.

Porphyry, after remaining many years in Sicily, returned to Rome, and taught the doctrines of Plotinus; pretending to be, not only a philoſopher endued with ſuperior wiſdom, but a divine perſon, favoured with ſupernatural communications from heaven. He himſelf relates[c], that in the ſixty-eighth year of his age, he was in a ſacred extacy, in which he ſaw the Supreme Intelligence, the God who is ſuperior to all gods, without an image. This viſion Auguſtine[d] ſuppoſes to have been an illuſion of ſome evil ſpirit: we are rather inclined to believe it to have been the natural effect of a heated imagination; unleſs indeed it be added to the long liſt of fictions, with which the writings of Porphyry abound. He died about the year three hundred and four. Of his numerous works, the only pieces which have eſcaped the depredation of time (except ſundry fragments diſperſed through various authors) are, his "Life of Pythagoras;" a book "On the Cave of the Nymphs in Homer;" "Homeric Queſtions;" "A Fragment on the Stygian Lake;" "An Epiſtle to Anebo, an Egyptian prieſt;" "A Treatiſe on the

[a] Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. iv. p. 197. et Syllab. Script. de Ver. Ch. Rel. c. 3.
[b] Socrat. Hiſt. Eccl. l. i. c. 9. [c] Vit. Plot. c. 23.
[d] De Civ. Dei, l. x. c. 10.

Five

Five Predicables," commonly prefixed to the logical works of Ariſtotle;" "Thoughts on Intelligibles;" "A Treatiſe on Abſtinence from Animal Food;" and "The Life of Plotinus," which contains alſo memoirs of Porphyry himſelf[a].

Porphyry was, it muſt be owned, a writer of deep erudition; and had his judgment and integrity been equal to his learning, he would have deſerved a diſtinguiſhed place among the ancients. But neither the ſplendour of his diction, nor the variety of his reading, can atone for the credulity, or the diſhoneſty, which filled the narrative parts of his works with ſo many extravagant tales, or intereſt the judicious reader in the abſtruſe ſubtleties, and myſtical flights, of his philoſophical writings.

The Alexandrian philoſophy had, after Porphyry, many learned and able defenders. Among theſe, one of the moſt celebrated was his immediate ſucceſſor, JAMBLICHUS[b], a native of Chalcis in Cæla-Syria. He flouriſhed, as may be inferred from the age of his preceptor Porphyry, about the beginning of the fourth century. His firſt inſtructor was Anatolius, who preſided in a Peripatetic ſchool in Alexandria; but he ſoon left this ſchool, and became a diſciple of Porphyry. He became perfect maſter of all the myſteries of the Plotinian ſyſtem, and taught it with ſuch credit and ſucceſs, that diſciples crowded to his ſchool from various quarters. Though he fell far ſhort of Porphyry in eloquence, he won the affections of his followers by the freedom with which he converſed with them upon philoſophy, and was, at the ſame time, careful to excite their admiration, and command their reverence, by high pretenſions to theurgical powers. He aſtoniſhed them with wonders, which he profeſſed to perform by means of an intercourſe with inviſible beings. Hence he was called, The Moſt Divine and Wonderful Teacher.

The writings of Jamblichus diſcover extenſive reading; but his ſtyle is ſo deficient in accuracy and elegance, that even his encomiaſt,

[a] Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. iv. p. 180.
[b] Eunap. Vit. Soph. Fabr. ib. p. 282.

Eunapius, acknowledges it more likely to diſguſt than to allure the reader. He borrows freely from other writers, particularly Porphyry, without the ſmalleſt acknowledgment. His philoſophical works are exceedingly obſcure, but are valuable as authentic documents reſpecting the Alexandrian ſchool. "The Life of Pythagoras;" "An Exhortation to the Study of Philoſophy;" "Three Books on Mathematical Learning;" "A Commentary upon Nicomachus's Inſtitutes of Arithmetic;" and "A Treatiſe on the Myſteries of the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Aſſyrians," are all the writings of Jamblichus now extant [a]. The time and place of his death are uncertain; but, from a paſſage of Eunapius, in which he ſays, that his diſciple Sopater went, after his maſter's death, to the court of Conſtantine, it appears probable that Jamblichus died before that emperor, that is, about the year three hundred and thirty-three. This Jamblichus muſt be diſtinguiſhed from the perſon of the ſame name, to whom the emperor Julian dedicates his epiſtles; for Julian was ſcarcely born at the time when Porphyry's ſucceſſor died.

The ſchool of Jamblichus produced many Eclectic philoſophers, who were diſperſed through various parts of the Roman empire. But the fate of one of their number, Sopater, who was put to death by order of the emperor (probably for inſidious practices againſt the peace of the ſtate) and the diſcredit into which the Pagan theology was now, through the general ſpread of Chriſtianity, almoſt univerſally fallen, induced theſe philoſophers to propagate their tenets, and practice their myſteries, with caution and concealment [b]. In this ſtate of depreſſion the ſect continued through the reigns of Conſtantine and Conſtantius. But under the emperor Julian, who apoſtatiſed from the Chriſtian faith, the Alexandrian ſect revived, and again flouriſhed in great vigour. Many pretenders aroſe, who, under the cloak of philoſophy, practiſed magical deceptions with great ſucceſs, and induſtriouſly diſſeminated myſticiſm and enthuſiaſm. Their

[a] Fab. Bib. Gr. v. iv. p. 289. Ed. Gale, Ox. 1678. Kuſter, Amſt. 1707.
[b] Sozomen. Hiſt. Eccl. l. i. c. 5.

biographer

biographer is Eunapius, a writer of the ſame ſchool, who relates, and ſeems to have credited, many marvellous ſtories.

The immediate ſucceſſor of Jamblichus, was ÆDESIUS[a], of Cappadocia. After the example of his maſter, he pretended to ſupernatural communications with the deity, and practiſed theurgic arts. Among the wonderful events which are ſaid to have happened to him, one of the moſt ludicrous is, that, in anſwer to his prayers, his future fate was revealed to him in hexameter verſes, which ſuddenly appeared upon the palm of his left-hand. Towards the cloſe of his life, he left his ſchool in Cappadocia to the care of his diſciple and friend EUSTATHIUS, and removed to Pergamus, where he had a numerous train of followers. Of Euſtathius, his wife Soſipatra, and his ſon Antoninus, ſeveral tales are related by Eunapius, which only ſerve to expoſe the fraud of theſe pretended philoſophers, and the credulity of their biographer[b].

EUSEBIUS, of Myndus in Caria[c], though one of the diſciples of Ædeſius, appears, from a conference which he had with Julian, to have conſidered all pretenſions to intercourſe with dæmons, or inferior divinities, as illuſions of the fancy, or tricks of impoſture; and to have diſcouraged them, as unworthy of the purity and ſublimity of true philoſophy. His deſign ſeems to have been, to reſtore the contemplation of Intelligibles, or Ideas, as the only real and immutable natures, according to the doctrine of Porphyry, and of Plato himſelf: but the fanatical doctrine of an intercourſe between dæmons and men, and the arts of theurgy founded upon this doctrine, were now too generally eſtabliſhed, and found too uſeful, to be diſmiſſed. Euſebius of Myndus was therefore leſs acceptable to the emperor Julian than another diſciple of Ædeſius, Maximus of Epheſus.

MAXIMUS, according to Eunapius[d], was, through the recommendation of his maſter, appointed by Conſtantius preceptor to Julian:

[a] Eunap. p. 34.
[b] Eunap. p. 50, &c. Conf. Ammian. Marc. l. xx—xxii.
[c] Eunap. p. 86, &c.
[d] l. c. Socrat. Hiſt. Eccl. l. iii. c. 1. Nicephor. l. x. c. 1.

according to the Chriſtian hiſtorians, he introduced himſelf to Julian, during his Aſiatic expedition, at Nicomedia. By accommodating his predictions to the wiſhes and hopes of the emperor, and by other parаſitical arts, he gained entire poſſeſſion of his confidence. The courtiers, as uſual, followed the example of their maſter, and Maximus was daily loaded with new honours. He accompanied Julian in his expedition into Perſia, and there, by the aſſiſtance of divination and flattery, perſuaded him, that he would rival Alexander in the glory of conqueſt. The event, however, proved as unfortunate to the philoſopher as to the hero; for Julian being ſlain in battle, after the ſhort reign of Jovian, Maximus fell under the diſpleaſure of the emperors Valentinian and Valens, and, for the imaginary crime of magic, underwent a long courſe of confinement and ſuffering, which was not the leſs truly perſecution, becauſe they were inflicted upon a Pagan. At laſt Maximus was ſent into his native country, and there fell a ſacrifice to the cruelty of the proconſul Feſtus [a].

To the liſt of Eclectic philoſophers, who enjoyed the patronage of the emperor Julian, muſt be added Priscus of Theſprotium, who alſo accompanied him into Perſia; and Chrysanthius of Sardis, appointed by Julian high prieſt of Lydia, who was ſuppoſed to poſſeſs a power of converſing with the gods, and of predicting future events [b].

The emperor Julian is generally acknowledged to have been not only a patron of philoſophers, but himſelf a philoſopher. Referring to the civil hiſtorians [c] for the particulars of his political conduct, we ſhall mention ſuch incidents as more immediately reſpect his philoſophical character.

Julian, in the early part of his life, was carefully inſtructed in literature and ſcience by Chriſtian preceptors [d]. Whilſt he was

[a] Amm. Marcell. l. xxix. c. 1. Socr. et Niceph. l. c. Theodoret. Hiſt. Ecc. l. ii. c. 27. [b] Eunap. p. 114, &c. Suidas.

[c] Amm. Marcell. Victor. Zoſimus. Libanus in Orat, &c.

[d] Socr. l. iii. c. 1. 23. Sozomen. l. vi. c. 2. Liban. § 5. ap. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. vii. p. 6[illegible].

purſuing

purſuing his ſtudies at Nicomedia, his uncle Conſtantius ſtrictly charged him not to attend upon the lectures of the celebrated Pagan Sophiſt, Libanius. This prohibition had no other effect, than to awaken the young man's curioſity, and kindle an earneſt deſire of viſiting the Pagan ſchools. Notwithſtanding every precaution, he converſed freely with philoſophers, and grew fond of the fanciful ſyſtem taught by the Alexandrian Platoniſts. His natural diſpoſition, which was tinctured with enthuſiaſm, favoured this attachment; and it was confirmed by the intimacy which, during his reſidence at Nicomedia, he formed with Maximus of Epheſus. Under his inſtructions, and thoſe of Chryſanthius and others, he became a great proficient in the abſtruſe ſpeculations, and in the theurgic arts of this ſchool[a]. With the permiſſion of his uncle, he finiſhed his ſtudies at Athens; where he acquired great reputation in learning and philoſophy, and was initiated into the Eleuſinian myſteries[b].

When Julian was called by Conſtantius to exchange the ſchool of philoſophy for the field of war, he made great uſe of the magic arts, which he had learned from Maximus, in executing his political purpoſes. Whilſt he was at Vienna, he reported that, in the middle of the night, he had been viſited by a celeſtial form, which had, in heroic verſe, promiſed him the poſſeſſion of the imperial dignity[c].

As ſoon as Julian reached the ſummit of his wiſhes, he employed his power in reſtoring the heathen ſuperſtitions[d]. He at this time, however, uſed no violent meaſures to compel the Chriſtians to forſake their religion; rightly judging, that "falſe opinions can never be corrected by fire and ſword[e]." His principal favourites were the Pagan philoſophers of the ſchool of Ædeſius; but learned men of

[a] Eunap. p. 83. Amm. Marc. l. xxv. c. 6. l. xxi. c. 1. l. xxii. c. 12. l. xxiii. c. 2. 5, 11. Liban. ib. § 9, 10.

[b] Sozomen. l. v. c. 2. Soc. l. iii. c. 1. Liban. § 13. p. 233, 238.

[c] Liban. § 34. p. 260. Amm. Marc. l. xxi. c. 2.

[d] Sozom. l. v. c. 3, 16. Am. M. l. xxv. c. 6. Greg. Naz. Orat. iii. adv. Jul.

[e] Lib. § 58. p. 256.

every

every claſs were encouraged in his court. When he afterwards ſhut up the Chriſtian ſchools, it was in hopes of ſuppreſſing the Chriſtian religion by involving its profeſſors in ignorance and barbariſm [a].

This prince not only encouraged letters by his patronage, but was himſelf a learned writer. It is eaſy to perceive, from a ſlight inſpection of his works, that he ſtrictly adhered to the Alexandrian or Eclectic ſchool. He profeſſes himſelf a warm admirer of Pythagoras and Plato, and recommends a union of their tenets with thoſe of Ariſtotle [b]. The later Platoniſts, of his own period, he loads with encomiums, particularly Jamblichus, whom he calls, The Light of the World, and, The Phyſician of the Mind [c]. Amidſt the numerous traces of an enthuſiaſtic and bigotted attachment to Pagan theology and philoſophy, and of an inveterate enmity to Chriſtianity [d], which are to be found in his writings, the candid reader will diſcern many marks of genius and erudition [e].

Concerning the manners of Julian, Libanius writes, that no philoſopher, in the loweſt ſtate of poverty, was ever more temperate, or more ready to practiſe rigorous abſtinence from food, as the means of preparing his mind for converſing with the gods [f]. Like Plotinus, Porphyry, Jamblichus, and others of this fanatical ſect, he dealt in viſions and extacies, and pretended to a ſupernatural intercourſe with divinities. Suidas relates, probably from ſome writings of the credulous Eunapius now loſt, an oracular prediction concerning his death [g].

His philoſophical character attended him in his military exploits, and accompanied him to the laſt. After he had received his mortal

[a] Amm. M. l. xxii. c. 10. Jul. Epiſt. 42. Fab. Bib. Gr. v. vi. p. 77.
[b] Orat. Jul. in Cynic. p. 188. Orat. v. in Mat. Deor. p. 162.
[c] Ep. ad Jamblich. 24, 40, 60.
[d] The reader will find many proofs of Julian's averſion to Chriſtianity, and his injurious treatment of Chriſtians, adduced in Prieſtley's Hiſtory of the Chr. Church. Per. ix. § 2, 3, 4.
[e] Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. vii. p. 78. [f] Lib. § 83. p. 309.
[g] Amm. Marc. l. xxv. c. 3, 4.

wound,

wound, he held a conference with the philoſophers Maximus and Priſcus concerning the ſoul, in the midſt of which he expired, in the thirty-ſecond year of his age.

On the whole, although the emperor Julian muſt not be denied the place which has long been allowed him among philoſophers, it muſt be owned, that his philoſophy was neither able to preſerve him from ſuperſtition and enthuſiaſm, nor to raiſe his mind above the influence of the narroweſt and moſt pernicious prejudices.

We muſt not, in this place omit the biographer of the Ædeſian ſchool, EUNAPIUS[a], a native of Sardis, and a pupil of Chryſanthius. He followed the profeſſion of a Sophiſt, and at the ſame time practiſed medicine. He appears to have been initiated in all the myſteries of theurgy. His "Lives," a maſs of extravagant tales, diſcover a feeble underſtanding, and an imagination prone to ſuperſtition. Eunapius wrote in the reign of the emperor Theodoſius.

Towards the cloſe of the fifth century flouriſhed HIEROCLES, who was born, and taught, in Alexandria. He ſuffered ſeverely for his adherence to the Pagan ſuperſtitions[b]. At Conſtantinople he was cruelly ſcourged; and, in the midſt of his torture, receiving ſome of the blood into his own hand, he threw it upon the face of his judge, repeating the following verſe from Homer[c]:

Κύκλωψ, τῇ, νέ τοι οἶνον, ἐπεὶ φάγες ἀνδρόμεα κρέα[d].

Hierocles wrote a treatiſe "On Providence," in which he appears as an advocate for the Eclectic philoſophy. He ſtrenuouſly oppoſes thoſe writers, who had maintained, that the opinions of Plato and Ariſtotle were inconſiſtent with each other; and attempts to reconcile their doctrines concerning providence, the origin of the world, the immor-

[a] Eunap. p. 77, 99, 162, 198. Phot. Cod. 77.
[b] Suidas Phot. Cod. 214. 251. p. 283. 749.
[c] Odyſſ. l. ix. v. 347.
[d] Cyclops! ſince human fleſh has been thy food,
Now drain this goblet potent to digeſt.
POPE.

tality

tality of the ſoul, and other ſubjects. The ſame method of philoſophiſing is purſued in his book "On Fate," and in his "Commentary on the Golden Verſes of Pythagoras." Little confidence is, therefore, to be placed in his repreſentation of the opinions of antient philoſophers. This Hierocles is not to be confounded with Hierocles of Bythinia, who wrote a book againſt Chriſtianity, which was anſwered by Euſebius [a].

Hitherto we have traced the riſe and growth of the Eclectic philoſophy in Alexandria, and in various parts of Aſia. It remains, that we follow its progreſs in Europe, and particularly at Athens.

Although, after Greece became ſubject to Rome, its philoſophers were diſperſed, and its antient ſeat of wiſdom was for a time neglected, Athens, through the favour of ſeveral of the Roman emperors, eſpecially Adrian, and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, recovered, in ſome meaſure, its former honours [b]. Adrian founded a library, and Aurelius erected magnificent ſchools, and eſtabliſhed profeſſors in rhetoric, and in the principal ſects of philoſophy. Theſe ſchools were liberally endowed, and, according to Lucian [c], a large ſum was annually paid by the public to the Athenian preceptors. Through this imperial munificence, Athens was again diſtinguiſhed by a numerous train of philoſophers and ſcholars [d]. The ſalaries, which had been probably diſcontinued under the Chriſtian emperors, were renewed by Julian, who appointed Chryſanthius preceptor in Athens. The Athenian ſchools, during the incurſions of the Goths, at the cloſe of the fourth century, ſuffered great injury. They, however, ſurvived that hazardous period, and continued to flouriſh till after the time of Juſtinian [e].

[a] Fab. Bib. Gr. v. iii. p. 413. Needham. ed.
[b] Pauſan. in Attic. Xiphilin. in M. Ant. [c] Eunuch. t. iv. p. 160.
[d] Eunap. Proæres. p. 38. Chryſanth. p. 198. Philoſtrat. Vit. Soph. l. ii. c. 2, 3.
[e] Meurſ. de Fort. Attic. c. 8. Syneſ. Ep. vi. Marin. Vit. Procli. c. xvi. p. 37.

It

It was not till the reign of Julian, that the Alexandrian philoſophy was publicly profeſſed at Athens[a]. After Chryſanthius, the next profeſſor of this ſyſtem was PLUTARCH the ſon of NESTORIUS[b], He was an eminent teacher of philoſophy, and a famous maſter of the theurgic arts: he had a large body of diſciples, who bore his name, and continued in his public capacity to an advanced age. He left the charge of his ſchool to Syrian, an Alexandrian. This Plutarch died about the year four hundred and thirty-four.

SYRIAN proſecuted the eclectic method of philoſophiſing with great ingenuity and induſtry; not only combining the doctrines of Plato and Ariſtotle, but embelliſhing his complex ſyſtem with the allegories of Orpheus, Homer, and other antient poets. "In leſs than two years," ſays Marinus[c], "Syrian read, with his pupil Proclus, all the works of Ariſtotle; after which he conducted him to the ſacred ſchool of Plato, that he might in his writings contemplate the true myſteries with a pure mind." He wrote, "A Commentary on the Theology of Orpheus," and "A Treatiſe on the Agreement of Orpheus, Pythagoras and Plato;" but nothing remains of this philoſopher, except his "Commentary on Ariſtotle's Metaphyſics[d]." Among his pupils, his chief favourite was Proclus, who always retained a warm affection for the memory of his maſter, and at his death gave orders, that he ſhould be buried in the ſame grave with Syrian, and that the following epitaph ſhould be inſcribed upon their tomb[e]:

Proclus ego hoc Lycius jaceo, tuus, optime, alumnus,
Succeſſorque tuus qui, Syriane, fui:
Condita communi tumulo hoc ſunt corpora noſtra,
Sic et utramque animam cœlica templa tenent[f].

[a] Eunap. in Maxim. [b] Suidas. Marin. Vit. Proc. c. 12. Phot. Cod. 242.
[c] Vit. Proc. c. 12. Suidas. Phot. Cod. 241.
[d] Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. viii. p. 450. [e] Marin. c. 36.

[f] Here, much lov'd Syrian, in thy ſacred tomb,
Thy pupil Proclus ſeeks a peaceful home:
As in one bed now ſleeps our mingled clay,
So may our ſouls together win their way
To the bleſt manſions of celeſtial day!

Proclus, according to his biographer Marinus[a], was a native of Conſtantinople, and was born in the year four hundred and twelve. His parents having been inhabitants of Xanthus in Lycia, he is commonly ſpoken of as a Lycian. He received the firſt rudiments of learning at Xanthus; and afterwards ſtudied eloquence and polite literature under Iſaurus at Alexandria, with a view to qualify himſelf for the profeſſion of the law. This deſign, however, he ſoon relinquiſhed, and wholly devoted himſelf to philoſophy. From Olympiodorus he learned the Ariſtotelian ſyſtem combined with the Platonic; and he was inſtructed in mathematics by Hero. His facility of conception and ſtrength of memory were ſuch, that when his maſter's lectures, through the rapidity of his utterance, or the abſtruſe nature of his ſubject, were not clearly underſtood by the reſt of the pupils, he was able to give an accurate ſummary of the arguments, in the order in which they had been delivered: a circumſtance, which gained him great credit and eſteem among his fellow-ſtudents.

Having ſpent ſeveral years in the Alexandrian ſchools, Proclus determined to viſit Athens. Here he firſt became acquainted with Syrian, who introduced him to Plutarch the ſon of Neſtorius. The old man was delighted with the attainments of this young ſtranger, and undertook to conduct him into the more recondite myſteries of philoſophy. Plutarch, dying two years afterwards, left Proclus to the care of his ſucceſſor Syrian, under whoſe direction the young man proſecuted his ſtudies with indefatigable induſtry. He reaped great benefit from the practice, recommended to him by Plutarch, of writing, from his own recollection, compendious abridgments of the lectures which he had heard from his preceptor. At the age of twenty-eight, he had written, beſides many other pieces, his "Commentary on the Timæus of Plato," full of that kind of learning which at this time prevailed in the Platonic ſchools.

In order to reach the point, which was in theſe ſchools eſteemed the ſummit of wiſdom, Proclus diligently ſtudied the theology of the ſect; both that which reſpects the contemplation of the Supreme Deity, and that which was ſuppoſed to lead to an intercourſe

[a] Vit. Procli, paſſim. Suidas.

with

with inferior divinities. He was inſtructed in the Chaldean arts of divination, and in the uſe of myſtical words, and other charms, by Plutarch's daughter Aſclepigenia, who inherited from her father many ſecrets of this kind. He was alſo initiated into the Eleuſinian myſteries. By theſe helps, and by a diligent ſtudy of the writings of Plotinus, Porphyry, and Jamblichus, he became, if Marinus be to be credited, a complete maſter, not only of divine ſcience, but of theurgic powers.

Thus accompliſhed, Proclus was judged by Syrian worthy to ſhare with him the honours and profits of the Platonic chair. And there can be no doubt, after what has been related, that he was eminently qualified for the office of preceptor in the Alexandrian philoſophy. His biographer may be eaſily credited when he aſſerts, that Proclus excelled all his predeceſſors in the knowledge of this ſyſtem, and that he improved it by many new diſcoveries, and was the author of many opinions, which had never before entered into the mind of man, both on the ſubject of phyſics, and in the ſublime ſcience of Ideas. The lectures which Proclus delivered in his ſchool were obſcure and enthuſiaſtic; but they ſuited the genius and taſte of the age, and he had many followers.

The piety of Proclus is highly extolled by his biographer. Of what ſort it was, may be learned from the ſuperſtitious manner in which he conducted his devotions. Beſides his general abſtinence from animal food, in which he followed the Pythagorean diſcipline, he often practiſed rigorous faſtings; and he ſpent whole days and nights in repeating prayers and hymns, that he might prepare himſelf for immediate intercourſe with the gods. He obſerved with great ſolemnity the new moons, and all public feſtivals, and, on theſe occaſions, pretended, or fancied, that he converſed with ſuperior beings, and was able, by his ſacrifices, prayers and hymns, to expel diſeaſes, to command rain, to ſtop an earthquake, and to perform other ſimilar wonders. Marinus does not ſcruple to aſſert, that, on theſe occaſions, Proclus partook of divine inſpiration, and that a celeſtial glory irradiated his countenance. He even relates, that God himſelf appeared to him in a human form, and with an audible

voice hailed him as the glory of the city. In his old age, his mental infirmities, as might naturally be expected, increaſed with thoſe of his body; and he fancied, between ſleeping and waking (the ſeaſon in which theſe viſions commonly happen) that Eſculapius approached him in the form of a dragon, and relieved his pain. Without attempting accurately to determine how much of theſe tales is to be aſcribed to the invention of Marinus, and how much to the fanaticiſm of his maſter, we may perceive in them proofs of ſuperſtitious weakneſs, of artful hypocriſy, or of a ſtrange union of both, abundantly ſufficient to juſtify us in ranking Proclus among enthuſiaſts or impoſtors, rather than among philoſophers.

If the reader require any further evidence on this head, we muſt refer him to the writings of Proclus, in which he appears at once a man of erudition and a fanatic. They contain a rude and indigeſted maſs of materials, collected, with bold variations, from the Chaldaic, Orphic, Hermetic, Pythagoric, Platonic, and Ariſtotelian doctrines, and adorned with fictions and allegories, which, while they involve the ſubjects, upon which the writer treats, in thick darkneſs, diſcover great luxuriance of imagination. The confuſion and obſcurity of his works may be in part owing to the haſty manner in which they were written, but are chiefly to be aſcribed to the enthuſiaſtic caſt of the writer's mind, and to the myſtical ſpirit of the ſyſtem which he eſpouſed. Of the works of Proclus which remain, ſome are philoſophical, as his "Commentaries upon the Timæus," and ſeveral other dialogues of Plato; ſome theological, as his "Inſtitutes of Theology;" ſome critical, as his "Chreſtomathia," of which Photius has preſerved an Epitome; and ſome mathematical, as his "Paraphraſe upon Ptolemy, Euclid," &c. and his "Doctrine of the Sphere." This laſt piece was in part copied, without acknowledgment, from the Iſagoge of Geminus, an aſtronomer of ſome diſtinction in the time of Cicero [a]. Proclus died of the gout, in the year four hundred and eighty-five.

[a] Voſſ. de Scient. Mathem. c. 32. § 26. Fabr. de Procli Scriptis. § 11. Bib. Gr. v. viii. p. 518.

The

The eclectic school at Athens was continued by MARINUS[a], a native of Sichem in Palestine, and a convert from the Samaritan to the Gentile religion. If the mathematical writings which bear his name be really his, which has been doubted, they are a sufficient proof of his proficiency in this kind of learning. His life of Proclus rather delineates a picture of a perfect philosopher, than relates the actions and opinions of his hero. The work abounds with ridiculous tales, and destroys its own credibility by manifest contradictions. Towards the close of his life, Marinus, perceiving his health decline, was anxious to find a successor, who might continue, with credit, what was called the chain of the Platonic succession, and for that purpose made choice of Isidorus, who soon afterwards removed to Alexandria, and left the Athenian school in the hands of ZENODOTUS[b], a pupil of Proclus.

ISIDORUS, as we learn from his biographer Damascius[c], was a native of Gaza in Palestine, a city which retained the Gentile superstitions long after christianity had been commonly embraced in the neighbouring countries. At Alexandria, whither he was sent by his parents for education, he was instructed in rhetoric and polite learning by Asclepiodotus, a Platonist; but he neglected these studies, that he might devote himself entirely to sublimer speculations. The fame of Proclus as a preceptor in theology soon induced him to repair to his school at Athens. Bringing with him a mind inured to profound meditation, and an imagination inflamed with enthusiasm, he found it no difficult labour, under the direction of Proclus, to soar into the regions of mysticism. After the death of his master, he entertained a superstitious reverence for his memory, and offered sacrifices to him as to a divinity[d]. Relinquishing, however, for reasons which do not appear, the chair to which he had been appointed by Marinus, he returned to Alexandria. After a short residence in that city, he fled, with several other philosophers, into

[a] Damascius in Vit. Isidori, ap. Phot. Cod. 181. Suidas. Voss. ib. p. 442. Fab. viii. 364. [b] Damasc. ib. p. 563. [c] Ib. Cod. 181, 342. Suidas.
[d] Damascius, p. 566, 569, 570.

Persia,

Perſia, to eſcape the perſecution of Juſtinian. About the year five hundred and thirty-three, he returned from his voluntary exile [a]. As Iſidorus had been a pupil of Proclus, he muſt have been far advanced in life when he left Perſia. The exact dates of his birth and death cannot be aſcertained; but it is probable that he was not born later than the year four hundred and ſixty-five, and that he did not die before the year five hundred and forty.

The ſucceſſion of the Platonic or Eclectic ſchool in Alexandria terminated in DAMASCIUS [b], a native of Syria. He ſtudied both at Athens and Alexandria, and in the latter ſchool was a profeſſor of philoſophy, till he was driven into Perſia by the ſeverities which, as we have ſaid, were exerciſed by the emperor Juſtinian againſt the Gentile philoſophers. His "Lives of Iſidorus and Others," and the few fragments of his philoſophy which remain, are ſtrongly marked with the characters of the eclectic ſchool, obſcurity, fanaticiſm, and impoſture.

To this liſt of Alexandrian philoſophers muſt be added the celebrated female, HYPATIA [c], whoſe extenſive learning, elegant manners, and tragical end, have rendered her name immortal. Hypatia was the daughter of Theon, a celebrated mathematician of Alexandria. She poſſeſſed an acute and penetrating judgment, and great ſublimity and fertility of genius, and her talents were cultivated with aſſiduity by her father, and other preceptors. After ſhe had made herſelf miſtreſs of polite learning, and of the ſciences of geometry and aſtronomy, as far as they were then underſtood, ſhe entered upon the ſtudy of philoſophy. She proſecuted this ſtudy with ſuch uncommon ſucceſs, that ſhe was importuned to become a public preceptreſs in the ſchool where Plotinus and his ſucceſſors had taught: and her love of ſcience enabled her ſo far to ſubdue the natural diffidence of the ſex, that ſhe yielded to the public voice, and exchanged her female decorations for the philoſopher's cloak [d].

[a] Agathias de reb. Juſtin. l. ii. 49. Suidas in Δαμάσκιος, t. iii. p. 171. Petav. Rat. Temp. l. vii. c. 8. [b] Phot. Cod. 181. p. 212. Cod. 242. p. 566. Suidas.
[c] Suidas. Socrat. Hiſt. Eccl. l. vii. c. 15.
[d] Nicephor. l. xiv. c. 16. Syneſii Epiſt. ad Hypat.

In

In the ſchools, and in other places of public reſort, ſhe diſcourſed upon philoſophical topics, explaining, and endeavouring to reconcile, the ſyſtems of Plato, Ariſtotle, and other maſters. A ready elocution, and graceful addreſs, united with rich erudition and ſound judgment, procured her numerous followers and admirers; among whom was Syneſius, afterwards to be mentioned. But that which reflects the higheſt honour upon her memory is, that, though ſhe excelled moſt of the philoſophers of her age in mathematical and philoſophical ſcience, ſhe diſcovered no pride of learning; and, though ſhe was in perſon exceedingly beautiful, ſhe never yielded to the impulſe of female vanity, or gave occaſion to the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion againſt her chaſtity.

The extraordinary combination of accompliſhments and virtues, which adorned the character of Hypatia, rendered her houſe the general reſort of perſons of learning and diſtinction. But it was impoſſible that ſo much merit ſhould not excite envy. The qualifications and attainments, to which ſhe was indebted for her celebrity, proved in the iſſue the occaſion of her deſtruction. It happened that, at this time, the patriarchal chair of Alexandria was occupied by Cyril, a biſhop of great authority, but of great haughtineſs and violence of temper. In the vehemence of his bigotted zeal, he had treated the Jews with ſeverity, and at laſt baniſhed them out of Alexandria. Oreſtes, the prefect of the city, a man of a liberal ſpirit, highly reſented this expulſion, as an unpardonable ſtretch of eccleſiaſtical power, and a cruel act of oppreſſion and injuſtice againſt a people, who had inhabited Alexandria from the time of its founder. He reported the affair to the emperor. The biſhop, on his part, complained to the prince of the ſeditious temper of the Jews, and attempted to juſtify his proceedings. The emperor declined to interpoſe his authority; and the affair rapidly advanced to the utmoſt extremity. A body of about five hundred monks, who eſpouſed the cauſe of Cyril, came into the city with a determination to ſupport him by force. Meeting the prefect, as he was paſſing through the ſtreet in his carriage, they ſtopped him, and loaded him with reproaches; and one of them threw a ſtone at his head, and

wounded him. The populace, who were by this time aſſembled on the part of the prefect, routed the monks, and ſeized one of their leaders. Oreſtes ordered him to be put to death. Cyril buried his body in the church, and gave inſtructions, that his name ſhould be regiſtered among the ſacred martyrs. Hypatia, who had always been highly reſpected by the prefect, and who had, at this time, frequent conferences with him, was ſuppoſed by the partizans of the biſhop to have been deeply engaged in the intereſt of Oreſtes. Their reſentment, at length, roſe to ſuch a height, that they formed a deſign againſt her life. As ſhe was one day returning home from the ſchools, the mob ſeized her, forced her from her chair, and carried her to the Cæſarean church; where, ſtripping off her garments, they put her to death with extreme barbarity; and having torne her body limb from limb, committed it to the flames. Cyril himſelf has, by ſome writers, been ſuſpected of ſecretly prompting this horrid act of violence. And if the haughtineſs and ſeverity of his temper, his perſecution of the Jews, his oppreſſive and iniquitous treatment of the Novatian ſect of Chriſtians and their biſhop, the vehemence of his preſent indignation againſt Oreſtes and his party, and, above all, the protection which he is ſaid to have afforded to the immediate perpetrator of the murder of Hypatia, be duly conſidered, it will perhaps appear, that this ſuſpicion is not wholly without foundation. Hypatia was murdered under the reign of the emperor Theodoſius II. in the year four hundred and fifteen [a]. Hence it is certain, that ſhe could not have been, as Suidas [b], with his uſual precipitation, relates, the wife of Iſidorus: it is probable, that through her whole life ſhe remained in a ſtate of celibacy.

Beſides the philoſophers of the Alexandrian or Eclectic ſect who have been enumerated, and others of inferior note, there were many perſons, who, though not philoſophers by profeſſion, eſpouſed the doctrines of Platoniſm, as they were new modelled in this ſchool. Among theſe were ſeveral celebrated writers; particularly,

[a] Socrat. Hiſt. Eccl. l. vii. c. 15. [b] Hypat. t. iii. p. 533.

Macrobius,

MACROBIUS [a], who flouriſhed in the reigns of Honorius and Theodoſius II. and wrote, beſides other pieces, "A Commentary on Scipio's Dream," as deſcribed by Cicero, a work full of Platonic notions; and alſo *Saturnalia*, or "Learned Converſations;" and AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, an hiſtorian of credit, who mentions, with high reſpect, ſeveral philoſophers of the Platonic ſchool [b].

Having thus far taken an hiſtorical ſurvey of the riſe and progreſs of the Eclectic ſect, it remains that we endeavour, ſomewhat more diſtinctly, to mark the circumſtances which contributed towards its eſtabliſhment, and to enumerate its peculiar tenets. This is the more neceſſary, as the doctrines of this ſchool were widely diſſeminated, and obtained a powerful influence, not only in other philoſophical ſects, but even in the Chriſtian church.

The Eclectic ſect took its riſe, as we have ſeen, among the Egyptians, a people peculiarly addicted to ſuperſtition, among whom the art of divination is ſaid to have originated [c]. It was formed in Alexandria, a city colonized from many different nations, whoſe inhabitants brought with them their reſpective religious and philoſophical tenets. The Pythagoric and Platonic doctrine had been in many reſpects ſimilar to that of the Egyptians, and therefore obtained an eaſy admiſſion into their ſchools, at a time when the philoſophy of Greece, already univerſally celebrated, was introduced under the ſanction of conqueſt. Before the commencement of the Chriſtian æra, the return of thoſe philoſophers who had, during the reign of Ptolemy Phyſcon, been diſperſed in Aſia, and had there learned the Oriental philoſophy, increaſed the chaotic maſs of opinions in theology and philoſophy, which had been forming in the Alexandrian ſchools from their firſt eſtabliſhment; the confuſion and inconſiſtency of which were now, with much induſtry, concealed under the veil of allegory. It will clearly appear from an attentive compa-

[a] Cod. Theodoſ. l. vi. t. 8.
[b] L. xxii. 16. xxiii. 6. xxx. 4.
[c] Ammian. Marcell. l. xxii. c. 16.

riſon of theſe circumſtances, that the Eclectic method of philoſophiſing began at a period prior to the time of Chriſt.

The violent diſſentions, which diverſity of opinions produced in the Alexandrian ſchools, inclined many to wiſh for a general coalition of ſects. This project appears to have been firſt formed by Potamo, and to have been carried into execution by Ammonius and his followers. The philoſophy of Plato, already united with that of Pythagoras, was made the baſis of this new ſyſtem; whence the ſect was conſidered as a Platonic ſchool, and its followers have been commonly diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of the later Platoniſts. With the doctrines of Plato, they attempted to blend thoſe of Ariſtotle, who from the time of Demetrius Phalereus had been in high eſtimation in Alexandria. In dialectics, this union was not difficult; but in phyſics and metaphyſics, the leading dogmas of theſe philoſophers were ſo widely different, and in many reſpects even contradictory, that it was impoſſible to bring them together, without diſtorting and miſrepreſenting both, and contriving ſtrange and fanciful hypotheſes to reconcile them. One memorable example of theſe, among many which might be adduced, is the dogma of the Eclectic ſchool concerning the eternal generation of the world in the divine mind, which neither agrees with Plato's doctrine of Ideas, nor with Ariſtotle's notion concerning the eternity of the world. The Stoic ſyſtem was alſo in the Eclectic ſchool accommodated to the Platonic; and the moral writings of the followers of Zeno were explained upon the principles of Plato. The Enchiridion of Epictetus, for inſtance, is platoniſed in the Commentary of Simplicius. The only ſect, with which the Alexandrian ſchool could come to no terms of agreement, was that of Epicurus, whoſe mechanical principles of nature were contrary to the fundamental doctrines of Platoniſm. It muſt be evident, on the moſt curſory view, that a method of philoſophiſing, which thus undertook to combine the tenets of different ſects, could anſwer no other purpoſe than to confound all former diſtinctions, and to give birth to new abſurdities.

Plato having propoſed the intuitive contemplation of Intelligibles, and eſpecially of the Firſt Intelligence, the Supreme Deity, as the

ſummit

ſummit of human felicity, the philoſophers of the Eclectic ſect were peculiarly ambitious of this ſublime attainment, and even carried their notions and pretenſions on this ſubject further than their maſter. Not ſatisfied with arriving at a formal and eſſential intuition of divine natures, they aſpired after a ſort of deification of the human mind. That they might the more eaſily reach, in imagination, this point of perfection, they forſook the DUALISTIC SYSTEM which Plato had aſſumed, and adopted from the Oriental philoſophy the SYSTEM OF EMANATION, which ſuppoſed an indefinite ſeries of ſpiritual natures, derived from the ſupreme ſource; whence, conſidering the human mind as a link in this chain of intelligence, they conceived that, by paſſing through various ſtages of purification, it might at length aſcend to the Firſt Fountain of intelligence, and enjoy a myſterious union with the divine nature. They even imagined that the ſoul of man, properly prepared by previous diſcipline, might riſe to a capacity of holding immediate intercourſe with good dæmons, and even to enjoy, in extacy, an intuitive viſion of God: a point of perfection and felicity which many of their great men, ſuch as Plotinus, Porphyry, Jamblichus, and Proclus, were ſuppoſed actually to have attained.

Several circumſtances concurred to give this enthuſiaſtic caſt to the Alexandrian ſchool. The Platonic ſect had, from its firſt inſtitution, leaned towards enthuſiaſm. That part of their ſyſtem, which theſe later Platoniſts had borrowed from the oriental ſchool, was wonderfully calculated to cheriſh the flights of a luxuriant fancy. And the union of the two characters of philoſopher and prieſt, which, as appears in the lives of Apollonius, Apuleius, and others, was at this period not unuſual, whilſt it would in ſome caſes be favourable to impoſture, would, in others, ſerve to miniſter fuel to the fire of enthuſiaſm.

In order to account ſtill further for ſome of the more ſtriking features of the Eclectic ſect, it is neceſſary particularly to remark the arts, which the leaders of this ſect employed to obſtruct the progreſs of the Chriſtian religion. By combining into one ſyſtem all the important tenets, both theological and philoſophical, which were at

that time received, either in the Pagan or the Chriſtian ſchools, they hoped to confirm the heathens in their attachment to their old ſuperſtitions, and to reconcile the Chriſtians to Paganiſm. They endeavoured to conceal the abſurdities of the antient religion, by caſting over its fables the veil of allegory, and thus repreſenting them as founded upon important truths. The numerous train of heathen divinities they repreſented as emanations from the Supreme Deity, through whom he himſelf was worſhipped. That their ſyſtem might, if poſſible, rival that which was taught in the Chriſtian ſchools, they ſpeculated, after the manner of Plato, upon divine and intelligent natures: they even attempted to incorporate with their own dogmas ſeveral of the peculiar doctrines received among the Chriſtians, and made no ſcruple to deck themſelves with borrowed ornaments, by imitating, on many occaſions, the language of the Chriſtian fathers. In hopes of counteracting the credit which Chriſtianity derived from the exalted merit of its Founder, and from the purity of manners which prevailed among his followers, theſe philoſophers practiſed rigorous abſtinence, by which they profeſſed to purify themſelves from every tincture of moral defilement, and paſſed whole days and nights in contemplation and devotion. With a view to deſtroy the authority which the Chriſtian religion derived from miracles, or at leaſt to reduce it to a level with their own, they pretended to a power of performing ſupernatural operations by the aid of inviſible beings; and maintained, that the miracles of Chriſt were wrought by the ſame magical, or theurgic, powers which they themſelves poſſeſſed. Laſtly, for the purpoſe of ſupporting the credit of Paganiſm againſt that of Chriſtianity, they obtruded upon the world many ſpurious books, under the names of Hermes, Orpheus, and other illuſtrious antients.

The Eclectic ſect, thus raiſed upon the foundations of ſuperſtition, enthuſiaſm, and impoſture, proved the occaſion of much confuſion and miſchief both to the Chriſtian religion and to philoſophy.

In the infancy of the Alexandrian ſchool, not a few among the profeſſors of Chriſtianity ſuffered themſelves to be ſo far deluded by the pretenſions of this ſect, as to imagine that a coalition might,

might, with great advantage, be formed between its ſyſtem and that of Chriſtianity; and this union ſeemed the more deſirable, as ſeveral philoſophers of this ſect became converts to the Chriſtian faith. But the conſequence was, that Pagan ideas and opinions were by degrees mixed with the pure and ſimple doctrine of the goſpel; the fanatical philoſophy of Ammonius corrupted the pure religion of Chriſt; and his church became a field of contention, and a nurſery of error.

This project for a coalition of ſyſtems was not leſs injurious to philoſophy. Before this period, although the philoſophical world had been divided into many ſects, and diſturbed by endleſs controverſies, ſtill each ſect had its peculiar character and tenets; ſo that any one, who was deſirous of knowing the truth, might form a judgment for himſelf of their reſpective merits, and might adopt that ſyſtem which he judged to be moſt conſonant to reaſon. But, in attempting to combine the leading tenets of each ſect into one common ſyſtem, theſe philoſophers were obliged, in many caſes, to underſtand them in a ſenſe different from that of their original authors; whence it becomes impoſſible, from their writings, to form an accurate notion either of the Platonic, the Peripatetic, the Stoic, the Egyptian, or the Oriental philoſophy. Finding it impracticable to produce an appearance of harmony among ſyſtems eſſentially different from each other, without caſting a veil of obſcurity over the whole, they exerted their utmoſt ingenuity in deviſing fanciful conceptions, ſubtle diſtinctions, airy ſuppoſitions, and vague terms; combinations of which, infinitely diverſified, they attempted, too ſucceſsfully, to impoſe upon the world as a ſyſtem of real and ſublime truths. It is not eaſy to conceive, how many thorns and briars, from this time, obſtructed the path of ſcience. Loſt in ſubtleties, theſe pretenders to ſuperior wiſdom were perpetually endeavouring to explain, by imaginary reſemblances, and arbitrary diſtinctions, what they themſelves probably never underſtood. Diſdaining to ſubmit to the guidance of reaſon and good-ſenſe, they gave up the reins to imagination, and ſuffered themſelves to be borne away through the boundleſs regions of metaphyſics, where the

the eye labours in vain to follow them. If any one be desirous of proofs or illustrations of these remarks, we refer him to the writings of Plotinus and Proclus, on the subjects of the Deity and inferior divine natures, where he will meet with innumerable examples of egregious trifling, under the appearance of profound philosophy.

It would be an undertaking wholly impracticable, to frame an accurate delineation of the Eclectic doctrine; both, because its authors were not agreed among themselves in any one system, and because they do not appear to have themselves clearly conceived the meaning of many of their own dogmas. We shall, however, lay before the reader a brief specimen of this philosophy, in metaphysics, from Plotinus; in theology, from Jamblichus; and in morals, from Porphyry.

In metaphysics Plotinus taught thus:

The First Principle of the universe is not the universe, but above all, and the power of all; without which nothing could be; which, though the fountain of being, is itself incapable of division or increase. This first principle, the cause of intellectual life, the source of essence and being, is simple, and having no place, has neither motion nor rest. It is infinite, not as being immense, but as it is one, and has nothing by which it can be limited. Because that from which all things proceed can permit nothing to exist better than itself, it is the best of all beings. It is essential good, most fair and beautiful; and because it is in itself lovely, and the author of all that is lovely, it is the beginning and end of beauty. No attribute is to be ascribed to this First Principle in the same sense in which it is ascribed to other beings, but in a manner wholly inexplicable. Its nature is to be comprehended rather by profound contemplation, than by any act of the understanding[a].

From this First Principle proceeds Mind, or Intellect; and Soul, or the Active Principle. The primary Essential Good is the cen-

[a] Plotin. Enn. iii. l. viii. c. 9. En. v. l. ii. c. 1. l. v. c. 10, 11. En. vi. l. ii. c. 9. l. vii. c. 23, 33. l. viii. c. 7. Jambl. de Myst. S. viii. c. 2.

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ter; Mind, the light emerging from it, and remaining fixed; Soul, the motion of the emaning light; Body, the opaque ſubſtance which is illuminated by the ſoul. In the production of the Second Principle, Mind, no kind of action, or will, is to be ſuppoſed; for then that action, or will, would be the ſecond, and mind the third emanation. The firſt principle, having been always perfect, has always produced the ſecond; which is inferior to the producing cauſe, but ſuperior to all other natures. This ſecond principle, Mind, is neceſſarily united to its ſource, and is the image of God, bearing ſuch reſemblance to him as light bears to the ſun: it is produced by the energy of the firſt principle, and is the exerted power of viſion, reflection, or intelligence. This ſecond principle being produced, its energy produces within itſelf the fair univerſe of ideas, or intelligible natures; whence it comprehends a plenitude of all things as eſſential principles, before they exiſt as material ſubſtances. Intelligence is the act of intellect, or mind, contemplating intelligible natures. Theſe natures may be conſidered as numbers proceeding from the Monad, or firſt principle, and Duad, or firſt emanation: but the firſt principle, conſidered in itſelf, muſt be diſtinguiſhed from theſe; for intellect, being exerciſed in contemplating intelligible natures within, but diſtinct from, itſelf, wants that ſimplicity which is eſſential to the firſt principle [a].

From the emanative energy of Mind is produced Soul, or the Active Principle of life. This divine principle is the fountain, whence all life is derived. It ſubſiſts, as well as Intellect, within the divine eſſence, and is, therefore, ὑπερκόσμιον, ſupramundane [b]. This is the immediate ſource of the principle which animates the world, ἐγκόσμιον, and which is diffuſed, in various portions, through animated nature [c].

[a] En. ii. l. ix. c. 1. En. iv. l. iii. c. 14, 17. En. v. l. i. c. 4, 6, 7. l. iv. c. ult l. v. c. 1, 12. l. vi. c. 1, 2. l. vii. c. 1. l. ix. c. 6, 8.

[b] En. iii. l. v. c. 2. En. v. l. i. c. 7. l. viii. c. 4.

[c] Proclus in Tim. l. ii. p. 92.

Matter is the receptacle and ſubject of forms, but has in itſelf neither figure, quality, magnitude, nor place, and can therefore only be defined negatively: nevertheleſs, it is not a mere name, but truly exiſts as the baſis of qualities. Matter exiſts potentially; bodies actually, with their peculiar characters [a].

There never was a time, when matter and form exiſted ſeparately, or when the univerſe was not animated [b]. To ſuppoſe the formation of the univerſe the effect of chance is abſurd. The world is to be conceived as having always exiſted, and mind as prior to it, not in the order of time, but of nature, and therefore as the eternal and neceſſary cauſe, both formal and efficient, of its exiſtence [c]. The ſenſible world is produced after the pattern of the intelligible world, by the energy of mind pouring forth ſome portion of its own nature upon matter, and hereby giving it the firſt unconſcious principle of motion and form [d]. The world contains ſuperior and inferior regions, the former of which are inhabited by gods and other celeſtial beings, the latter by men and inferior animals. Becauſe the world includes every thing within itſelf, ſo that there is nothing into which it can be changed, nor any external force by which it can be diſperſed, it muſt be perpetual in its duration [e].

Among Celeſtial Natures, there are various orders, poſſeſſing different degrees of perfection, and all entitled to religious worſhip, Gods, Dæmons, Genii, Heroes. The ſouls of men and inferior animals form the common limit between the intellectual and ſenſible world [f].

The human ſoul is derived from the ſupramundane ſoul, or firſt principle of life, and is in this reſpect ſiſter to the ſoul of the world. Souls are not in the body as their place, nor as their receptacle, nor as

[a] Plot. En. ii. l. iv. c. 1.—6, 11, 12. l. v. c. 2.

[b] En. iv. l. iii. c. 9. [c] En. iii. l. i. c. 1. Porphyr. Ant. Nymph. p. 131. Jamb. Myſt. Ægypt. ſ. viii. c. 3.

[d] From this doctrine Cudworth, in his *Intellectual Syſtem*, derives his Plaſtic Nature.

[e] En. iii. l. i. c. 2, 3, 4, 8—10. [f] En. iii. l. v. c. 6.

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their ſubject, nor as a part of a whole, nor as form united to matter, but ſimply as the animating principle; for it is in this reſpect only that we know the ſoul to be preſent with the body. The power of the ſoul is diffuſed through every part of the body; and though it be ſaid to reſide in its chief inſtrument the brain, it is incorporeal, and exiſts entirely every where within the ſphere of its energy. Partaking of the nature of real being, it is immutable. It is the principle of motion, moving itſelf, and communicating motion to bodies. The vices and infelicities of the ſoul are wholly derived from its union with the body[a].

Souls, in the periodical revolutions of nature, ſeparate themſelves from their fountain, and deſcend into the lower regions of the world. In their paſſage, they attract to themſelves an ethereal vehicle, and at laſt ſink into animal bodies, as into a cavern, or ſepulchre. But when, by the power of reminiſcence, they again turn themſelves to the contemplation of intelligible and divine natures, they regain their freedom[b]. God, on account of his greatneſs, is not known by intelligence, or ſenſe, but by a kind of intuition ſuperior to ſcience, by means of which the ſoul can ſee him in his real nature, as the fountain of Life, Mind, and Being, and the cauſe of Good[c]. A ſoul which has attained to this viſion of God will lament its union with the body, and will rejoice to leave its priſon, and return to the divine nature from which it proceeded[d]. After death, the ſouls of men paſs into other animals, or aſcend into ſuperior regions, and are converted into beings of an higher order, according to their preſent degree of defilement or of purification[e].

The theological doctrine of Jamblichus is briefly this:

The human ſoul has an innate knowledge of God prior to all reaſoning, having originally derived its eſſence from, and ſubſiſted in, the divine nature. By the intervention of dæmons, it enjoys communications

[a] En. v. l. i. c. 2. En. iv. l. ii. c. 18. l. iii. c. 20. l. i. p. 360. l. ii. c. 1. En. ii. l. ii. c. 18. l. ix. c. 5. En. iv. l. vii. c. 1, 2, 9, 11.

[b] En. iv. l. iii. c. 12. l. iv. c. 16. l. ix. c. 4. En. vi. l. viii. c. 1.

[c] Enn. vi. l. ix. c. 4, 7. [d] C. 8, 9.

[e] En. i. l. ix. c. 1. En. iii. l. iv. c. 2.

with the ſuperior divinities, and with God himſelf. Prayers, hymns, luſtrations, ſacrifices, are the means by which this intercourſe is maintained. Gods, dæmons, and heroes, appear to men under various forms, in dreams or waking viſions, to render them bodily or ſpiritual ſervices, and to enable them to predict future events. Theſe communications with divine natures are not to be obtained, but by the obſervance of certain ſacred rites, whoſe ſymbolical meaning is only known to the gods, and to thoſe who are converſant with theſe myſteries. The ſigns of divine communication, ἐνθυσιάσμοῖς, are a temporary ſuſpenſion of the ſenſes and faculties, the interruption of the ordinary functions of life, and a capacity of ſpeaking and doing wonders, ſo that the perſon doth not live an animal, or human, but a divine life [a].

Upon the foundation of theſe enthuſiaſtic notions was raiſed the Ethical ſyſtem of the Alexandrian ſchool. Their moral doctrine, as it appears in the writings of Porphyry and others, was, briefly, as follows:

The mind of man, originally a portion of the divine nature, having fallen into a ſtate of darkneſs and defilement by its union with the body, is to be gradually emancipated from the chain of matter, and, by contemplating real entities, to riſe to the knowledge and viſion of God. The end of philoſophy is, therefore, the liberation of the ſoul from its corporeal impriſonment. For this purpoſe, it muſt paſs through the ſeveral ſtages of the Human and Divine Virtues. The Human Virtues are phyſical, œconomical, and political; or, thoſe which reſpect the care of the body, and the offices of domeſtic and civil life. The Divine Virtues are purgative, theoretic, and theurgic: the firſt claſs conſiſts in bodily abſtinence, and other voluntary mortifications; the ſecond comprehends all thoſe exerciſes of the intellect and imagination, by which the mind contemplates abſtract truth, and intelligible natures; the third includes thoſe religious exerciſes, by which the philoſopher is qualified for, and admitted to, an immediate intercourſe with ſuperior beings, attains a

[a] Jamblich. de Myſteriis Ægyptiorum. Ed. Gal. Oxon. 1702. fol.

power over dæmons, and aſcends ſo far above the ordinary condition of humanity, as to enjoy the viſion of God in this life, and to return, at death, to the Divine Mind, whence it firſt proceeded [a].

On reviewing the ſpeculative part of the Eclectic ſyſtem, as it appears in the preceding ſummary, the reader will eaſily perceive that the Alexandrian philoſophers, though they founded their ſyſtem chiefly upon the doctrine of Plato, departed from him in many particulars. Their notions of the divine nature are not ſtrictly Platonic, but the fanciful conceptions of Plato purſued to a higher degree of extravagance, and blended with the Egyptian and Oriental doctrine of emanation. Thoſe of the Oriental philoſophers, who were called Gnoſtics, carried this doctrine to ſo abſurd an extreme, as to imagine a long genealogy of divine eſſences, flowing from the firſt fountain of exiſtence, and dwelling within the infinite plenitude of the Divine Nature; to theſe they gave the name of Æons. Plotinus maintained, againſt the Gnoſtics, that there are only three diſtinct ὑποστάσεις, ſubſiſtences, in the divine nature [b]. He receded from Plato, in ſuppoſing one of theſe, the ſoul or animating principle, to be a part of the divine nature, and not a ſeparate and ſubordinate principle, the ſoul of the world. Others [c] converted this trinity into a quaternity, by conceiving three principles, Intellect, Ideas, and Soul, to be derived from one common ſource, the firſt principle of all exiſtence. In what manner they ſuppoſed the intelligible world to ſubſiſt in the divine nature, whilſt nevertheleſs it retained its ſimplicity, it may be difficult to explain. But it appears evident, that, with Plato, they underſtood theſe Ideas to be ſomething more than mere conceptions, and imagined them to have a real exiſtence,

[a] Porphyr. de Abſtinentiæ, et Sententiæ, &c. Jambl. Serm. Protrept. paſs. Conf. Plot. En. iii. l. ix. c. 9, 10. En. iv. l. iii. c. 7. En. vi l. ult. Amm. Marcell. l. xxv. c. 4. Macrob. Som. Sc. l. i. c. 7, 13. Simplic. in Epict. p. 5.

[b] En. ii. l. ix. c. 1. [c] Cyril. Alex. adv. Julian. l. i. p. 35. l. viii. p. 371. Proclus in Tim. Plat. l. ii. p. 93.

comprehended within the divine eſſence [a]. Plotinus expreſſes his notion of theſe intelligible natures, under the image of waters exiſting in their fountain before they flow forth in ſtreams [b]. Another eſſential difference between the doctrine of Plato himſelf, and that of the later Platoniſts, is, that while Plato held the DUALISTIC SYSTEM, which ſuppoſed matter to have exiſted eternally as a ſubſtance diſtinct from mind, the Alexandrian philoſopher conceived matter itſelf to have proceeded by eternal emanation from the divine nature. To this we may add, that Plato taught, that the univerſe was formed, at a certain finite time, by the voluntary energy of divine power upon the eternal maſs of matter; but the Alexandrian Platoniſts, that intelligible forms have been eternally impreſſed upon matter, that is, that the univerſe has exiſted from eternity.

It is wonderful to obſerve how laboriouſly theſe philoſophers tortured their imaginations in attempting to ſolve difficulties, which exiſted only in their own fanciful ſyſtem, or which lie beyond the reach of the human underſtanding. They took infinite pains to diſtinguiſh between intelligible and intelligent natures [c]; to ſhew, how Ideas, not in themſelves intelligent, but the objects of intelligence, could exiſt in the divine intellect; to explain the manner in which the divine mind acts upon matter; to make it evident, that matter is ſent forth by emanation from an immaterial ſource; and to clear up other imaginary, or inexplicable myſteries. "The divine mind," ſays Plotinus [d], "acts upon matter by means of ideas, not externally, after the manner of human art, but internally, as a forming nature; neither ſeparate from matter, nor mixed with it, he ſends forth from himſelf ideas, or forms, and impreſſes them upon matter." "God," ſays Jamblichus, "produced matter, by ſeparating Materiality from Eſſentiality."

But it is wholly unneceſſary to dwell longer upon the viſionary ſubtleties of the Alexandrian philoſophy. The facts and opinions which we have laid before the reader reſpecting the Eclectic ſect

[a] Plot. En. v. l. i. c. 7.
[b] En. iii. l. viii. c. 9.
[c] Plot. Enn. l. viii. c. 4.
[d] Enn. vi. l. v. c. 8. En. iii. l. i. c. 2.

will,

will, we doubt not, be thought abundantly ſufficient to juſtify this general concluſion; that the Plotinian ſchool, by combining ſyſtems which were originally diſtinct from each other; by perſonifying abſtract conceptions, and ſpeaking of them as real beings; by inventing ſtrange fictions concerning the Supreme Being, and concerning ſubordinate divinities; and by raiſing upon theſe fictions the baſeleſs fabric of enthuſiaſm and fanaticiſm, introduced infinite confuſion into philoſophy, and fatally obſtructed, inſtead of promoting, the progreſs of uſeful knowledge. The pernicious influence of the Eclectic ſyſtem, both upon opinions and manners, through many ſucceeding ages, will be ſeen in the ſequel*.

* Vidend. Voſs. de Sect. c. 21. § 23. Heuman. Act. Phil. v. i. p. 327. Geſner. Act. Phil. v. i. p. 851. Moſheim. de Turb. per recent. Plat. Eccl. § 8. Selden in Orig. Alexand. p. 147. Oudin. de Scr. Eccl. t. 1. p. 230, 238. Rhodogin. Ant. Lect. l. xxi. c. 10. Blount. Cenſ. p. 203. Jonſ. l. ii. c. 9, 18. l. iii. c. 11, 15, 16, 17. Holſten. Vit. Porph. ed. Rom. Baſnage Annal. t. ii. An. 278. Vincent. Lirinenſio. Commonit. c. 23. ed Bal. Pearſon. Vind. Ignat. p. ii. c. 1. Huet. Origen. An. l. i. c. 1. Thomas Obſ. de Porph. ap. Heuman. t. iii. p. 53. Miſc. Lipſ. t. i. p. 317. Clerici Bibl. Anc. et Mod. t. x. Reland. Palæſtin. l. i. c. 48. Voſs. de Hiſt. Gr. l. ii. c. 18. Conring. Ant. Acad. Diſſ. 1. Schmidii Diſſ. de Hypatia. Cave Hiſt. Lit. Sac. p. 251. Voſs. de Sc. Math. c. xvi. § 9. Bayle. Moſhem. de Studio Ethnicorum Chriſtianos imitandi. Diſs. H. E. p. 330. Idem de Cauſis ſuppoſ. lib. ibid. p. 217. Cudworth, c. iv. § 23, 30, &c. cum Notis Moſhem. Fabr. Proleg. in Vit. Procli. De Bleterie Vie de Julien. Amſt. 1735. Rechenberg. de Apoſt. Jul. Toland's Tetradymus. Werenſdorf. Diſs. 1734.

SECT.

## SECT. 5.

### OF THE STATE OF THE PERIPATETIC PHILOSOPHY UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

WHILST Platoniſm, and the Eclectic ſect, which roſe out of Platoniſm, flouriſhed at Alexandria and Athens, and had many advocates in Rome, the other antient ſects ſtill continued to exiſt in their reſpective forms, and to be ſupported by able patrons.

The Peripatetic philoſophy, which had been introduced into Rome, as we have ſeen, by Tyrannio and Andronicus, by whom the writings of Ariſtotle and Theophraſtus were reſcued from oblivion, regained its antient credit under the Cæſars. From the time of Andronicus to that of Ammonius, the preceptor of Plutarch, that is, till the reign of Nero, the doctrines of this ſect were taught with great purity in its ſchools. But after Ammonius, it began to experience the influence of that ſpirit of confuſion, which prevailed among the Eclectic philoſophers; and the plan of Antiochus, who had formerly attempted a coalition between Ariſtotle, Plato, and Zeno, was revived. The Peripatetic ſect was from this time divided into two branches; the one conſiſting of ſuch as attempted to combine the doctrines of other ſchools with thoſe of Ariſtotle; the other, including thoſe who wiſhed to follow more cloſely the ſteps of the Stagyrite[a].

Julius Cæſar, and Auguſtus, patronized the Peripatetic philoſophy; the former in the perſon of Soſigines, the latter in that of Nicolaus. Under the tyrannical reigns of Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius, it

[a] Nunnes. ad Vit. Ariſt. p. 153. Patricii Diſc. Perip. t. i. l. x. p. 127. xi. p. 145. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. v. ii. p. 271.

experienced

experienced worſe fortune; many excellent men of this ſect, as well as others, being either baniſhed from Rome, or obliged, through fear of perſecution, to remain ſilent. In the reign of Nero, a fortunate circumſtance for a while raiſed philoſophy from the duſt. Agrippina, the wife of the emperor Claudius, having formed the deſign of advancing her ſon Nero to the imperial power, in order to give the people high expectations concerning him, committed the charge of his education to philoſophers of the firſt eminence, particularly Seneca the Stoic, and Ægeus the Peripatetic. In conſequence of this appointment, philoſophers continued, for about five years, to enjoy the patronage of the Imperial Court: but, after that period, they ſhared the fate of the profeſſors of magical arts, or, as they were then called, mathematicians, and were again baniſhed the city [a]. During the firſt century of the Roman empire, we find few celebrated names among the Peripatetic philoſophers. The principal are Soſigenes, Boethius, Nicolaus, and Ægeus.

SOSIGENES, a native of Egypt, acquired great celebrity by his acquaintance with mathematical ſcience, and was employed by Julius Cæſar in correcting the calendar. He wrote a commentary upon Ariſtotle's treatiſe *De Cœlo* [b].

BOETHIUS OF SIDON was a pupil of Andronicus [c]. Strabo mentions him as his fellow-pupil in the ſtudy of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, and ranks him among the moſt famous philoſophers of his time [d].

NICOLAUS [e], a native of Damaſcus in Syria, flouriſhed in the time of Auguſtus. He was a man of extenſive learning, and an illuſtrious ornament of the Peripatetic ſchool. Herod the Great made choice of him for his preceptor in philoſophy; and, when he ſailed to Rome, for the purpoſe of viſiting the emperor, took him as his companion in the voyage. Afterwards, interrupting

[a] Plin. Hiſt. N. l. xxx. c. 1. [b] Plin. l. xviii. c. 25. Conf. Patric. l. x. p. 134. Voſſ. de Scient. Math. c. 33. [c] Ammon. in Categ. p. 8.
[d] Menag. ad Laert. l. vi. § 443. Strabo. l. xvi. p. 757. Fab. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 209.
[e] Athenæus l. vi. p. 249. Plut. Symp. l. viii. qu. 4. Phot. Cod. 189. Suidas. Suet. in Aug. c. 79. Simplic. l. ii. de Cœlo. Fabr. v. ii. p. 809.

the

the ſtudy of philoſophy, that prince proſecuted hiſtorical learning under Nicolaus, who, at his requeſt undertook to write a Univerſal Hiſtory. Introduced by Herod to Auguſtus, he was admitted to his intimate friendſhip, and received from him many valuable tokens of regard. The integrity and generoſity of his ſpirit, and the urbanity of his manners, obtained him univerſal reſpect. Nicolaus wrote ſeveral treatiſes on the philoſophy of Ariſtotle; "A Diſſertation on the manners of Various Nations;" "Memoirs of Auguſtus;" and "His own Life." Of theſe ſome fragments are preſerved by Valeſius.

Alexander Ægeus wrote a commentary upon Ariſtotle's Meteorology, in the manner of the antient Peripatetics. He was, as we have ſaid, one of Nero's preceptors, but gained little credit in this capacity, for he is ſuſpected of having contributed to the corruption of his royal pupil. This philoſopher is ſometimes confounded with Alexander Aphrodiſeus [a].

About this time Ammonius, the preceptor of Plutarch, attempted to extend the authority of Ariſtotle beyond the limits of his own ſect, by blending the Platonic and Stoic doctrine with the Peripatetic. He taught and died at Athens. From this time, many Platoniſts ſtudied the writings of Ariſtotle, and commented upon them; and thus the way was prepared for the formation of the Eclectic ſect under Ammonius Sacca, who flouriſhed about a century later than Ammonius the Peripatetic [b].

After this time, however, we ſtill meet with ſeveral genuine followers of Ariſtotle, of whom the moſt celebrated was Alexander Aphrodiseus, ſo called from a town in Caria which gave him birth [c]. This philoſopher penetrated, with ſo much ſucceſs, into the meaning of the moſt profound ſpeculations of his maſter, that he was not only reſpected by his contemporaries as an excellent preceptor, but was followed by ſubſequent Ariſtotelians among the

[a] Suidas. Fab. v. ii. p. 273. v. iv. p. 63. [b] Eunap. Proem. Vit. Soph. p. 5. Suidas. Plut. de E. Delph. Fab. v. ii. p. 274. v. iii. p. 330. v. iv. p. 171.

[c] Suidas. Aphrod. de Anim. Pref. l. 1. De Fato, init. Topic. l. ii. p. 72. De Anim. l. i. 11. l. ii. 144. l. iii. c. 7. p. 138.

Greeks

Greeks, Latins, and Arabians, as the beſt interpreter of Ariſtotle. On account of the number and value of his commentaries, he was called, by way of diſtinction, The Commentator. Under the emperor Septimius Severus he was appointed public profeſſor of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, but whether at Athens or Alexandria is uncertain. He flouriſhed about the year two hundred. Several of his works are ſtill extant, among which is a learned and elegant treatiſe "On Fate[a]," wherein he ſupports the doctrine of Divine Providence. Upon this head he leaned towards Platoniſm, but on moſt other ſubjects adhered ſtrictly to Ariſtotle. In his book concerning the Soul, he maintains that it is εἶδός τι τῦ σώματος ὀργανικῦ, καὶ ἐκ ὐσιαν αὐτὴν καθ' αυτὴν, not a diſtinct ſubſtance by itſelf, but the *form* of an organized body[b].

Many of the Eclectic philoſophers undertook to explain and illuſtrate the writings of Ariſtotle, particularly on the ſubject of dialectics, which Plato had left imperfect. Beſides Porphyry, Jamblichus, Plutarchus, Neſtorius, and others already mentioned, we may reckon Dexippus, Themiſtius, Olympiodorus, and Simplicius, among the Eclectic commentators upon Ariſtotle[c].

DEXIPPUS was a diſciple of Jamblichus; but though he gave his name to the Platonic ſchool, he was more inclined to the doctrine of Ariſtotle, than to that of Plato, as appears from his "Reply to the Objections of Plotinus againſt Ariſtotle's Categories," a work ſtill extant[d].

THEMISTIUS, who was born in an obſcure town of Paphlagonia, fixed his reſidence at Conſtantinople, and taught eloquence and philoſophy with great ſucceſs. He had many diſciples, both Pagan and Chriſtian: among the former was Libanius; among the latter, Gregory Nazianzen. He enjoyed the favour of the emperors, by whom he was admitted to the higheſt honours. Conſtantius, in the year three hundred and fifty-five, received him into the ſenate, and

[a] Ed. Lond. 1658.

[b] Qu. & Sol. l. ii. c. 8.

[c] Euſeb. Ecc. Hiſt. l. vii. c. 32. Niceph. l. vi. c. 36. Hieron. Cat. Scrip. c. 73. Porph. Vit. Plot. c. 14.

[d] Simplic. in Categ. p. 1. Suidas.

afterwards, in return for an eloquent eulogium, preſented him with a brazen ſtatue. Julian received him as a friend, and frequently correſponded with him. In the year three hundred and ſixty-two he was appointed by this emperor prefect of Conſtantinople. He enjoyed equal diſtinction under the ſucceeding emperors, from whom he obtained by his eloquence whatever he wiſhed. Theodoſius the Great, during his viſit to the Weſtern empire, intruſted Themiſtius with the care and education of his ſon Arcadius. His eloquence, wiſdom, and ability in public affairs, united with uncommon gentleneſs of temper and urbanity of manners, were the foundation of that long courſe of civil honours, by which his life was diſtinguiſhed. About the year three hundred and eighty-ſeven, Themiſtius withdrew, at an advanced age, from public buſineſs, and ſoon after died[a].

A memorable example of the liberal ſpirit of Themiſtius is related by eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians[b]. The emperor Valens, who favoured the Arian party, inflicted many hardſhips and ſufferings upon the Trinitarians, and daily threatened them with ſtill greater ſeverities. Themiſtius, to whom theſe meaſures were exceedingly diſpleaſing, addreſſed the emperor upon the ſubject in an eloquent ſpeech, in which he repreſented the diverſity of opinions among the Chriſtians as inconſiderable, compared with that of the Pagan philoſophers; and pleaded, that this diverſity could not be diſpleaſing to God, ſince it did not prevent men from worſhipping him with true piety. By theſe and other arguments Themiſtius prevailed upon the emperor to treat the Trinitarians with greater lenity.

Themiſtius illuſtrated ſeveral of the works of Ariſtotle, particularly the Analytics, the Phyſics, and the book on the Soul, in Commentaries written with great perſpicuity and elegance[c]. His "Orations" are ſtrongly marked with the ſame characters. He is

[a] Suid. Phot. Cod. 74. Them. Orat. 4, 16, 17, 20, 21, 23, 27, 31, 33. Liban. Epiſt. i. 139, 40. Jul. Ep. ad Them.

[b] Socrat. l. iv. c. 32., Sozom. l. vi. c. 36. Niceph. l. xi. c. 46.

[c] Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. viii. p. 1. 37. Ed. Venet. 1534. Par. 1684.

to be diſtinguiſhed from Themiſtius, a Chriſtian deacon of Alexandria, who lived after the council of Chalcedon, held in the year five hundred and fifty-one, and was the head of the ſect of the Agnoetæ [a]; ſo called, becauſe they taught that Chriſt, the λόγος, was ignorant of many things. There is nothing in the writings of Themiſtius the philoſopher, from which it can be inferred that he ever deſerted the Pagan ſchools.

In the following century, about the year four hundred and thirty, flouriſhed OLYMPIODORUS, an Alexandrian philoſopher, celebrated for his knowledge of the Ariſtotelian doctrine. Proclus, before he was twenty years of age, attended upon his ſchool. This philoſopher is to be diſtinguiſhed from a Platoniſt of this name, whoſe commentary upon Plato is preſerved among the Manuſcripts in the king's library at Paris; and alſo from a Peripatetic of a later age, who wrote a Commentary upon Ariſtotle's Meteorology [b].

SIMPLICIUS CILIX, a Platoniſt, who flouriſhed under the emperor Juſtinian, wrote commentaries upon Ariſtotle, which diſcover ſound judgment and extenſive reading; but his fondneſs for the Eclectic method of philoſophiſing, led him to mix the Platonic and Stoic with the Peripatetic doctrines. His "Commentary upon the Enchiridion of Epictetus" affords a curious example of this combination of heterogeneous tenets. He ſtrenuouſly defended Ariſtotle's doctrine concerning the eternity of the world againſt Philoponus. Simplicius was one of thoſe Platoniſts, who, about the beginning of the ſixth century, fled from the perſecution of the emperor to Choſroës king of Perſia [c].

From the preceding detail, a ſufficiently accurate idea may be formed of the fate of the Peripatetic philoſophy under the Roman emperors, before it took refuge, as we ſhall afterwards ſee, among the Arabians. Under ſeveral of the Cæſars, the philoſophers of this ſchool ſhared, with their brethren, the common diſcouragements and

[a] Phot. Cod. 108. 23. [b] Suidas. Marin. Vit. Procli, c. 9.

[c] Simp. ad Phyſ. l. i. com. 12. p. 32. l. iv. com. 53. 141. De Cælo. p. 113. Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. viii. p. 621.

infelicities of oppreſſion. The conciſe and logical method of philoſophiſing, which prevailed in this ſchool, could obtain few admirers at a period remarkable for a looſe and florid kind of eloquence. The doctrine, which the Peripatetics of this period had received from their maſter, ſuffered much adulteration from the unwearied endeavours of the Alexandrian philoſophers to eſtabliſh an Eclectic ſyſtem. Notwithſtanding the external ſplendour in which this ſect, with ſeveral others, appeared under the Antonines, it was from that time impaired by internal diſeaſe and corruption. Many bold, but injudicious grammarians and critics attempted to ſupply chaſms, and to clear up obſcurities, in the writings of Ariſtotle, from their own ingenious conjectures, which they preſumed to incorporate with the author's text. Even Alexander Aphrodiſeus, who profeſſed to reſtore the genuine Ariſtotelian ſyſtem, not confining himſelf to the doctrine of his maſter, contributed towards its adulteration. But nothing proved ſo injurious to the Peripatetic philoſophy, as the rage for commenting upon the works of Ariſtotle, which prevailed among his followers. Notes, paraphraſes, arguments, ſummaries, and diſſertations, piled up, century after century, under the general name of Commentaries upon Ariſtotle, created, as might be expected, endleſs diſputes concerning the meaning of his writings: and it may, perhaps, be aſſerted with truth, that their genuine ſenſe, after all the pains which have been taken to explore it, yet remains, in many particulars, undiſcovered.*

* Vidend. Cozzand. de Magiſtr. Ant. Ph. l. ii. c. 2. Voſſ. de Sc. Math. c. 33. § 9. c. 59. § 14. Id. de Hiſt. Gr. l. ii. c. 4, 15, 20. Grot. Epiſt. 262. Cleric. Hiſt. Med. p. iii. c. 9. Jonſ. l. ii. c. 16. l. vi. c. 19. Ruald. in Vit. Plutarch. c. 7. Meurſ. ad Ariſtoxen. et de Fortuna Attica, c. 8. Labb. Conſpect. Interpr. Pl. et Ariſt. Schelhorn. Amœnit. Lit. P. iii.

SECT.

## SECT. 6.

### OF THE STATE OF THE CYNIC SECT UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

THE antient Cynic ſect was inſtituted, as hath been ſhewn, rather with a view to exhibit a pattern of philoſophical virtue, than to introduce a new ſyſtem of opinions. For this end, the original authors and ſupporters of this ſect devoted themſelves to voluntary poverty, lived upon the charity of the rich, practiſed the moſt rigorous abſtinence from pleaſure, and became cenſors of public manners. Whilſt the Cynics adhered to their original principles and character, they commanded, notwithſtanding their forbidding peculiarities, great attention and reſpect, not only from the vulgar but even from perſons of the higheſt rank. But, in proceſs of time, their independent ſpirit roſe into inſufferable haughtineſs and inſolence; and their unnatural ſeverity of manners degenerated into a groſs contempt of decorum, and an impudent freedom of ſpeech. Even ſo early as the time of Cicero, this ſect was fallen into ſuch diſcredit, that it was his opinion that the whole body ought to be baniſhed from the ſtate, for their ſhameful violations of modeſty [a]. Under the Cæſars, their infamous exceſſes furniſhed Lucian with a copious theme for ſatire [b]. In his Fugitives [c], he draws a humorous picture of thoſe falſe Cynics, who, without the virtues of Diogenes, carried his ſingularities to the moſt extravagant height.

The groſs and ſhameleſs manners of theſe pretended philoſophers

[a] De Off. l. i.
[b] Lucian. Diog. & Crates: Vit. Auct. &c.
[c] T. iv. p. 321.

expoſed

expoſed them to ridicule and inſult from the loweſt and moſt profligate vulgar. Hence Perſius ſays [a],

——— Multum gaudere paratus,
Si Cynico barbam petulans nonaria vellet [b].

Julian [c], ſpeaking of the Cynics of his time, ſays, that they led a wandering and brutiſh life, and were alike troubleſome and miſchievous by the malignant reproaches which they caſt upon the moſt excellent characters, and by the baſe adulation which they beſtowed upon the moſt infamous. It is no wonder that this body, ſo injurious to ſociety, as well as diſgraceful to philoſophy, was, under the virtuous Antonines, forbidden to hold public ſchools; and that in the fifth century, as the poet Sidonius intimates [d], the ſect became almoſt extinct. In the midſt of the numerous herd of Cynics whoſe names are forgotten, there were a few perſons whoſe ſingular virtues, or vices, have preſerved their names from oblivion.

Musonius, a Babylonian (confounded by Suidas with Muſonius the Tuſcan, a Stoic philoſopher) is ranked by Eunapius [e] among the moſt virtuous and excellent of the modern Cynics. Philoſtratus ſpeaks of him as next to Apollonius in wiſdom, and as an eminent philoſopher. His cynical ſpirit would not permit him to ſpare the vices of Nero; and the reſentment of that tyrant conſigned him to priſon. Whilſt he was in confinement, he formed a friendſhip with Apollonius, and held a correſpondence with him, ſome ſpecimens of which are preſerved by Philoſtratus. He was, at laſt, baniſhed to the Iſthmus of Greece, and condemned to remain a

[a] Sat. i. v. 133.

[b] And then, O then, art moſt ſupremely bleſt,
When ſome wiſe Cynic's beard becomes a jeſt.
Brewster.

[c] Orat. 6. 7. Conf. Maxim. Tyr. Diſſ. 21. Arrian. Diſſ. Epict. l. iii. c. 22. p. 229.
[d] Carm. 2. [e] In Proem. p. 6.

ſlave,

ſlave, and to labour daily with the ſpade. His friend Demetrius, ſeeing him in this condition, expreſſed great concern at his misfortunes; upon which Muſonius, ſtriking his ſpade firmly in the ground, ſaid, "Why, Demetrius, do you lament to ſee me digging in the Iſthmus? You might indeed lament, if you ſaw me, like Nero, playing upon the harp [a]." Julian ſpeaks with admiration of his magnanimity [b]. The time of his death is uncertain; and none of his writings remain [c].

DEMETRIUS of Corinth [d], the friend of Muſonius, was alſo baniſhed from Rome in the time of Nero, for his free cenſure of public manners. After the death of this emperor he returned to Rome; but the boldneſs of his language ſoon offended Veſpaſian, and again deprived him of his liberty. Apollonius, with whom he had contracted a friendſhip, prevailed upon Titus to recal him; but under Domitian he ſhared the common fate of the philoſophers, and withdrew to Puteoli. Seneca, who was intimately acquainted with Demetrius, ſpeaks in the higheſt terms of panegyric concerning his maſculine eloquence, ſound judgment, intrepid fortitude, and inflexible integrity. "Leaving," ſays he, "the nobles clad in purple, I converſe with, and admire, the half-naked Demetrius: and why do I admire him, but becauſe I perceive, that in the midſt of his poverty he wants nothing!—When I hear this excellent man diſcourſing from his couch of ſtraw, I perceive in him, not a preceptor only, but a witneſs of the truth; and I cannot doubt, that providence has endued him with ſuch virtues and talents, that he might be an example, and a monitor, to the preſent age [e]." Demetrius laid down to himſelf this prudent maxim, That it is better to have a few precepts of wiſdom always at hand for uſe, than to learn many things which cannot be applied to practice. He attended Thraſeas

[a] Vit. Apoll. l. iv. c. 35, 46. l. v. c. 19. l. vii. c. 11, 16. Suidas.
[b] Epiſt. ad Themiſt. p. 262. [c] Fab. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 365.
[d] Eunap. Vit. Sophi. p. 7. Philoſt. l. iv. c. 42. l. v. c. 19. l. vi. c. 30. l. vii. c. 11. Suet. in Veſp. c. 13. Aul. Gell. l. xv. c. 11. Arrian. Ep. l. i. c. 26.
[e] Sen. de Vit. Beat. c. 25.

Pætus

Pætus in his laſt moments, before his execution, and fortified his mind by converſing with him upon ſubjects of philoſophy [a].

Among the Cynics of this period is commonly reckoned, both by antient and modern writers, OENOMAUS, who wrote a treatiſe to expoſe the frauds and impoſtures of Oracles, and another, to cenſure the degeneracy of the later Cynics. He flouriſhed under Adrian. His writings are not extant [b].

A diſtinguiſhed place among the genuine Cynics who were friends to virtue appears to be due to DEMONAX; whoſe hiſtory, though related only by Lucian [c], deſerves credit, ſince it is not probable that the Satyriſt, who lived at the ſame period, would have ventured to give a falſe narrative of a well-known character, or that he would have gone ſo far out of his uſual track of ſatire, merely to draw a fictitious portrait of a good man. Demonax, according to Lucian, was born in Cyprus. His parents were poſſeſſed of wealth and rank; but he aſpired after higher honours in the ſtudy of wiſdom, and the practice of virtue. Early in life he removed to Athens, where he afterwards continued to reſide. In his youth he was intimately converſant with the poets, and committed the moſt valuable parts of their writings to memory. When he engaged in the ſtudy of philoſophy, he did not lightly ſkim over the ſurface of ſubjects, but made himſelf perfect maſter of the tenets of the ſeveral ſects. In his habit and manner of living Demonax reſembled Diogenes, and is therefore properly ranked among the Cynics; but he imitated Socrates in making philoſophy, not a ſpeculative ſcience, but a rule of life and manners. He never openly eſpouſed the doctrines of any particular ſect, but took from each whatever tenets he judged moſt favourable to moral wiſdom. Avoiding all ridiculous ſingularity, diſguſting ſeverity, and forbidding haughtineſs, he aſſociated freely with all, and converſed with ſuch graceful eaſe, that

[a] Sen. Ep. 20. 62, 67, 91. De Benef. l. vii. c. 1, 8, 9, 11. Qu. Nat. l. iv. Præf. de Prov. c. 4, 5. Tacit. Annal. xv. c. ult.

[b] Suidas. Fabr. B. Grav. ii. p. 365. Jul. Orat. vi. vii.

[c] In Demonacte, t. ii. p. 560.

perſuaſion

perſuaſion might be ſaid to dwell upon his lips. He poſſeſſed the happy art of rendering even reproof acceptable; like a prudent phyſician, curing the diſeaſe without fretting the patient. His ſimple manner of living gave him perfect independence; and his virtues procured him ſuch a degree of influence, that he was often employed in ſettling domeſtic diſſentions. His philanthropy was univerſal; and he never withdrew his regard from any, but ſuch as would not be perſuaded to forſake their vices. So perfect was his equanimity, that nothing ever deeply affected him, except the ſickneſs or death of a friend. He lived nearly to the age of an hundred years, without ſuffering pain or diſeaſe, or becoming burdenſome to any one. In extreme old age he went from houſe to houſe wherever he pleaſed, and was every where received with reſpect. As he paſſed along the ſtreets, the ſellers of bread would beg him to accept of ſome from their hands; and children would offer him fruits, and call him father. He died with the ſame placid countenance with which he had been accuſtomed to meet his friends. The Athenians honoured his body with a public funeral, which was attended by a numerous train of philoſophers and others, who all lamented the loſs of ſo excellent a man. If this picture, which is that of Lucian in miniature, was originally taken from real life, the biographer had ſome reaſon to ſpeak of Demonax, as the beſt philoſopher he ever knew.

From the anecdotes of Demonax, related by Lucian, we ſhall ſelect the following. Soon after Demonax came to Athens, a public charge was brought againſt him for neglecting to offer ſacrifice to Minerva, and to be initiated into the Eleuſinian myſteries. Appearing before the aſſembly in a white garment, he pleaded, that Minerva did not ſtand in need of his offerings; and that he declined initiation into the myſteries, becauſe, if they were bad he ought not to conceal them, and if they were good, his love to mankind would oblige him to diſcloſe them: upon which he was acquitted. One of his companions propoſing to go to the temple of Eſculapius, to pray for the recovery of his ſon from ſickneſs, Demonax ſaid, "Do you ſuppoſe that Eſculapius cannot hear you as well from this place?"

Hearing two ignorant pretenders to philoſophy converſing, and remarking that the one aſked fooliſh queſtions, and the other made replies which were nothing to the purpoſe, he ſaid, "One of theſe men is milking a he-goat, while the other is holding a ſieve under him." Adviſing a certain rhetorician, who was a wretched declaimer, to perform frequent exerciſes; the rhetorician anſwered, "I frequently practiſe by myſelf." "No wonder," replied Demonax, "that you are ſo bad a ſpeaker, when you practiſe before ſo fooliſh an audience." Seeing a Spartan beating his ſervant unmercifully, he ſaid to him, "Why do you thus put yourſelf upon a level with your ſlave?" When Demonax was informed that the Athenians had thoughts of erecting an amphitheatre for gladiators, in imitation of the Corinthians, he went into the aſſembly, and cried out, "Athenians, before you make this reſolution, go and pull down the Altar of Mercy."

Of a character very different from that of Demonax was CRESCENS, a Megalopolitan. He even diſgraced the name of Cynic by his infamous practices: nevertheleſs, he declaimed eloquently in praiſe of abſtinence, magnanimity, and contempt of death. Creſcens is mentioned by Tatian, Juſtin Martyr, and Jerom, as a vile calumniator of the Chriſtians. His malicious accuſation of Juſtin for atheiſm before the magiſtrate, crowned that illuſtrious ornament of the Chriſtian church with the honours of martyrdom[a].

About this period lived PEREGRINUS, of Parium in Pontus. Lucian, relating the particulars of his life[b], ſays, that after having been guilty of many enormities, he became a Chriſtian, and obtained a temporary credit among the Chriſtians in Paleſtine; but that, returning to his old habits, he was diſmiſſed from their ſociety, and went to Egypt, where, in the character of a mendicant Cynic, he practiſed the moſt extravagant exploits of fanaticiſm; that he afterwards roved about through Italy and Greece, pouring forth the

[a] Tatian. Or. adv. Græc. p. 157. Juſt. Apol. i. p. 46. Euſeb. Hiſt. Ecc. l. iv. c. 16. Syncell. p. 351. Phot. Cod. 125. Hieron. Cat. Script. c. 23.

[b] De Morte Peregrini. t. iv. p. 268. Athenag. legat. c. 23.

moſt

moſt impudent invectives againſt men of rank, and even againſt the emperor himſelf; and that at laſt, to procure himſelf an immortal name, he went to the Olympic games, and, in the preſence of a vaſt concourſe of ſpectators, raiſed a funeral pile, upon which, in imitation of Hercules, he devoted himſelf to voluntary death. It is very probable, that in this account the ſatiriſt has not given a juſt repreſentation of the character of Peregrinus; for Aulus Gellius[a] ſpeaks of him as a philoſopher of reputation in Athens, who was admired for his conſtancy, and whoſe moral lectures were much frequented. The ſtory of his laſt mad adventure is probably true[b]. Euſebius relates, that he committed himſelf to the flames in the year one hundred and ſixty-eight.

The laſt name, which remains to be added to the liſt of antient Cynics, is that of SALUSTIUS, a Syrian, who flouriſhed about the beginning of the ſixth century. After having ſtudied and practiſed eloquence, he attended upon Proclus at Athens, and was inſtructed by him in the Alexandrian philoſophy. But, being diſguſted with the futile ſpeculations, and the chaotic confuſion of this ſchool, he determined to adopt a kind of philoſophy, which he judged to be better ſuited to the purpoſes of human life, and addicted himſelf to the Cynic ſect. Leaving Athens, he went with Iſidorus to Alexandria, where he freely cenſured the vices of the times, and inveighed, with great acrimony, againſt the ſpeculative philoſophers of every ſect. A treatiſe "On the Gods," edited by Gale in his *Opuſcula Mythologica*, was, probably, not the work of this Saluſtius, but of a Platoniſt of the ſame name, who lived in the time of Julian[c].

[a] Noct. Att. l. viii. c. 3. l. xii. c. 11.

[b] Tatian. Or. adv. Gr. c. 41. Philoſtr. Vit. Soph. l. ii. c. 1. § 13. Euſeb. Chron. Ol. 236.

[c] Suidas. Phot. Cod. 242. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. xiii. p. 643.

## SECT. 7.

### OF THE STATE OF THE STOIC SECT UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

THE Stoic philoſophy, which had obtained ſo much authority during the Roman republic, eſpecially among the profeſſors of the law, continued to flouriſh under the emperors, till after the reigns of the Antonines. Its ethical doctrine became the permanent baſis of the Roman juriſprudence; and the high tone of wiſdom and virtue, which it aſſumed, induced many perſons of great diſtinction and eminent merit to declare themſelves of the Stoic ſect, or at leaſt to prefer its moral ſyſtem to that of any other ſchool. The prevalence of the Chriſtian doctrine at this period ſeems to have contributed, in no ſmall degree, to the ſucceſs of Stoiciſm, by leading its followers, to whom the language and tenets of Chriſtianity could not be unknown, to ſoften the extravagancies of their own ſyſtem, and to clothe its dogmas in a more popular dreſs. Add to this, that the Stoic ſect acquired great credit and authority from the illuſtrious examples of many perſons of both ſexes, who, in theſe times of civil oppreſſion, bravely encountered death in the cauſe of liberty and virtue. Among the heroines of this age, Tacitus mentions the two Arrias, the wives of Cæcina Pætus and Thraſeas, and Fannia the wife of Helvidius. From theſe and other cauſes, the Stoic ſect, in the time of Juvenal, prevailed almoſt through the whole Roman empire.

——— Melius nos
Zenonis præcepta monent, nec enim omnia quædam
Pro vita facienda putat, ſed Cantaber unde

Stoicus,

Stoicus, antiqui præſertim ætate Metelli?
Nunc totus Graias noſtraſque habet orbis Athenas[a].*

Under Antoninus Pius, ſchools of Stoiciſm were ſupported at the public expence in Athens, Alexandria, and probably too at Rome; for Antoninus, after he came to the purple, viſited the houſe of Apollonius the Stoic to ſtudy philoſophy[b]. At Tarſus in Cilicia there was alſo a Stoic ſchool, which produced ſeveral celebrated philoſophers, afterwards to be mentioned.

But, notwithſtanding the general credit which the Stoic doctrine obtained, it met with powerful oppoſition from ſeveral quarters; particularly from the Sceptics, who were ingenious, and indefatigable, in their endeavours to overturn every dogmatic ſyſtem; and from the Alexandrian ſect, which, by its deſtructive plan of coalition, corrupted the genuine doctrine of every other ſchool. From the period when the motley Eclectic ſyſtem was eſtabliſhed, Stoiciſm began to decline; and in the age of Auguſtine it no longer ſubſiſted as a diſtinct ſect. It was only during the ſhort ſpace of two hundred years, that the Roman ſchool of Zeno was adorned with illuſtrious names which claim a place in the hiſtory of philoſophy[c].

The firſt Stoic who merits attention in this period is ATHENODORUS[d], of Tarſus in Cilicia. He lived at Rome, and on account of his learning, wiſdom, and moderation, was highly eſteemed by Auguſtus. His opinion and advice had great weight with the emperor, and are ſaid to have led him into a milder plan of government.

[a] Sat. xv. v, 108.

* Zeno indeed has taught us ſounder wit,
"Better to die than a vile deed commit."
But how ſhould Spaniards know the Stoic lore?
Which Rome e'en knew not in thoſe days of yore.
Learning indeed is now more widely ſpread,
And Greek and Latin every where are read. OWEN.

[b] Lucian. in Eunuch. t. iv. p. 160. Capitolin. in Anton. P. c. 11. in Aurel. c. 10. Xiphil. in Ant. Strabo. l. xiv. p. 673. Athen. l. iv. p. 186.

[c] Euſeb. Prep. l. xiv. c. 2. Phot. Cod. 124. Aug. adv. Acad. l. iii. c. 18.

[d] Fab. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 391. Zoſim. l. i. c. 6. Lucian. in Macrob. t. ii. p. 829. Suet. in Claud. c. 4. Suidas.

than he had at firſt adopted. He obtained for his fellow citizens, the inhabitants of Tarſus, relief from a part of the burden of taxes which had been impoſed upon them, and was on this account honoured with an annual feſtival. Athenodorus was entruſted by Auguſtus with the education of the young prince Claudius; and, that he might the more ſucceſsfully execute his charge, his illuſtrious pupil became, for a while, a reſident in his houſe. This philoſopher retired in his old age to Tarſus, where he died in his eighty-ſecond year.

At the beginning of the reign of Nero lived, and taught, at Rome, ANNÆUS CORNUTUS[a], an African; a name not without diſtinction in the family of the Stoics. He excelled in criticiſm and poetry; but his principal ſtudy was philoſophy. His merit, as a teacher of the Stoic doctrine, ſufficiently appears from his having been the preceptor of that honeſt advocate for virtue, the ſatiriſt Perſius. How highly the maſter was eſteemed by his pupil may be inferred from the following paſſage, among many others[b]:

Cumque iter ambiguum eſt, et vitæ neſcius error
Deducit trepidas ramoſa in compita mentes
Me tibi ſuppoſui: teneros tu ſuſcipis annos
Socratico, Cornute, ſinu, tunc fallere ſolers
Appoſita intortos extendit regula mores:
Et premitur ratione animus, vincique laborat,
Artificemque tuo ducit ſub pollice vultum.

Perſius,

[a] Suidas. A. Gell. l. ii. c. 6. l. ix. c. 10. Fab. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 401.
[b] Sat. v. ver. 34.

* Scarce had I reach'd the ſlippery point of life,
Where vice and virtue wage a doubtful ſtrife;
Where inexperience flexile youth betrays,
And leads it devious thro' her mazy ways;
But lo! Cornutus, thy directing hand
Sudden I fought, I ſtoop'd to thy command:
On thy Socratic boſom lay reclin'd,
While wholeſome precepts form'd the liſt'ning mind.

Thy

Perſius, dying before his maſter, left him his library, with a conſiderable ſum of money; but Cornutus, accepting only the books, gave the money to the ſiſters of Perſius. The poet Lucan was alſo one of his pupils. Under Nero, Cornutus was driven into exile for his freedom of ſpeech. The emperor having written ſeveral books in verſe upon the affairs of Rome, and his flatterers adviſing him to continue the poem, this honeſt Stoic had the courage to remark, that he doubted whether ſo large a work would be read; and when it was urged, that Chryſippus had written as much, he replied, "His writings were uſeful to mankind." After ſuch an unpardonable offence againſt imperial vanity, the only wonder was, that Cornutus eſcaped with life[a].

CAIUS MUSONIUS RUFUS[b], a Tuſcan of equeſtrian rank, who enjoyed military honours, was a great admirer of the Stoic philoſophy, and took much pains to diſſeminate its principles and precepts among the Roman youth; particularly among the officers of the army. The attempt was ridiculed by ſome, and offended others. Nero, who, perhaps, did not himſelf eſcape the admonitions of this bold reformer, was diſpleaſed at his freedom, and baniſhed him to Gyæra. He was afterwards, however, recalled by Veſpaſian: and that emperor was ſo well pleaſed with his conduct, particularly in his ſtrenuous oppoſition to the meaſures of Egnotius Celer, a man univerſally deteſted, that when, at the inſtigation of Mucian, he baniſhed the philoſophers from Rome and Italy, Muſonius alone

> Thy ſtandard rule with nice addreſs applied,
> Corrected every thought that warp'd aſide.
> My ſoul by reaſon's force convicted ſtood,
> Its error ſaw, and ſtrove to be ſubdued.
> Thy abler ſkill ſubmiſſive it obey'd;
> It took the ſtamp thy forming finger made.
>
> BREWSTER.

[a] A. Gell. l. vi. c. 2. Dio, l. lxii. p. 715. Euſeb. Ecc. H. l. vi. c. 19. Suidas. Gale Opuſc. Myth. Pref.

[b] Suidas. Tacit. Ann. l. iv. c. 10, 40. l. xiv. c. 59, 60. Hiſt. l. iii. c. 81. Philoſtr. Vit. Apol. l. vii. c. 16. Xiphil. et Zen. in Veſp. Orig. adv. Celſ. l. iii. p. 156.

was

was permitted to remain in the city. His philoſophy, like that of Socrates, was adapted to the purpoſes of life and manners, as may be inferred from a diſſertation which he has left "On the Exerciſe of the Mind," preſerved by Stobæus [a].

Among the Stoics of this period we muſt alſo reckon CHÆREMON, [b], an Egyptian, who in his youth had the charge of the Alexandrian library, but afterwards removed to Rome, where he was employed, with Alexander Ægeres, as one of the preceptors of Nero. Under his name the epigrammatiſt Martial [c] ridicules the whole ſect of the Stoics for their contempt of riches; but it is not probable, that Chæremon was ever in that ſtate of poverty, which the poet deſcribes. This philoſopher wrote a book concerning comets, quoted by Origen; and an account of the Egyptian hieroglyphics and prieſthood, of which a curious fragment is preſerved by Porphyry.

In the whole ſchool of Zeno, there is no name more highly celebrated than that of Seneca; and whether we conſider his natural abilities, his extenſive erudition, or the number and merit of his writings, this philoſopher is certainly entitled to particular attention.

LUCIUS ANNÆUS SENECA was a native of Corduba, an antient and flouriſhing Roman ſettlement in Spain [d]. His father, Marcus Annæus Seneca, a man of equeſtrian rank, was a celebrated orator; his mother's name was Heluia. He was born about fifteen years before the death of Auguſtus, or the year before the commencement of the Chriſtian æra [e]; and was brought to Rome while a child, probably for education, by his aunt, who accompanied him on account of the delicate ſtate of his health [f]. His firſt ſtudies were devoted by his father to eloquence; but his mind, naturally diſpoſed towards ſerious and weighty purſuits, ſoon paſſed over from words to things;

[a] Serm. 117. [b] Suidas. Euſeb. Prep. l. v. c. 10. l. xi. c. 57. Porph. περὶ ἀποχῆς, l. iv. p. 360. Orig. adv. Celſ. l. i. p. 46. Sen. Qu. Nat. l. vii. c. 5. [c] L. xi. ep. 57.
[d] Plin. Hiſt. N. l. iii. c. 1. Strabo, l. iii. Tac. Ann. l. xiv. c. 54.
[e] Qu. Nat. l. i. c. 1. [f] Conſ. ad Helv. c. 16. Ep. 108.

and

and he choſe rather to reaſon with the philoſophers, than to declaim with the rhetoricians. This propenſity was diſpleaſing to his father, who, having himſelf no taſte for philoſophy, thought it a frivolous ſtudy, and had no other object of ambition, either for himſelf or his children, than eloquence. His ſon Junius Gallio ſucceeded in this purſuit, and was celebrated for the melody of his elocution: but Lucius was not to be diverted from his purpoſe of devoting himſelf to wiſdom. Sotion, a philoſopher, who, though of the Pythagorean ſect, inclined to the Stoic doctrine concerning morals, was fixed upon as his preceptor. But, whether it was that Seneca was diſguſted with the ſeverity of the Pythagoric diſcipline, or that he was diſſatisfied with the obſcure dogmas of this ſchool, he ſoon forſook Sotion, and became a diſciple of Attalus, a Stoic; at the ſame time, occaſionally converſing with philoſophers of other ſects, and freely examining the writings, or doctrines, of the ſeveral founders of the Grecian ſchools. Through his father's importunity, he for a ſhort time interrupted his philoſophical ſtudies to engage in the buſineſs of the courts; and we are aſſured by ſo good a judge as Quintilian, that, whilſt he continued to plead, his ſpeeches, if deficient in ſome of the graces of oratory, abounded with that good ſenſe and ſtrength of thought, which are the baſis of eloquence [a].

Thus furniſhed with plentiful ſtores of learning, and with a competent ſkill in the art of ſpeaking, Seneca, as ſoon as he arrived at the age of manhood, aſpired to the honours of the ſtate. The firſt office with which he was inveſted was that of Quæſtor; but at what time he obtained it is uncertain [b]. From this time, his good fortune made rapid advances; and he ſoon roſe to diſtinction in the court of Claudius: but the particulars of his public life, during this period, are no where preſerved. Hence it is impoſſible to diſcover with certainty the cauſe of the charge, which was publicly brought againſt him, of adultery with Julia, the daughter of Germanicus,

[a] Dial. de Cauſſ. Corr. Eloq. De Vit. Beat. c. 3. De Benef. l. ii. c. 17. l. iv. c. 7. De Prov. c. 5. Qu. Nat. l. iii. c. 29. Ep. 9, 18, 21, 33, 41, 45, 48, 58, 65, 75, 89, 94, 97, 100, 107. [b] Conſ. ad Helv. c. 16.

and wife of Vinicius. It is probable, however, from the infamous character of Meſſalina [a], who inſtigated the proſecution, that he was accuſed without any ſufficient ground. The affair, notwithſtanding, terminated in his baniſhment: and Seneca, after having for many years enjoyed the favour of the emperor, and been diſtinguiſhed among the great, was obliged to remain eight years an exile in the iſland of Corſica. Here, if we are to credit his own account, he paſſed his time agreeably, devoting himſelf entirely to the ſtudy of philoſophy, and elegant learning. In a letter to his mother, he ſays [b], "Be aſſured that I am as cheerful and happy, as in the days of my greateſt proſperity: I may indeed call my preſent days ſuch; ſince my mind, free from care, is at leiſure for its favourite purſuits, and can either amuſe itſelf with lighter ſtudies, or, in its eager ſearch after truth, riſe to the contemplation of its own nature, and that of the univerſe." But it may be queſtioned, whether Stoic oſtentation had not ſome ſhare in dictating this report; for we find him, in another place, expreſſing much diſtreſs on account of his misfortune, and courting the emperor in a ſtrain of ſervile adulation, little worthy of ſo eminent a philoſopher.

Agrippina, the ſecond wife of Claudius, whoſe character was the reverſe of that of Meſſalina, employed her intereſt with the emperor in favour of Seneca; and not only obtained his recal from baniſhment, but prevailed upon Claudius to confer upon him the honourable office of prætor [c]. Her inducement to this meaſure appears to have been, a deſire of engaging a philoſopher of ſo much diſtinction and merit to undertake the education of her ſon. Probably, too, ſhe hoped, by attaching Seneca to her family, to ſtrengthen Nero's intereſt in the ſtate; for the Roman people would, of courſe, entertain high expectations from a prince educated under ſuch a maſter. Afranius Burrhus, a prætorian præfect, was joined with Seneca in this important charge: and theſe two preceptors, who

[a] Suet. in Calig. c. 19. in Claud. c. 29. Dio, l. lx. Tacit. Ann. l. xiii. c. 42.
[b] Conſol. ad Hel. c. 4. ad Polyb. c. 21. [c] Tacit. Ann. l. xii. c. 8.

were

were intruſted with equal authority, and had each his reſpective department, executed their truſt with perfect harmony, and with ſome degree of ſucceſs; Burrhus inſtructing his pupil in the military art, and inuring him to wholeſome diſcipline; Seneca furniſhing him with the principles of philoſophy, and the precepts of wiſdom and eloquence; and both endeavouring to confine their pupil within the limits of decorum and virtue [a]. Whilſt theſe preceptors united their authority, Nero was reſtrained from indulging his natural propenſities; but after the death of Burrhus, the influence of Seneca declined, and the young prince began to diſcloſe that depravity, which afterwards ſtained his character with eternal infamy [b].

Still, however, Seneca enjoyed the favour of his prince: and, after Nero was advanced to the empire, he long continued to load his preceptor with honours and riches. Partly from inheritance and marriage, but chiefly through imperial munificence, he poſſeſſed a large eſtate, and lived in great ſplendour [c]. Juvenal ſpeaks of

——— Senecæ prædivitis hortos [d].

A ſuperb manſion at Rome, delightful country ſeats, rich furniture, including, as Dio particularly mentions, five hundred cedar tables with ivory feet, uniform and of excellent workmanſhip [e], were articles of luxury hitherto unuſual among philoſophers; and were thought by many not very conſiſtent with that high tone of indifference, in which the Stoics, and among the reſt Seneca himſelf, ſpoke of external good. Suilius, one of his enemies, aſked by what wiſdom, or by what precepts of philoſophy, Seneca had been able, during four years of imperial favour, to amaſs the immenſe ſum of three hundred thouſand *ſeſtertia* [f].

[a] Tacit. Ann. l. xiii. c. 2. [b] Tac. Ann. l. xiv. c. 52.
[c] Conſol. ad Helv. c. 2. Tac. Ann. l. xiv. c. 53. [d] Sat. iv.

* The gardens of the wealthy Seneca.

[e] Dio, l. lx. Ep. 67. [f] Tac. Ann. l. xiii. c. 42. 52, 53.
[g] £. 2,421,875.

Seneca perceived the gathering clouds of jealouſy and envy, and ſaw that his ſovereign himſelf, whoſe vices were now become too imperious to endure reſtraint, was diſpoſed to liſten to the whiſpers of obloquy. In hopes of eſcaping the deſtruction which threatened him, he earneſtly requeſted the emperor's permiſſion to withdraw from the court, and devote the remainder of his days to philoſophy; he even offered to refund the immenſe treaſures which royal bounty had laviſhed upon him, and to retire with a mere competency. Nero rejected his propoſal, and aſſured him of the continuance of his favour; but the philoſopher knew the emperor's diſpoſition too well to rely upon his promiſes. From this time Seneca declined all ceremonious viſits, avoided company, and, under the pretence of indiſpoſition, or a deſire of proſecuting his ſtudies, confined himſelf almoſt entirely to his own houſe[a].

It was not long before Seneca was convinced, that in diſtruſting a tyrant, whoſe mind was wholly occupied by ſuſpicion, he had acted prudently. Antonius Natalis, who had been concerned in the conſpiracy of Piſo, upon his examination, in order to court the favour of Nero, or perhaps even at his inſtigation, mentioned Seneca among the number of the conſpirators. This ſingle evidence was by the tyrant deemed ſufficient againſt the man, to whom he had been indebted for his education, and whom he had called his friend. To give ſome colour to the accuſation, Natalis pretended, that he had been ſent by Piſo to viſit Seneca whilſt he was ſick, and to complain of his having refuſed to ſee Piſo, who as a friend might have expected free acceſs to him upon all occaſions; and that Seneca, in reply, had ſaid, that frequent converſations could be of no ſervice to either party, but that he conſidered his own ſafety as involved in that of Piſo. Granius Sylvanus, tribune of the prætorian cohort, was ſent to aſk Seneca, whether he recollected what had paſſed between himſelf and Natalis. Seneca, whether by accident or deſign is uncertain, had that day left Campania, and was at his country-ſeat, about four miles from the city. In the evening, while he was at ſupper with

[a] Tac. Ann. l. xiv. c. 53, 56. Suet. in Ner. c. 35.

his

his wife Paullina and two friends, the tribune, attended by a military band, came to the houſe, and after giving the ſoldiers orders to ſurround it, delivered the emperor's meſſage. Seneca's anſwer was, That he had received a complaint from Piſo, of his having refuſed to ſee him; and that the ſtate of his health, which required repoſe, had been his apology. He added, that he ſaw no reaſon why he ſhould prefer the ſafety of any other individual to his own; and that no one was better acquainted than Nero with his independant ſpirit.

This reply kindled the emperor's indignation; and he aſked the meſſenger, whether Seneca diſcovered any intention of putting an end to his own life. The tribune aſſured him, that there was no appearance either of terror, or of diſtreſs, in his countenance, or language. Upon this the tyrant, who felt his own puſillanimity reproached by the conſtancy of the philoſopher, ordered him to return without delay to Seneca, with his peremptory command, immediately to put himſelf to death. Silvanus, who had himſelf been one of the conſpirators, had not the courage to meet the face of Seneca upon ſuch an embaſſy, but ſent the fatal meſſage by one of his centurions. The philoſopher received it with perfect compoſure, and aſked permiſſion of the officer to alter his will. This indulgence being refuſed him, he turned to his friends, and requeſted, that, ſince he was not allowed to leave them any other legacy, they would preſerve in their memory a portrait of his life, as a perpetual monument of friendſhip. At the ſame time he reſtrained their tears, and exhorted them to exerciſe that fortitude, which they had profeſſed to learn in the ſchool of philoſophy. "Where are now," ſaid he, "our boaſted precepts of wiſdom? where the armour, which we have been ſo many years providing againſt adverſe fate? Who among us has been a ſtranger to the ſavage ſpirit of Nero? After murdering his mother, and his brother, it was not to be expected that he would ſpare his preceptor."

Having converſed in this manner, for ſome time, with his friends, Seneca embraced his wife, and earneſtly intreated her to moderate her grief, and after his death to conſole herſelf with the recollection

of his virtues: but Paullina refuſed every conſolation, except that of dying with her huſband, and earneſtly ſolicited the friendly hand of the executioner. Seneca, after expreſſing his admiration of his wife's fortitude, proceeded to obey the emperor's fatal mandate, by opening a vein in each arm: but, through his advanced age, the vital ſtream flowed ſo reluctantly, that it was neceſſary alſo to open the veins of his legs. Still finding his ſtrength exhauſted without any proſpect of a ſpeedy releaſe; in order to alleviate, if poſſible, the anguiſh of his wife, who was a ſpectator of the ſcene, and to ſave himſelf the torture of witneſſing her diſtreſs, he perſuaded her to withdraw to another chamber. In this ſituation, Seneca, with wonderful recollection and ſelf-command, dictated many philoſophical reflections to his ſecretary. After a long interval, his friend Statius Annæus, to whom he complained of the tedious delay of death, miniſtered to him a ſtrong doſe of poiſon; but even this, through the feeble ſtate of his vital powers, produced little effect. At laſt, he ordered the attendants to convey him into a warm bath; and, as he entered, he ſprinkled thoſe who ſtood near, ſaying, "I offer this libation to Jupiter the Deliverer." Then, plunging into the bath, he was ſoon ſuffocated. His body was conſumed, according to his own expreſs order in a will which he had made in the height of his proſperity, without any funeral pomp[a].

Such was the end of Seneca; an end not unworthy the pureſt and beſt principles of the Stoic philoſophy.

The character, the ſyſtem, and the writings of this philoſopher have been ſubjects of much diſpute among the learned. Concerning his character, a candid judge, who conſiders the virtuous ſentiments with which his writings abound, the temperate and abſtemious plan of life which he purſued in the midſt of a luxurious court[b], and the fortitude with which he met his fate, will not haſtily pronounce him to have been guilty of adultery, upon the evidence of the infa-

[a] Tacit. l. xv. Ann. c. 63.

[b] Ep. 108. 87. 104, 112. Tacit. Ann. l. xv. c. 45, 63. l. xiii. c. 3. l. xiv. c. 7. Qu. Nat. l. iii. c. 7. Conf. Dio, l. lxi. Xiphilin.

mous

mous Meſſalina; or conclude his wealth to have been the reward of a ſervile compliance with the baſe paſſions of his prince. It has been queſtioned whether Seneca ought to be ranked among the Stoic or the Eclectic philoſophers; and the freedom of judgment which he expreſsly claims, together with the reſpect which he pays to philoſophers of different ſects, clearly prove, that he did not implicitly addict himſelf to the ſyſtem of Zeno; nor can the contrary be inferred from his ſpeaking of *our* Chryſippus, and *our* Cleanthes; for he ſpeaks alſo of *our* Demetrius, and *our* Epicurus. It is evident, however, from the general tenor and ſpirit of his writings, that he adhered, in the main, to the Stoic ſyſtem[a]. With reſpect to his writings, as it is not our proper buſineſs to examine their literary merit, we ſhall content ourſelves with remarking, that, although he is juſtly cenſured by Quintilian[b], and other critics, as among the Romans the firſt corrupter of ſtyle, his works are, nevertheleſs, exceedingly valuable, on account of the great number of juſt and beautiful moral ſentiments which they contain, the extenſive erudition which they diſcover, and the happy mixture of freedom and urbanity, with which they cenſure vice, and inculcate good morals. The writings of Seneca, except his Books of "Phyſical Queſtions," are chiefly of the moral kind: they conſiſt of one hundred and twenty-four "Epiſtles," and diſtinct Treatiſes, "On Anger; Conſolation; Providence; Tranquillity of Mind; Conſtancy; Clemency; the Shortneſs of Life; a Happy Life; Retirement; Benefits[c]."

Among the more celebrated Stoics, who lived in the time of Nero, we muſt alſo reckon DIO of PRUSA in Bithynia, called for his eloquence Chryſoſtom. Under Nero and Veſpaſian he followed the profeſſion of a Sophiſt; and in his juvenile orations, he treated light ſubjects in a declamatory and luxuriant ſtyle, and frequently inveighed againſt the moſt illuſtrious poets and philoſophers of antiquity. This raiſed no ſmall degree of ill-will againſt him,

[a] Ep. 96. 78. 41. Conf. ad Marc. c. xix. 25.
[b] Inſt. l. x. c. 1. Conf. Plin. H. N. l. iv. c. 14. A. Gell. l. xii. c. 2.
[c] Fabr. Bib. Lat. t. i. p. 32.

which

which induced him to leave Rome, and withdraw to Egypt. From this time he aſſumed the character of a Stoic philoſopher; but he retained ſo much of his former manner, that he embelliſhed his philoſophical diſcourſes, which turned chiefly upon moral topics, with the graces of eloquence. Both his doctrine and practice being ſtrictly conformable to the principles of virtue, he was a bold cenſor of vice, and ſpared no individual on account of his rank. His freedom of ſpeech offended Domitian; and he went into voluntary exile in Thrace, where he lived in great poverty, and was obliged to ſupport himſelf by ſervile labour. After the death of Domitian, he returned to Rome, and remained ſome time concealed; but, finding the ſoldiers inclined to ſedition, he ſeaſonably brought to their remembrance Dio the orator and philoſopher, by haranguing them in a ſtrain of manly eloquence, which ſoon ſubdued the tumult. Both Nerva and Trajan admitted him to their confidence, and the former diſtinguiſhed him by public tokens of favour. He lived to old age; but the time of his death is uncertain. The "Orations" of Dio are ſtill extant, from which it appears, that he was a man of ſound judgment and lively fancy, and that he happily united in his ſtyle the qualities of animation and ſweetneſs [a].

EUPHRATES [b] of Alexandria, was a friend of Dio and of Apollonius Tyanæus, who introduced him to Veſpaſian. This emperor, on ſome occaſion, preferring the opinion of Euphrates to that of Apollonius, a violent quarrel aroſe between theſe two philoſophers; whence Philoſtratus, the panegyriſt of the latter, inveighs againſt Euphrates with great ſeverity: but it appears from the teſtimony of Epictetus, Pliny the Younger, and Euſebius, that he was univerſally eſteemed for his talents and virtues. Pliny's character of this philoſopher is too intereſting to be omitted. "If ever polite learning flouriſhed at Rome, it certainly does at preſent. Of this I could

[a] Eunap. in Proem. Philoſtr. Vit. Soph. l. i. c. 7, 8. Vit. Apoll. l. v. c. 31. 40. Syneſii Op. p. 35, 37. Photav. Phot. Cod. 209. Dion. Orat. 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 21, 22, 30, 31, 71, 72, 80.

[b] Eunap. in Proem. Philoſtrat. Vit. Apoll. l. v. c. 28, 33. l. vi. c. 7, 13. l. viii. c. 3.

give

give you many inſtances; but I will content myſelf with naming only Euphrates the philoſopher. When, in my youth, I ſerved in the army in Syria, I had an opportunity of converſing familiarly with this excellent man, and took ſome pains to gain his affection; though that indeed was not difficult; for he is exceedingly open to acceſs, and full of that gentleneſs of manners which he teaches. Euphrates is poſſeſſed of ſhining talents, which cannot fail to intereſt even the unlearned. He diſcourſes with great accuracy, dignity, and elegance, and frequently riſes into the ſublimity and luxuriance of Plato himſelf. His ſtyle is copious and diverſified, and ſo wonderfully ſweet, as to captivate even the moſt reluctant auditor. Add to all this, his graceful form, comely aſpect, long hair, and large white beard; circumſtances which, though they may probably be thought trifling and accidental, contribute, however, to procure him much reverence. There is no diſguſting negligence in his dreſs; his countenance is grave, but not auſtere; his approach commands reſpect, without creating awe. With the ſtricteſt ſanctity he unites the moſt perfect politeneſs of manners. He inveighs againſt vice, not againſt men; and, without chaſtiſing, reclaims the offender. You liſten with fixed attention to his exhortations, and even when convinced, ſtill hang with eagerneſs upon his lips[a]."

If this teſtimony to the uncommon merit of Euphrates be compared with the praiſes beſtowed upon him by Epictetus[b] and Euſebius[c], the cenſures of Philoſtratus will appear deſerving of nothing but contempt. In conformity to the principles of the Stoic philoſophy, Euphrates, when he found his ſtrength worn out by diſeaſe and old age, voluntarily put a period to his life by drinking hemlock, having firſt, for ſome unknown reaſon, obtained permiſſion from the emperor Adrian[d].

Another illuſtrious ornament of the Stoic ſchool, who claims reſpectful attention both for his wiſdom and his virtues, is EPICTETUS[e].

[a] Plin. Ep. l. i. ep. 10. [b] Arrian l. iv. c. 8. p. 427.
[c] Adv. Hierocl. c. 33. [d] Dio. l. lxix.
[e] Simplic. Proem. comm. in Enchir. Ep. Suidas. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. iii. p. 259.

This eminent philoſopher was born at Hierapolis in Phrygia, in a ſervile condition, and was ſold as a ſlave to Epaphroditus, one of Nero's domeſtics. Antient writers are agreed that Epictetus was lame, but differ with reſpect to the cauſe of his lameneſs. Suidas ſays, that he loſt one of his legs when he was young, in conſequence of a defluxion; Simplicius aſſerts, that he was born lame; Celſus relates, that, when his maſter, in order to torture him, bended his leg, Epictetus, without diſcovering any ſigns of fear, ſaid to him, "You will break it:" and when his tormentor had broken the leg, he only ſaid, "Did I not tell you, you would break it?" Others aſcribe his lameneſs to the heavy blows with which his maſter loaded him [a].

Having, at length, by ſome means which are not related, obtained his manumiſſion, Epictetus retired to a ſmall hut within the city of Rome, where, with nothing more than the bare neceſſaries of life, he devoted himſelf to the ſtudy of philoſophy. Here he paſſed his days entirely alone, till his humanity led him to take the charge of a child, whom a friend of his had through poverty expoſed, and to provide it with a nurſe. Having furniſhed himſelf, by diligent ſtudy, with a competent knowledge of the principles of the Stoic philoſophy, and having received inſtructions in rhetoric from Rufus, who is ſaid to have been himſelf a bold and ſucceſsful corrector of public manners, Epictetus, notwithſtanding his poverty, became a popular moral preceptor. He was an acute and judicious obſerver of manners. His eloquence was ſimple, majeſtic, nervous, and penetrating. His doctrine inculcated the pureſt morals; and his life was an admirable pattern of ſobriety, magnanimity, and the moſt rigid virtue [b].

Neither his humble ſtation, nor his ſingular merit, could, however, ſcreen Epictetus from the tyranny of the monſter Domitian. With the reſt of the philoſophers he was baniſhed, under a mock decree

[a] Simplic. ib. p. 70. Orig. adv. Celſ. l. vii. p. 378. Arrian. l. i. c. 8.

[b] Simplic. p. 70, 180. [c] Aul. Gell. l. i. c. 2. Arrian. l. i. c. 8, 9, 12. l. iii. c. 15, 23. Orig. l. vi. p. 283.

of

of the ſenate, from Italy. But he bore his exile with a degree of firmneſs, worthy of a philoſopher who called himſelf a citizen of the world, and could boaſt that, wherever he went, he carried his beſt treaſures along with him. At Nicopolis, the place which he choſe for his reſidence, he proſecuted his deſign of correcting vice and folly by the precepts of philoſophy. Wherever he could obtain an auditory, he diſcourſed concerning the true way of attaining contentment and happineſs; and the wiſdom and eloquence of his diſcourſes were ſo highly admired, that it became a common practice among the more ſtudious of his hearers to commit them to writing[a].

It is uncertain whether Epictetus returned to Rome after the death of Domitian; but the reſpect which Adrian entertained for him renders it probable. The "Conference between Adrian and Epictetus," if the work were authentic, would confirm this probability; but it is impoſſible to compare it with his genuine remains, without pronouncing it ſpurious[b].

Epictetus flouriſhed from the time of Nero to the latter end of the reign of Adrian; but it is improbable, notwithſtanding the aſſertion of Themiſtius[c] and Suidas[d], that his life was protracted to the reign of the Antonines: for Aulus Gellius[e], who wrote in their time, ſpeaks of Epictetus as lately dead; and the emperor Marcus Aurelius mentions him only to lament his loſs: whereas, had he been living when that prince engaged preceptors of different ſects, it is not likely that he would have overlooked the firſt ornament of the Porch, or preferred his diſciple Junius Ruſticus. The memory of Epictetus was ſo highly reſpected, that, according to Lucian, the earthen lamp by which he uſed to ſtudy was ſold for three thouſand drachmas[f]. Epictetus himſelf wrote nothing. His beautiful Moral

[a] A. Gell. l. xv. c. 11. l. xvii. c. 19. Suet. in Domit. c. 10. Lucian. in Peregr. t. iv. p. 283. Arrian. Præf. et Diſſ.

[b] Spartian. in Hadr. c. 16. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 502, v. xiii. p. 557.

[c] Orat. 5. [d] In Epict. [e] L. ii. c. 18. l. vii. § 19.

[f] Adv. Indoct. lib. ement. t. ii. p. 767.

Manúal, or *Enchiridion*, and his "Diſſertations" collected by Arrian[a], were drawn up from notes which his diſciples took from his lips. Simplicius has left a Commentary upon his doctrine, in the eclectic manner. There are alſo various fragments of the wiſdom of Epictetus preſerved by Antoninus, Gellius, Stobæus, and others.

Although the doctrine of Epictetus is leſs extravagant than that of any other Stoic, his writings every where breathe the true ſpirit of Stoiciſm. The ſum of his moral precepts is, ἀνέχε καὶ ἀπέχε, Endure and abſtain[b]. He inculcates contentment upon the principle, that all things happen according to the appointment of providence, that is, as the Stoics underſtood the term, according to the inevitable order of fate.

SEXTUS, of Chæronea[c] in Bœotia, muſt be added to the liſt of Stoics of this period. His eminence in philoſophy may be inferred from the account which Antoninus[d] gives of the able and faithful manner in which he diſcharged the duties of a preceptor. Such was the reſpect which his illuſtrious pupil continued to entertain for him, that after he was nominated to the ſucceſſion in the imperial power, he frequently viſited Sextus, to converſe with him upon philoſophical ſubjects; and after he aſſumed the Purple, often conſulted him in the adminiſtration of juſtice. Certain "Diſſertations againſt Scepticiſm," which are commonly annexed to the works of Sextus Empiricus, were probably written by this Sextus of Chæronea[e].

The laſt ornament of the Stoic ſchool, who remains to be mentioned, is the great and good emperor, MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS[f]; a man, not leſs diſtinguiſhed by his learning, wiſdom, and

[a] Phot. Cod. 58. Lucian Pſeudom. t. i. p. 524. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. iii. p. 269. 246. [b] Gell. l. xvii. c. 19.

[c] Suidas. Apul. Metam. c. 1. Eutrop. l. viii. Dio, l. lxxi. Themiſt. Orat. ii.

[d] De Seipſo, l. i. § 9. Capitolin. in Marc. c. 3.

[e] Fabr. Bib. Gr. vol. xii. p. 617.

[f] Xiphilin. Herodian. Victor. Eutr. Zonar. Capitolin. Suidas.

virtue,

virtue, than by his imperial dignity. We ſhall here conſider him only in the light of a philoſopher, and a patron of philoſophers.

Aurelius, who was born in the year one hundred and twenty-one, after having been early inſtructed in languages, eloquence, and liberal arts, followed the natural bias of his genius, in devoting himſelf to the ſtudy of philoſophy under Sextus Junius, and other profeſſors of the Stoic ſchool. At the ſame time, he omitted no opportunity of acquainting himſelf with the tenets of other ſects. At twelve years of age, he forſook the common purſuits and amuſements of childhood, and aſſumed the habit of a Stoic philoſopher. In order to inure himſelf to the hardineſs of the Stoic character, he uſed to ſleep upon the ground, with no other covering than his cloak; and it was with great difficulty that his mother prevailed upon him to make uſe of a leathern couch. So great was the reſpect which he always retained for his preceptors, that he honoured their memory with ſtatues, and kept their buſts, or portraits, in his domeſtic temple[a].

The accompliſhments and virtues of this excellent youth recommended him to the favour of the emperor Adrian, who conducted him rapidly through the ſeveral ſtages of advancement, and who appointed Antoninus Pius his ſucceſſor upon the expreſs condition, that Aurelius ſhould be next in ſucceſſion. Aurelius, far from being elated with theſe honours, upon his removal from his father's houſe to the emperor's, diſcovered great reluctance, and expreſſed ſtrong apprehenſions of the difficulties and hazards of government. After his advancement, he continued to treat his parents with the ſame reſpect, and to pay the ſame regard to their advice and authority as he had before always done. Nor did he ſuffer the engagements or avocations of his high ſtation to divert him from the proſecution of his ſtudies. Under the direction of Apollonius the Chalcidian, a Stoic philoſopher, he ſtudied philoſophy as the foun-

[a] Capitolin. c. 2, 4. De Seipſo. l. i. § 1—17. Philoſtr. Vit. Soph. l. ii. c. 1. Dio, l. 69, 71. Macrob. Sat. l. v. c. 1.

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dation of policy, in order to qualify himself for the offices of government[a].

During the life of Antoninus Pius, this emperor was greatly assisted in the affairs of government by Aurelius, who gave him every possible proof of probity, fidelity, and affection. After the death of the emperor, which happened in the year one hundred and sixty-one, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus was, with the unanimous concurrence of the senate and people, advanced to the Purple; and through the whole course of his reign he exercised his power under the direction of philosophy, and by his justice and clemency obtained the general love of his subjects[b].

It is much to be lamented, that the mild and gentle spirit which this emperor unquestionably possessed, should, with respect to the Christians, have so far yielded to the importunity of inferior governors, and the tumultuous complaints of the people, that in several provinces, particularly in Gaul, he permitted them to be harrassed by persecution. Perhaps too, that false notion of the character and conduct of the Christians, which led him, with many others, to mistake their meritorious perseverance for culpable obstinacy, might have some share in producing those severities which were continued through his whole reign[c].*

An invasion from the north having been, not without great difficulty, repelled, the emperor devoted his attention to the institution of useful laws, and the correction of civil and moral disorders. He never failed to give encouragement to such as distinguished themselves by their talents or merit, and to recommend the strictest morality by his own example. Whilst he was indefatigable in his attention to public affairs, he filled up every hour of leisure with philo-

[a] Capitol. c. 4, 5. Spart. in Hadr. c. 23. Dio, l. 71.
[b] Capitol. c. 6, 7, 8.
[c] Conf. Amm. Marcell. l. xxiv. c. 4. Plin. Ep. l. x. 97. De Seipso. l. xi. § 3.

* A Rescript, sent to Asia, prohibiting the persecution of the Christians, has been ascribed to this emperor; but it is more probable that it was issued by his predecessor, Antoninus Pius. See Lardner's Heathen Test. v. ii. p. 159.

ſophical ſtudies. He ſuffered no material incident to paſs, without writing ſuch reflections upon it as might ſerve to eſtabliſh in his mind the habit of virtuous fortitude. This practice produced thoſe MEDITATIONS, which are deſervedly reckoned among the moſt valuable remains of Stoic philoſophy. Modeſty and humanity, the faireſt fruits of wiſdom, were virtues peculiarly conſpicuous in the character of this amiable prince. He deſpiſed flattery, refuſed magnificent titles, and would ſuffer no temples or altars to be erected in honour of his name. When the rebellion in Syria was ſuppreſſed, and the head of Aulus Caſſius, the leader of the revolt, was brought to Rome, the emperor received it with manifeſt tokens of regret, and ordered it to be buried[a].

During an interval of peace, Aurelius took a journey to Athens. His rout was marked with actions worthy of his character: and when he arrived at the antient ſeat of the Muſes, he gave many welcome proofs of his love of learning and philoſophy, by appointing public profeſſors, liberally endowing the ſchools, conferring honours upon perſons of diſtinguiſhed merit, and performing other acts of imperial munificence[b].

Returning to Rome, the emperor retired to Lavinium, with the deſign of devoting himſelf to his favourite ſtudies. But, after a ſhort interval, an irruption of Scythians, and other Northern people, obliged him to lead his forces againſt them. From this expedition he returned victorious; but, in his way home, he was ſeized at Vienna with a mortal diſeaſe. Aurelius met his end with great firmneſs; expreſſing, in the true ſpirit of Stoiciſm, indifference to life, and contempt of death. He died in the ſixtieth year of his age[c].

Through his whole life this illuſtrious philoſopher exhibited a ſhining example of Stoic equanimity. His countenance remained

[a] Capitol. c. 12. 23.
[b] Capitol. c. 24—26. Philoſtr. l. ii. c. 1. § 12. Dio, l. 71.
[c] Capitol. c. 28, 29. Herodian. c. 4, 5.

unaltered

unaltered by any emotions of joy or ſorrow; he never ſuffered himſelf to be elated by victory, or depreſſed by defeat. The ſeverity, which the philoſophical ſyſtem he eſpouſed was adapted to cheriſh, was, nevertheleſs, happily chaſtiſed by an innate benevolence of heart; and it is deſervedly repreſented as his higheſt praiſe, that he was able, by the united influence of his precepts and example, to make bad citizens good, and the good ſtill better[a].

The philoſophical Commentaries of Aurelius Antoninus, addreſſed to himſelf, Προς Εαυτον, are Meditations, or Soliloquies, written for his own uſe[b]. In order to form a true judgment of their meaning and ſpirit, they ſhould be read, not as detached moral maxims, or reflections, but as connected with, and founded upon, the principles of Stoiciſm. Through inattention to this precaution, a meaning has ſometimes been annexed to the words of Aurelius, which is inconſiſtent with his ſyſtem, and which he, probably, never conceived.

From the time of the Antonines to that of Alexander Severus, there were public ſchools of the Stoics in Athens and Alexandria: but their doctrine was corrupted by the prevalence of the Eclectic philoſophy; and where we might expect to find diſciples of Zeno, we only meet with followers of Ammonius.*

SECT.

[a] Capit. l. c. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. iv. c. 12.
[b] Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. iv. p. 21—25.

* Videnda. Schilter Manud. Phil. Mor. ad Juriſp. c. 1. Gravina Orig. Jur. Civ. l. i. § 44. Otto de Stoica Vet. Jur. Phil. Lipſ. Manud. ad Phil. Stoic. Diſſ. viii. xiv. Werenfels. de Met. Orat. Brucker. Diſſ. de Stoic. ſubdol. Chriſt. Imit. Temp. Helv. t. iii. § 2. Thomas. de Exuſt. Mund. Stoic. Diſſ. x. Menag. Hiſt. mulier. Phil. § 75. Voſſ. de Sect. c. 19. Jonſ. Scr. H. Ph. l. i. c. 20. l. ii. c. 18. l. iii. c. 7. Cozzand. de Mag. Ant. Ph. l. iii. c. 4. Heum. Act. Ph. v. iii. p. 110. v. i. p. 743. v. iii. p. 486. Gale Præf. ad Opuſc. Mythol. Stoll. Hiſt. Ph. Mor. § 223. 230. 234. 237. Voſſ. de Hiſt. Gr. l. ii. c. 1. Senec. Vit. a Lipſio ap. Sen. Op. Vit. a Schotto. Gen. 1665. Fabr. Bib. Lat. t. iii. p. 496. De Servies Femmes des Douze Cæſars, p. ii. p. 294. Blount. Cenſ. Cel. Auth. p. 109. Malebranche de la Recherche, &c. P. i. l. ii. c. 4. Paſchius de Var. Mod. Trad. Mor. c. 3. § 17. Diſſ. de Secta Elpiſtica Miſc. Berol. t. v. Obſ. ult. Morhoff. Polyh. Lit. t. i. l. vi. c. 2. Voſs. de Hiſt. Gr. l. ii. c. 15.

Epict.

Epict. Vit. a Wolfio, Bellegardio, Boilcavio. Fabr. Diſſ. de Eloq. Epict. in Faſciculo. Budd. de Mor. Phil. p. 103. Heinſ. de Phil. Stoic. Orat. p. 301. Scheffer. de Phil. Ital. c. 10. Crellius de ὑπερσόφοις et ἀσόφοις Epict. Lipſ. 1716. Vit. Anton. a Daciero et a Wollio. Gataker. Præf. ed. Lond. 1730. Koeler. Diſſ. de Phil. Aur. Ant. Budd. in Phil. Mor. Anton. Amœn. Lit. t. viii. p. 443.

## SECT. 8.

### OF THE STATE OF THE EPICUREAN PHILOSOPHY UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

THE Epicurean ſect, though degenerated from the ſimple manners of its founder, continued to flouriſh through a long courſe of years under the Roman emperors. This was owing in part to the freedom of manners which it permitted, and in part to the boldneſs with which it combated ſuperſtition; but principally to the ſtrict union which ſubſiſted among the members of this ſchool, and the implicit deference, which they unanimouſly agreed to pay to the doctrines of their maſter[a]. The ſucceſſion of diſciples in this ſect was, as Laertius atteſts[b], uninterrupted, even when other ſchools began to fail. In many places, the doctrine of Epicurus was publicly taught; and at Athens, the Epicurean ſchool was endowed with a fixed ſtipend. There can be no doubt, therefore, that there muſt have been among the Epicureans eminent teachers of their ſyſtem: and it may ſeem ſtrange, that their names ſhould not have been tranſmitted to poſterity: but if the genius of this ſect be conſidered, the difficulty will be obviated: for ſuch was the ſuperſtitious reverence, which the diſciples of this ſchool paid to the deciſions of their maſter, that they neither ventured to add to his ſyſtem, nor even to exerciſe their judgment in writing commentaries upon it; their whole concern was, to tranſmit the tenets and maxims of

[a] Senecæ, Ep. 33. Themiſt. Orat. iv. Euſeb. Prep. l. xiv. c. 5. [b] L. x. §. 9.

Epicurus uncorrupted to poſterity. Hence, whatever celebrity any of the preceptors of this ſect might have attained during their lives, their names ſoon fell into oblivion. Among the learned men of this period, there were, however, ſome who held the memory of Epicurus in high eſtimation, and in many particulars adopted his doctrine, and who, therefore, may not improperly be ranked in the claſs of Epicureans. Of theſe the principal are, Pliny the Elder, Celſus, Lucian, and Diogenes Laertius.

Caius Plinius Secundus, called Pliny the Elder, to diſtinguiſh him from his nephew Caius Plinius Cæcilius, was born in the reign of Tiberius, about the year twenty-three, and is commonly ſaid to have been a native of Verona. In his youth, he took upon him the military character, and ſerved in the army in the German war: but he ſoon turned the courſe of his ambition into the channel of learning, and by the indefatigable uſe of excellent talents acquired extenſive and profound erudition. During the life of Nero, his dread of the ſavage ſpirit of that tyrant induced him to proſecute his ſtudies in private. Towards the cloſe of the reign of that emperor, he wrote a critical work on ambiguity of expreſſion. Under the more favourable auſpices of Veſpaſian, the ſuperior abilities of Pliny had an opportunity of diſplaying themſelves, not only in literary ſpeculations, but in public affairs; for that emperor admitted him to his confidence, and employed him in important poſts. In the midſt of innumerable avocations, he proſecuted his ſtudies with a degree of induſtry and perſeverance ſcarcely to be paralleled. What his nephew relates on this head muſt not be omitted. After enumerating his writings, he ſays [a]:

"You will wonder how a man of buſineſs could find time to write ſo much, and often upon ſuch difficult ſubjects. You will be ſtill more ſurpriſed when you are informed, that for ſome time he engaged in the profeſſion of an advocate; that he died in his fifty-ſixth year; and that, from the time of his quitting the bar to his death, he was buſily occupied in the execution of the higheſt poſts,

[a] L. iii. ep. 5.

and

and in the ſervice of his prince. But he had a quick apprehenſion, joined to unwearied application. In ſummer, he always began his ſtudies as ſoon as it was night; in winter, generally, at one in the morning, but never later than two, and ſometimes at midnight. He ſlept little, and this often without retiring to his chamber. After a ſhort and light repaſt at noon, according to the cuſtom of our anceſtors, he would frequently, in ſummer, if he was diſengaged from buſineſs, recline in the ſun; ſome author, in the mean time, being read to him, from which he made extracts and obſervations. This indeed was his conſtant practice in reading; for he uſed to ſay, that no book was ſo bad, but ſomething might be learned from it. When this was over, he commonly went into the cold bath, and as ſoon as he came out of it, took a ſlight refreſhment, and then repoſed himſelf for a ſhort time. After which, as if it had been a new day, he reſumed his ſtudies till ſupper time, when a book was again read to him, upon which he made ſome curſory remarks. In ſummer, he roſe from ſupper by day-light, and in winter, as ſoon as it was dark: and this was an invariable rule with him. Such was his manner of life, amidſt the noiſe and hurry of the town. But in the country, his whole time was devoted to ſtudy. Even in the bath, while he was rubbed and wiped, either ſome book was read to him, or he dictated himſelf. When he was travelling, he attended to no other object. A ſecretary conſtantly attended him in his chariot. For the ſame reaſon he was always, at Rome, conveyed from one place to another in a chair. I remember he once reproved me for walking; "You need not," ſays he, "loſe ſo much time": for he thought all time loſt, which was not devoted to ſtudy. It was this intenſe application which enabled my uncle to write ſo many volumes, beſides a hundred and ſixty, which he left me, containing extracts and obſervations, written in a very ſmall character."

Out of all the rich fruits of Pliny's induſtry, one work only has eſcaped the ravages of time, his "Natural Hiſtory of the World"[a]:

[a] Fabr. Bib. Lat. t. i. p. 405. t. ii. p. 562.

a valuable treaſury of antient knowledge; concerning which, notwithſtanding all its errors and extravagancies, we do not ſcruple, with ſome allowance for rhetorical decoration, to ſubſcribe to the judgment of the Younger Pliny, who calls it "a comprehenſive and learned work, ſcarcely leſs various than nature herſelf." The author, in the dedication to Veſpaſian, makes this modeſt apology for the defects of his hiſtory:

"The path which I have taken has hitherto been, in a great meaſure, untrodden; and holds forth to the traveller few enticements. None of our own writers have ſo much as attempted theſe ſubjects; and even among the Greeks no one has treated of them in their full extent. The generality of authors in their purſuits attend chiefly to amuſement; and thoſe who have the character of writing with great depth and refinement are involved in impenetrable obſcurity. Such is the extent of my undertaking, that it comprehends every topic which the Greeks include under the name of *Encyclopædia*; of which, however, ſome are as yet utterly unknown, and others have been rendered uncertain by exceſſive ſubtlety. Other parts of my ſubject have been ſo often handled, that readers are become cloyed with them. Arduous indeed is the taſk to give what is old an appearance of novelty; to add weight and authority to what is new; to caſt a luſtre upon ſubjects which time has obſcured; to render acceptable what is become trite and diſguſting; to obtain credit to doubtful relations; and, in a word, to repreſent every thing according to nature, and with all its natural properties. A deſign like this, even though incompletely executed, will be allowed to be grand and noble." He adds afterwards, "Many defects and errors have, I doubt not, eſcaped me; for, beſides that I partake of the common infirmities of human nature, I have written this work in the midſt of engagements, at broken periods which I have ſtolen from ſleep."

It would be unjuſt to the memory of this great man, not to admit this apology in its full extent; and it would be ſtill more unjuſt, to judge of the merit of his work, by comparing it with modern productions in natural hiſtory, written after the additional obſervations

tions of ſeventeen hundred years. Some allowance ought alſo to be made for the careleſſneſs and ignorance of tranſcribers, who have ſo mutilated and corrupted this work, that, in many places, the author's meaning lies almoſt beyond the reach of conjecture.

With reſpect to philoſophical opinions, Pliny did not rigidly adhere to any ſect, but occaſionally borrowed ſuch tenets from each, as ſuited his preſent inclination or purpoſe. He reprobates the Epicurean tenet of an infinity of worlds; favours the Pythagorean notion of the harmony of the ſpheres; ſpeaks of the univerſe as God, after the manner of the Stoics; and ſometimes ſeems to paſs over into the field of the Sceptics. For the moſt part, however, he leans towards the doctrine of Epicurus[a].

The inſatiable deſire, which this philoſopher always diſcovered to become acquainted with the wonders of nature, at laſt proved fatal to him. An eruption of the volcano of Mount Veſuvius happening while Pliny lay, with the fleet under his command, at Miſenum, his curioſity induced him to approach ſo near to the mountain, that he was ſuffocated by the groſs and noxious vapours which it ſent forth. An intereſting account of the particulars of this tragical event is given by Pliny the Younger[b]: it happened in the year ſeventy-nine.

CELSUS, the adverſary of chriſtianity to whom Origen replies, though in his attack he ſometimes makes uſe of Platonic and Stoic weapons, is expreſsly ranked by Lucian[c], as well as Origen[d], among the followers of Epicurus: and this ſuppoſition beſt accounts for the violence with which he oppoſed the Chriſtian religion; for an Epicurean would of courſe reject, without examination, all pretenſions to divine communications or powers. The extracts from his writings, preſerved by Origen, at the ſame time that they prove him to have been an inveterate enemy to chriſtianity, ſhew that he was not deſtitute of learning and ability. Celſus, beſides his book againſt the Chriſtians, wrote a piece entitled, "Pre-

[a] Hiſt. Nat. l. ii. c. 1, 3, 5, 7.
[b] L. vi. ep. 16.
[c] Luc. de Alexandro.
[d] Origen cont. Celſum, l. i. p. 8.

cepts

cepts of Living Well," and another "Againſt Magic;" but no part of his writings are extant, except the quotations made by Origen. Lucian dedicates to him his account of Alexander the impoſtor. That Lucian's friend was the ſame Celſus, againſt whom Origen wrote, appears from this circumſtance, that both Lucian and Origen aſcribe to him the work againſt magic. Celſus was born towards the cloſe of Adrian's reign, and was contemporary with Lucian under Aurelius Antoninus [a].

Lucian [b], the celebrated ſatiriſt, was a native of Samoſata, on the borders of the Euphrates, and flouriſhed in the time of the Antonines and Commodus. In his youth, his father, who was of low rank, was deſirous to have diverted his attention from letters, and put him under the care of his uncle, who was a ſtatuary; but, being unfortunate in his firſt attempts, he deſerted his art, and fled to Antioch, where he engaged, not without ſucceſs, in the profeſſion of a pleader. He ſoon, however, grew tired of this employment, and gave himſelf up entirely to the practice of eloquence, in the character of a ſophiſt or rhetorician. In this capacity, he travelled through ſeveral countries, particularly Spain, Gaul, and Greece. At length, he paſſed over to the ſtudy of philoſophy. Without rigorouſly addicting himſelf to any ſect, he gathered up from each whatever he found uſeful, and ridiculed, with an eaſy vein of humour and pleaſantry, whatever he thought trifling or abſurd. Like Maximus Tyrius, Themiſtius, and ſeveral other eminent men of this age, he united the arts of eloquence, and the graces of fine writing, with the precepts of philoſophy [c].

Photius [d], and ſeveral modern writers, have ranked Lucian among the Sceptics: they might more properly have given him a place among the Socratics. But, in truth, there is no ſect which he ſeems to have been ſo much inclined to favour as the Epicurean. He ſpeaks of Epicurus as the only philoſopher, who had been ac-

[a] Orig. cont. Celſ. l. i. p. 52. iii. 136. iv. 204, 206, 215. v. 249. vii. 342. Fab. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 809. v. v. p. 219. [b] Suidas.

[c] In Reviviſc. t. iii. p. 156. Apolog. pro Merced. cond. t. i. 385. Herod. t. iii. p. 219. Luc. Hiſt. t. ii. p. 379. Conviv. t. iv. p. 366. [d] Cod. 128.

quainted with the nature of things, and of his followers as, in the midſt of mad men, alone retaining a ſound mind. Himſelf a ſworn enemy to impoſture, he preferred the ſect which profeſſed to annihilate ſuperſtition; and he dedicated his narrative of the impoſtures of Alexander to Celſus, an Epicurean [a].

Whatever credit be allowed to Lucian as a humorous ſatiriſt, he is, however, much to be cenſured for having, in many inſtances, ſuffered his propenſity towards ridicule to lead him into ſevere and unjuſt ſarcaſms againſt the whole body of philoſophers, and into a credulous, or illiberal, adoption of tales injurious to the moſt reſpectable characters of antiquity. His miſrepreſentation of the doctrine, and his unſupported inſinuations againſt the character, of Socrates; the contempt with which he treats Chryſippus and Ariſtotle, as mere triflers; and the abſurd ſtories which he admits, without adducing any evidence of their authenticity, are violations of candour and truth, for which no apology can be made, unleſs it be ſaid, that Lucian introduced them for no other purpoſe than to enliven his ſatire, without ſeriouſly believing them himſelf, or expecting that they ſhould be believed by his readers [b]. His ridicule of the Chriſtians was owing to another cauſe, an entire miſapprehenſion of their character, and of the nature of their religion; and is therefore wholly unworthy of notice.

Under Aurelius Antoninus, Lucian was appointed procurator of Egypt, with a liberal ſalary; but how long he continued there, or where he paſſed the latter part of his life, does not appear [c]. He lived to the age of eighty, or, as ſome ſay, ninety years, and died in the reign of Commodus. His dialogues are ſtill extant: they are written with humour, and diſcover great erudition.

We muſt not cloſe our account of eminent men who favoured the Epicurean ſect, without mentioning DIOGENES LAERTIUS, a writer, to whom the world is indebted for many facts reſpecting the

[a] Hermot. t. ii. p. 170. Alex. t. i. p. 549—51. 569, 570, 576, 581—84.

[b] Ib. Vit. Auctio, &c. t. iii. 105—128. Piſcator.

[c] Quomodo Hiſt. Scrib. t. ii. p. 343. de Merced. Cond. t. i. p. 382. Tragopodr t. iii. p. 672. Ocyp. p. 722. Hercul. Gall. t. i. p. 811.

hiſtory

hiſtory of philoſophy. His predilection for Epicureaniſm is ſhewn in the extraordinary pains he has taken to give an accurate ſummary of the doctrine of Epicurus, and a full detail of his life: nevertheleſs, he ſometimes ſeems to favour the doctrine of divine providence. Whatever ſyſtem he eſpouſed, or if he was in reality addicted to none, as a collector of philoſophical facts he is entitled to the praiſe of having caſt much light upon the hiſtory of the Grecian ſects. His Memoirs of "The Lives, Opinions and Apothegms of Celebrated Philoſophers[a]," as a repoſitory of materials for the hiſtory of philoſophy no where elſe to be met with, is exceedingly valuable; but in other reſpects it is a defective and faulty work. The author has collected from the antients with little judgment; patched together contradictory accounts; relied upon doubtful authorities; admitted as facts many tales which were produced in the ſchools of the Sophiſts; and been inattentive to methodical arrangement. The work appears, on the whole, to have been the production of a credulous and feeble mind, and by no means to deſerve implicit credit. Of the author nothing more is known, than is to be gathered from his writings. From his ſurname Ὁ Λαερτιος[b], it is probable that he was a native of Laertes, a town in Cilicia. He certainly flouriſhed before the time of Conſtantine; for Sopater, who lived under that emperor, compiled, as Photius atteſts, the ſixth book of his *Excerpta* from the writings of Diogenes Laertius. His "Lives" probably appeared about the middle of the third century.*

[a] Menag. ad Laert. [b] Phot. Cod. 161.

* Vidend. Cozzand. de Magiſtr. Ant. Phil. l. vi. c. 2. Maſſon. Plin. Vit. Cagalin. de Patr. Plin. ed. Plin. Wechelinn. Palermus de Patr. Pl. Veron. 1608. Voſſ. de Hiſt. Lat. l. i. c. 29. Blount. Cenſ. p. 128. Marville Melanges de Liter. t. iij, p. 438. Parker de Deo, Diſp. i. p. 63. Reimman. Hiſt. Ath. c. 28. Stoll. Hiſt. Ph. Pag. p. 72. Horn. Hiſt. Ph. l. v. c. 4. Cudworth. c. iv. § 36. Jonſ. l. iv. p. 332. l. iii. c. 10, 12. Voſſ. de Sect. c. v. § 2. c. xiii. § 3. c. xiv. § 6. c. vi. § 24. c. vii. § 24. Eraſm. l. xxx. ep. 5. Heuman. Act. Phil. vol, i. p. 323, 328. Laert. Ed. Wetſt. Amſt. 1693.

SECT.

## SECT. 9.

### OF THE STATE OF THE SCEPTIC SECT UNDER THE EMPERORS

AT the period of which we are now treating, the Sceptic philoſophy was either overborne by the general prevalence of the dogmatic ſyſtems, or concealed under the leſs obnoxious form of the Academic doctrine. A few words may therefore ſuffice concerning the ſtate of Scepticiſm, or Pyrrhoniſm, under the Roman emperors.

Contradictory in its firſt principles to the common notions of mankind, who are inclined to credit their ſenſes; diſgraced by the extravagant practices of ſome of its profeſſors; oppoſed with violence by the whole body of Platoniſts and Stoics; and deſtitute of countenance among the great; it was no wonder that the ſchool of Pyrrho was little frequented, and that few perſons were found, who were willing to ſacrifice intereſt, or fame, to the empty profeſſion of the ſcience of knowing nothing.

Pyrrhoniſm, however, was not at this time entirely without avowed advocates. Diogenes Laertius mentions[a] a continued ſucceſſion of learned Sceptics from the time of Cicero, when Oeneſidemus reformed the Sceptic ſchool at Alexandria: Zeuxippus, Zeuxis, Antiochus, Menodotus, Herodotus, Sextus, and Saturninus. Of theſe, as if the medical profeſſion peculiarly diſpoſed the mind to ſcepticiſm, ſeveral were phyſicians. Beſides theſe, other Sceptics are men-

[a] L. IX. § 116.

tioned by the antients. So that when Seneca aſks [a], "Who is there now, who teaches the doctrine of Pyrrho?" he muſt be underſtood either to ſpeak of the public profeſſors of Pyrrhoniſm, or to repreſent this ſchool as annihilated in comparison with that of the Stoics.

Only one name occurs among the Sceptics of this period, which merits particular notice, that of SEXTUS EMPIRICUS [b], a celebrated writer. According to Suidas, he was by birth an African; but Sextus himſelf diſtinguiſhes between his own country and Leſbia; the place of his nativity therefore remains uncertain. His ſurname, Empiricus, prefixed to the manuſcripts of his works, and given him by Diogenes Laertius [c], indicates that he was a phyſician of that claſs which was diſtinguiſhed by the title of Empiric: and this he himſelf confirms [d].

It has been ſtrenuouſly maintained, that Sextus Empiricus was the ſame perſon with Sextus Chæronenſis, preceptor to Aurelius Antoninus: but it appears from the liſt of Sceptics given by Laertius [e], that Sextus Empiricus was the third in ſucceſſion from Menodotus and Theudes, who are mentioned by Galen in a work [f] which he wrote in the time of Aurelian, as at that time the laſt of the Empirics; conſequently Sextus Empiricus had not then began to flouriſh, and could not have been the emperor's preceptor. It is probable, that Sextus Empiricus appeared towards the cloſe of the life of Galen, who died upwards of thirty years after he wrote the work juſt mentioned, in the ſeventh year of the reign of Severus, or in the year two hundred.

Sextus Empiricus was entirely devoted to the Sceptic philoſophy; as fully appears from his "Inſtitutes of Pyrrhoniſm," the work to which we have been almoſt wholly indebted for the materials of our

[a] Qu. Nat. l. vii. c. 32.
[b] Laert. l. ix. § 116. [c] Suidas. [d] L. c.
[e] Conf. adv. Gramm. § 161, 260. adv. Log. l. ii. § 191, 202, 327, 328.
[f] L. c. § 126. [g] De Hypotypoſi emperica.

account

account of this ſect. He alſo wrote, at large, in refutation of the dogmatiſts, in his treatiſe "Againſt the Mathematicians." His works diſcover great erudition, and an extenſive acquaintance with the antient ſyſtems of philoſophy; and, on this account chiefly, merit an attentive peruſal.

After the age of Sextus, there were not wanting perſons, who followed the Sceptic method of philoſophiſing[a], either under the name of Academics or Pyrrhoniſts: but the ſect, through the ſpread of the Alexandrian philoſophy, and the Chriſtian religion, by degrees diſappeared, and remained for many centuries wholly unnoticed.*

[a] Laert. l. c. Agathias, l. ii. p. 67.

* Vidend. Huet. de la Foibleſſe, &c. l. i. c. 14. Sext. Emp. ed. Lipſ. 1718. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. iii. p. 591. v. iii. p. 91. Lactant. Inſt. l. iii. c. 5. Euſeb. Prep. l. xiv. c. 18.

## CHAP. III.

### OF THE ORIENTAL PHILOSOPHY.

HAVING completed the hiſtory of the Grecian philoſophy, during the period of the Roman Republic and Empire, before we paſs on to the conſideration of the ſtate of philoſophy among the Jews, Arabians, and Chriſtians, it will be neceſſary that we endeavour to trace the remains of Barbaric philoſophy in the EAST.

In our hiſtory of the antient philoſophy of the Eaſt, it appeared

that, from the moſt remote times, the Oriental philoſophers endeavoured to explain the nature and origin of things by the principle of Emanation from an Eternal Fountain of Being. That through ſucceeding ages this doctrine remained, and was taught in ſchools of philoſophy in the more civilized regions of Aſia and Africa, is highly probable from ſeveral conſiderations; which we ſhall proceed diſtinctly to lay before the reader, after premiſing, that we do not undertake to prove, that this ſpecies of philoſophy exiſted under any diſtinct name, or can be referred, with certainty, to any ſingle author, or leader, but merely, that a certain metaphyſical ſyſtem, chiefly reſpecting the derivation of all natures, ſpiritual and material, by emanation from the Firſt Fountain, was, before the commencement of the Chriſtian æra, taught in the Eaſt, whence it gradually ſpread through the Alexandrian, Jewiſh, and Chriſtian ſchools.

It is well known, that at the riſe of the Grecian ſects, the Eaſtern countries were frequently viſited by the ſages who travelled in ſearch of wiſdom. Clemens Alexandrinus, who was well acquainted with Oriental hiſtory, ſays [a], that the Greeks borrowed what was moſt valuable in philoſophy from barbarians; for philoſophy was publicly taught by the Brachmans, the Odryſii, the Getæ, the Chaldæans, the inhabitants of Arabia Felix and Paleſtine, the Perſians, and many other nations. Among the Grecian philoſophers who travelled into the Eaſt was Democritus, who viſited Perſia after the ſchools of the Magi had been reformed by Zoroaſter, and travelled to Chaldea, and other Eaſtern countries, for the ſake of learning philoſophy. From the account which Pliny gives of this expedition, ſome idea may be formed of the nature of that philoſophy which Democritus and others found in theſe ſchools. "Democritus," ſays Pliny [b], "undertook what might be more properly called an exile than a journey, for the purpoſe of learning MAGICAL PHILOSOPHY;

[a] Stromat. l. i. p. 303. [b] Hiſt. Nat. l. xxx. Proem.

and,

and, returning home, taught it, in his myſteries, from the writings of certain Oriental philoſophers, which he illuſtrated." Accordingly, the philoſophy which Democritus taught appears to have been of two kinds; public, or that of the Eleatic ſect; and ſecret, in which he followed the myſteries of the Chaldean, Perſian, and other Eaſtern Magi. If theſe facts be compared with the general hiſtory of the barbaric philoſophy, and particularly with that of Zoroaſter and his doctrine, it will appear exceedingly probable, that the doctrine of Emanation continued to be taught (that is, that the Oriental philoſophy ſubſiſted) without interruption in the Eaſt, through the period of the Grecian ſects.

The uninterrupted continuance of the Oriental philoſophy may be further inferred from the ſudden riſe, and rapid ſpread, of thoſe numerous hereſies, which, under the oſtentatious name of Gnoſticiſm, over-ran the churches of the Eaſt.

Porphyry, in his preface to a work of Plotinus againſt the Gnoſtics, ſays, "that there were at that time many heretics, among whom were ſome, who, deriving their hereſy from the ANTIENT PHILOSOPHY, were followers of Adelphinus. Theſe," adds he, "circulated many books of Alexander the Lybian, Philoconus, and Demoſtratus the Lydian, and pretended to teach certain doctrines which they had received from Zoroaſter, Zoſtrianus, Nicotheus, Allogenes, and Meſus, herein, after having been deceived themſelves, impoſing upon others. Theſe heretics aſſert that Plato was little able to penetrate into the depths of intelligent natures. Therefore Plotinus frequently refuted them in his public lectures, and wrote a book, which I have entitled "A Treatiſe againſt the Gnoſtics,' leaving it to me to manage this buſineſs according to my own judgment. Amelius has written forty volumes againſt the book of Zoſtrianus; and I, Porphyry, have ſhewn by many arguments, that this book, which they aſcribe to Zoſtrianus, is ſpurious, and of modern date, and has been forged by the authors

of

of the hereſy, that their doctrine might appear to be derived from Zoroaſter[a]."

From this paſſage, compared with the general deſign of Plotinus, in his treatiſe againſt the Gnoſtics, it may be inferred, that, prior to the appearance of the Gnoſtic hereſies among the Chriſtians, a ſyſtem well known by the name of the Antient Philoſophy, exiſted in the Eaſt; that this philoſophy is not to be ſought among the Greeks, not even in Plato himſelf, but is oppoſed to the Grecian philoſophy, as more antient, and more conſonant to the truth; that this philoſophy was commonly underſtood to have been taught by Zoroaſter; and that the Chriſtian Gnoſtics forged books, under the names of Eaſtern philoſophers, from which they pretended to derive their genealogies of emanations from the Firſt Fountain of Intelligence. Hence, too, the reaſon appears, why Plotinus determined to ſpend eleven years in the Eaſt, TO EXPLORE THE PHILOSOPHY TAUGHT AMONG THE PERSIANS AND INDIANS[b].

That the Gnoſtic hereſies were of Eaſtern origin may be further concluded from a fragment of Theodotus the Valentinian, commonly annexed to the works of Clemens Alexandrinus, and alſo preſerved by Fabricius, entitled, "An Epitome of the Writings of Theodotus," and τῆς ἀνατολικῆς καλουμένης διδασκαλίας, OF THE DOCTRINE CALLED THE EASTERN, in the time of Valentinian[c]. This title evidently refers the dreams of Valentinian to an Oriental ſource, and therefore ſuppoſes the exiſtence of the Oriental philoſophy.

Eunapius, who was himſelf of the Alexandrian ſchool, relates[d], that Soſipater was miraculouſly inſtructed in philoſophy by two ſtrangers, who, after being much importuned, acknowledged that they had been initiated in THE WISDOM CALLED CHALDAIC.

[a] Conf. Vit. Plot. c. 3. Plot. Enn. ii. l. v. p. 204. Pref. Porph.
[b] Vit. Plot.
[c] Fabric. Bib. Gr. vol. v. p. 135. Fragm. ed. Ulm. 1704.
[d] In Ædeſio, p. 61.

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The ſtory, like moſt of thoſe related by this writer, has a fabulous air; but, ſtripped of its diſguiſe, it ſeems plainly to intimate, that in the Greek ſchool of Jamblichus, which flouriſhed in Cappadocia, the appellation of the Chaldaic, or Eaſtern, philoſophy was well known, and that the teachers of this philoſophy communicated their myſtical wiſdom to thoſe who were prepared to receive it, and particularly to the diſciples of the Alexandrian ſchool.

To theſe authorities, in proof of the exiſtence of the Oriental philoſophy, it may be added, as a conſideration of great weight, that, if all the ſyſtems of philoſophy diſtinct from the Grecian ſects, which became famous in Aſia or Egypt, particularly the Ægyptian, Cabbaliſtic, Gnoſtic, and Eclectic, be compared, there will be found among them a wonderful agreement with the general principles of that ſyſtem which we call the Oriental philoſophy; whence it ſeems perfectly reaſonable to admit the exiſtence of this philoſophy as a common ſource, and to make uſe of it as a univerſal key to unlock the myſteries of the reſt.

Upon theſe grounds we conclude, that the Oriental philoſophy, as a peculiar ſyſtem of doctrines concerning the Divine Nature, originated in Chaldea, or Perſia; whence it paſſed through Syria, Aſia Minor, and Egypt, and, mixing with other ſyſtems, formed many different ſects. There ſeems alſo to be ſufficient ground for referring the formation of the leading doctrines of this philoſophy into a regular ſyſtem to Zoroaſter[a], whoſe name the followers of this doctrine prefixed to ſome of their ſpurious books, and whoſe ſyſtem is fundamentally the ſame with that afterwards adopted by the Aſiatic and Egyptian philoſophers.

Among the branches from the Zoroaſtrean ſtock we muſt reckon the Gnoſtic hereſies which aroſe ſo early in the Chriſtian church[b]. This is the only ſource to which they can be ſatisfactorily traced

[a] Porphyr. Vit. Plot. c. 13. 16. p. 118. ed. Fabr.

[b] Iren. l. iii. c. 4. 11. Hieron. Lat. Script. c. 21. Epiph. Hæreſ. 27. § 1. Ph Caſtr. Hæreſ. 33. p. 71. ed. Fabr.

back: for they differ materially from the Platonic doctrine, from which they have been ſuppoſed to be derived, as Plotinus has fully ſhewn in his treatiſe againſt the Gnoſtics. The mixture of Platonic notions which we find in the Aſiatic philoſophy, as well as of Oriental doctrines among the later Platonifts, may be eaſily accounted for, from the intercourſe which ſubſiſted between the Alexandrian and Aſiatic philoſophers, after the ſchools of Alexandria were eſtabliſhed. From that time, many Aſiatics who were addicted to the ſtudy of philoſophy, doubtleſs, viſited Alexandria[a], and became acquainted with the celebrated doctrines of Plato; and, by blending theſe with their own, formed an heterogeneous maſs of opinions, which in its turn mixed with the ſyſtems of the Alexandrian ſchools[b]. This union of Oriental and Grecian philoſophy was further promoted by the diſperſion of the philoſophers of Alexandria in the reign of Ptolemy Phyſcon; many of whom, to eſcape from tyranny, fled into Aſia, and opened ſchools in various places.

It was, probably, at the time when the Platonic philoſophers of Alexandria viſited the Eaſtern ſchools, that certain profeſſors of the Oriental philoſophy, prior to the exiſtence of the Chriſtian hereſies, borrowed from the Greeks the name of Gnoſtics, to expreſs their pretenſions to a more perfect knowledge of the Divine Nature than others poſſeſſed. That theſe philoſophers aſſumed this vaunting appellation before their tenets were transferred to the Chriſtians, may be concluded from this circumſtance, that we find it, among the Chriſtians, not appropriated as a diſtinct title to any ſingle ſect, but made uſe of as a general denomination of thoſe ſects, which, after the example of the Pagan philoſophers, profeſſed to have arrived at the perfect knowledge of God. The Pagan origin of this appellation ſeems alſo plainly intimated in two paſſages in St. Paul's epiſtles; in one of which he cautions Timothy againſt ἀντιθέσεις τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως, "the oppoſition of falſe ſcience;" and in the

[a] Ammian. Marc. l. xxi. c. ult.

[b] Jambl. de Myſt. Egypt. Sect. viii. c. 2, 3. Marin. in Vit. Procl. c. 26.

[c] 1. Tim. vi. 20.

other

other [a], warns the Coloſſians not to be impoſed upon by a vain and deceitful philoſophy, framed according to human tradition and the principles of the world, and not according to the doctrine of Chriſt.

But, whatever may be thought concerning the name, after what has been advanced, there can be little room left to doubt, that the tenets, at leaſt, of the Gnoſtics, exiſted in the Eaſtern ſchools, long before the riſe of the Gnoſtic ſects in the Chriſtian church under Baſilides, Valentine, and others. The Oriental doctrine of Emanation ſeems frequently alluded to in the New Teſtament [b], in terms which cannot ſo properly be applied to any other dogmas of the Jewiſh ſects. And it appears, from the authorities to which the Gnoſtic heretics appeal, that this doctrine was taught in the Apoſtolic age. Theſe hereſies ſeem to have ariſen in Egypt, and to have paſſed thence into Syria, and into Aſia Minor, where they infected the church ſo early as the reign of Nero [c].

It is much to be regretted that the Greek writers, to whom we are chiefly indebted for our knowledge of the antient hiſtory of philoſophy, took ſo little pains to inform poſterity concerning the opinions which, during the time when the Greek ſects flouriſhed, were taught in other countries, particularly in Egypt and Aſia. In this want of original documents concerning the Oriental philoſophy, we can form an idea of its peculiar tenets only by comparing the antient doctrine of the Eaſt with that of thoſe ſects which ſprang from this ſtock.

The Gnoſtics were chiefly employed in ſupporting the ſyſtem of Divine Emanation, taught by Zoroaſter and his followers [d]. They maintained, that all natures, both intelligible, intellectual, and material, are derived, by a ſucceſſion of emanations, from

[a] Coloſſ. ii. 8.

[b] 1. Tim. i. 4—7. iv. 7. Tit. i. 14. iii. 9. Conf. Acts, viii. 9, 10.

[c] Vitringa Obſ. Sac. l. v. p. 153, 161. Conf. Tertull. de Preſcr. adv. Hær. c. 7. Epiphan. Hæreſ. 24. § 6. Jamb. Myſt. Egypt. S. viii. c. 1.

[d] Theodot. ap. Fab. l. c. Plotin. contr. Gnoſt. et Ennead. 2. l. ix. c. 6.

the infinite fountain of Deity. From this ſecret and inexhauſtible abyſs, they conceived Subſtantial Powers, or Natures, of various orders, to flow; till, at the remote extremity of the emanation, evil dæmons, and matter, with all the natural and moral evils neceſſarily belonging to it, were produced. This notion was purſued in the Alexandrian philoſophy, in the Jewiſh Cabbala, and in the Gnoſtic ſyſtem, through a long courſe of fanciful conceptions. The Gnoſtics conceived the emanations from deity to be divided into two claſſes; the one comprehending all thoſe Subſtantial Powers, which are contained within the Divine Eſſence, and which complete the Infinite Plenitude of the Divine Nature: the other, exiſting externally with reſpect to the Divine Eſſence, and including all finite and imperfect natures. Within the Divine Eſſence, they, with wonderful ingenuity, imagined a long ſeries of Emanative Principles, to which they aſcribed a real and ſubſtantial exiſtence, connected with the Firſt Subſtance as a branch with its root, or a ſolar ray with the ſun. When they began to unfold the myſteries of this ſyſtem in the Greek language, theſe Subſtantial Powers, which they conceived to be comprehended within the πλήρωμα Divine Plenitude, they called αἰῶνες, Æons; and they diſcourſed about them with as much confidence and familiarity, as if they had been objects of ſight. The notion which they entertained of theſe Æons, like the Platonic notion of Ideas, was that of ὄντας οὐσίας καθ' αὐτάς, beings which exiſted diſtinctly and ſubſtantially. They included within this ſeries the Demiurgus, or maker of the world, whom they ſuppoſed to have been an Æon, ſo far removed from the firſt Source of Being as to be allied to matter, and capable of acting upon it. Having conceived both the ſpiritual and material world to have flowed from the ſame fountain, their ſyſtem required Subſtantial Virtues, or Powers, of two kinds, active and paſſive: hence, in their figurative and emblematical language, they ſpeak of male and female Æons[a].

[a] Plotin. contr. Gnoſt.

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If the reader ſhould think this account of the Gnoſtic doctrine of Emanation obſcure, we requeſt him to lay the blame upon the myſtical genius of the fabricators of this fanciful edifice. In the midſt of thick darkneſs, it is ſcarcely poſſible that the traveller ſhould not ſometimes ſtumble.*

* Vidend. Moſhem. Diſſ. de Cauſſ. ſuppoſit. lib. Brucker. Hiſt. de Ideis Sect. i. § 6. Thomas. Orig. Hiſt. Phil. et Eccl. § 25. Beauſobre Hiſt. des Manich. t. ii. l. v. c. 2. Baſnage Hiſt. des Juifs, l. iii. c. 28. § 13. Moſhem. Hiſt. Chriſt. Sect. i. p. ii. c. 1. Burnet Arch. l. i. c. 4—8. Moſhem. in Hiſt. Chriſt. ante Car. M. § 31. Walchius in Hiſt. Hæreſ. P. i. p. 235. Erneſt. Bibl. nov. Theol. p. 430. Vitringa Obſ. Sac. l. v. p. 146. Michaelis Intr. N. T. § 125.

# BOOK IV.

## OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE JEWS.

### CHAP. I.

#### OF THE JEWISH PHILOSOPHY FROM THE TIME OF THE RETURN FROM THE BABYLONISH CAPTIVITY TO THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.

THE ſtate of learning and ſcience among the antient Hebrews, in the early period of their hiſtory, while they reſided in their own country, has been already deſcribed. From the time of the Babyloniſh captivity, the Iſraelites nō longer exiſted as an entire nation. Upon the return of the two tribes of Judah and Ephraim to Paleſtine, the other ten tribes being almoſt entirely diſperſed, this remnant of the Hebrews loſt their antient name, and were called Jews[a]. Paſſing over the ſubſequent hiſtory of the diſperſed tribes, as too uncertain to afford any intereſting particulars concerning the ſtate of philoſophy among them, we ſhall inquire into the philoſophical hiſtory of the Jews in Paleſtine from the time of their return from captivity.

[a] Vid. Baſnage Hiſt. Jud. l. vii. c. 4. Budd. Hiſt. Eccl. V. T. t. ii. p. 523.

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In this part of our work we muſt extend the meaning of the term philoſophy; for, in the ſtrict ſenſe of the word, we find few traces of philoſophy in the hiſtory of the Jews. There were not wanting, indeed, among this people, men of ability and learning; but their general taſte and manners, and particularly their traditionary method of inſtruction, were ſo unfavourable to ſcientific reſearches, that few philoſophers, properly ſo called, aroſe in Paleſtine. Nevertheleſs, in order to prepare the way for an accurate account of the ſtate of philoſophy among the Saracens and Chriſtians, it is neceſſary that we briefly mark the progreſs of learning and knowledge among the Jews.

After the revival of the ſacred commonwealth of the Jews, though the ſpirit of prophecy ceaſed in the perſon of Malachi, wiſe men were raiſed up by divine Providence to reſtore their national worſhip, to explain to them the divine law, and to conduct their affairs, both civil and religious. Among theſe, were Eſdras, Zorobabel, Nehemiah, and Salthiel. Eſdras, as a ſcribe well inſtructed in the law of Moſes, certainly takes the firſt place among the learned Jews of this period, but he cannot with propriety be ranked among philoſophers; nor is there any ſufficient ground for conſidering him as the author of the Cabbaliſtic doctrine [a].

The changes which took place in the Jewiſh nation, after the Babyloniſh captivity, produced material alterations in their philoſophical and religious tenets. Two events in the Jewiſh hiſtory muſt be particularly noticed, on account of the great influence which they had upon the ſtate of opinions: the one, the ſeparation of the Samaritans from the Jews, which began in the time of Eſdras; the other, the ſettling of a colony of Jews in Egypt under Alexander the Great, which was afterwards ſo increaſed by his ſucceſſors, that the Jews in Egypt were little inferior, either in number or conſequence, to thoſe in Judea.

[a] D. Knibbe Hiſt. Proph. l. ii. c. 6. Budd. Hiſt. Eccl. V. T. t. ii. p. 942. Eſdras, vii. 6, &c. Baſnage. l. iii. c. 5. § 1, 2. l. vii. c. 2. § 7. Buxtorf. Tiberiad. c. 10. Budd. H. E. t. ii. p. 1019.

About two hundred years before the time of Eſdras, when Salmanaſſar, king of the Aſſyrians, had carried the ten tribes of Iſrael captive into Aſſyria, he repeopled Samaria with a colony from Babylon, Chuta, and ſeveral other places. The country being ſoon afterwards harraſſed with wild beaſts, the new ſettlers concluded that this calamity had befallen them, becauſe they did not worſhip the god of the land, and ſent a complaint to this purpoſe to the king of Aſſyria. Upon this, the king ſent them one of the prieſts who had been taken from the country, "to teach them how they ſhould fear the Lord[a]." Thus the worſhip of the true God of Iſrael was reſtored in Samaria. At the ſame time, however, the idolaters retained their reſpective ſuperſtitions, and, "whilſt they feared the Lord, ſerved other gods." Hence the Jews, when they returned to Judea from that captivity by which they had been puniſhed for their former propenſity towards idolatry, entertained a rooted averſion againſt the inhabitants of Samaria, and would not allow them any concern in executing the national deſign of re-building the temple at Jeruſalem. The mutual jealouſies which aroſe from this cauſe were carried to the moſt violent extremity. Eſdras and Zerobabel ſolemnly denounced an anathema upon the Samaritans: and the Samaritans, in their turn, made uſe of all their intereſt with the king of Aſſyria to obſtruct the re-building of the temple[b].

At the extinction of the Perſian monarchy in conſequence of Alexander's conqueſts, the Samaritans endeavoured to accompliſh a union, both civil and eccleſiaſtical, with the Jews. For this purpoſe, Sanballat the governor of Samaria, who was of Babyloniſh extraction, brought about a marriage between his daughter and Menaſſes, the brother of Jaddus, the Jewiſh high prieſt; fully expecting that Menaſſes would ſucceed his brother in the prieſthood, and that by this

[a] 2. Kings, xvii. 24. Joſeph. Ant. l. ix. c. ult. Beniam. Tudelens. Itin. p. 37. Baſnage. l. ii. c. 4. p. 84.

[b] Eiſenmenger. Jud. Detect. p. i. c. 2. Walton. Appar. Bibl. Proleg. xi. § 4. Baſnage, l. ii. c. 5. § 1.

means

means a coalition would be accompliſhed. The event, however, did not correſpond to his wiſhes. The Jews highly reſented this profane alliance, excluded Menaſſes from the ſucceſſion, and baniſhed him from the city. Sanballat, on the other hand, took his ſon-in-law under his protection; obtained permiſſion from Alexander to build a temple upon Mount Garizim ſimilar to that at Jeruſalem, and appointed Menaſſes its high prieſt. With Menaſſes a powerful body paſſed over from the Jews to the Samaritans; and much pains was taken to bring back their doctrine and worſhip to the pure ſtandard of the law of Moſes [a]. But all this was inſufficient to ſubdue the enmity of the Jews, who execrated the Samaritans as heretical and prophane, and maintained, that they themſelves alone poſſeſſed the true religion. Frequent hoſtilities aroſe between the two countries; and Hyrcanus at laſt beſieged Samaria, and after a long reſiſtance took the city, and razed it, together with its temple, to the ground. The metropolis of Samaria was afterwards rebuilt by the Roman governor Gibinius, and enlarged and adorned by Herod, who, in honour of Auguſtus, called the city Sebaſte [b].

It may be concluded from this narrative, that whatever difference at this time ſubſiſted between the Jews and Samaritans, it was only ſuch as might eaſily have been compromiſed; elſe Sanballat would not have thought of attempting to unite the religious inſtitutions of both nations by making his ſon-in-law their common high-prieſt. But this neceſſarily ſuppoſes, that the Samaritans had renounced their antient idolatry, and were now worſhippers of the true God, in forms not very different from thoſe appointed by the Moſaic law. Some remains of erroneous opinions concerning the divine nature, and of Pagan ſuperſtition, might, it is true, ſtill be retained, ſufficient to give occaſion to the cenſure of Jeſus, "Ye know not what ye worſhip." But there can be no doubt that the Jewiſh writers, from whom we receive moſt of our information

[a] Joſeph. Ant. Jud. l. xi. c. 4.—8. l. xii. c. 1. Baſnage, l. ii. c. 6. p. 113.

[b] Joſeph. Ant. l. xi. c. 8. l. xii. c. 1. l. xiii. c. 18. Reland. Palæſt. l. iii. p. 979. Baſnage. l. c. p. 99.

concerning the Samaritans, through their averſion to this nation, have been guilty of much exaggeration and miſrepreſentation in their account of the Samaritan doctrine and worſhip. Of this kind, probably, is the tale of their having the idols of four heathen nations concealed under Mount Garizim, and the notion that they denied the exiſtence of angels [a]. It is not unlikely, however, that they might ſo far depart from the idea of angels given in the books of Moſes (the only ſacred ſcriptures they acknowledged) as to conceive them to be Subſtantial Virtues, or Powers derived by emanation [b] from the divine nature, according to the Oriental philoſophy [c]. This may be inferred from the hiſtory of Simon Magus, Doſitheus, and Menander, whoſe doctrines appear to have obtained much credit and authority among the Samaritans.

SIMON MAGUS [d], who is commonly underſtood to have been the perſon mentioned in the Acts of the Apoſtles, was by birth a Samaritan, and in his native country practiſed magical arts, which procured him many followers. According to the uſual practice of the Aſiatics at this time, he viſited Egypt, and there, probably, became acquainted with the ſublime myſteries taught in the Alexandrian ſchool, and learned thoſe theurgic or magical operations, by means of which it was believed that men might be delivered from the power of evil dæmons. Upon his return into his own

[a] Epiphan. Hæreſ. ix. t. 1. op. p. 25. Her. xiii. p. 30. Her. xiv. p. 31. Reland. Diſſ. Miſc. p. ii. p. 57.

[b] Selden is of opinion *, that the Cuthæi, by whom Samaria was in part colonized, were Perſians, who dwelt on the borders of the river Cuth, and conjectures, that Nergal, the idol which they worſhipped, was the ſacred fire of the Perſians. If this be admitted, we may reaſonably conjecture, that the religion of the Perſian Magi, the worſhip of fire, brought by this people into Samaria, was united with the worſhip of the God of Iſrael; that with this worſhip was introduced the Oriental doctrine of divine emanations, taught by the Perſian Zoroaſter; and that, in this manner, the Gnoſtic fictions concerning divine Virtues and Powers ſpread among the Samaritans.

[c] Reland. l. c. p. 29. Cellar. Gent. Sam. Diſſ. Ac. p 109.

[d] Juſt. Mart. Apol. ii. p. 69. 91. Iren. Hær. l. i. c. 23. § 4

* D. D. Syr. Syn. i. c. 8. p. 312

country, the author of the "Clementine Recognitions[a]" relates, that he impoſed upon his countrymen by high pretenſions to ſupernatural powers. And St. Luke atteſts, that this artful fanatic, uſing ſorcery, had bewitched the people of Samaria, giving out that he was Some Great One; and that he obtained ſuch general attention and reverence in Samaria, that the people all gave heed to him from the leaſt to the greateſt, ſaying, "This man is the Great Power of God[b]."*

From the nature of the philoſophy which, at this period, was taught both in Aſia and Egypt, and in which Simon had, doubtleſs, been inſtructed, it may be reaſonably concluded that he pretended to be an Æon of the firſt order, or one of the moſt exalted of thoſe ſubſtantial powers, or divine immortal natures, which were ſuppoſed to have emaned from the eternal fountain of the Supreme Deity. He boaſted, that he was ſent down from heaven among men, to chaſtiſe and ſubdue thoſe evil dæmons, by whoſe malignant influence the diſorders and miſeries of human nature were produced, and to conduct them to the higheſt felicity. To his wife Helena he alſo aſcribed a ſimilar kind of divine nature, pretending that a female Æon inhabited the body of this woman, to whom he gave the name of Ἔννοια, Wiſdom; whence ſome Chriſtian fathers have ſaid, that he called her the Holy Spirit[c].

[a] L. ii. c. 21.

[b] Acts viii. 9. Iren. adv. Hær. l. i. c. 23. § 4. p. 100. Theodoret. Hæret. Fab. l. i. c. 1. Aug. de Hær. c. 1. Epiph. Hær. 21.—24. Euſeb. H. E. l. iii. c. 26.

* It has been ſaid, that Simon Magus was worſhipped by the Romans as a god; and a paſſage in Juſtin Martyr †, where he ſays that, between two bridges on the Tiber, he ſaw a ſtatue with this inſcription, Simoni Sancto Deo, has been quoted in ſupport of this aſſertion. But, beſides the great improbability that the Romans would rank a Samaritan among their divinities, it has ſince appeared that Juſtin Martyr read this inſcription inaccurately ‡; for, in the year 1574, a ſtatue was dug up in Rome, in the very ſituation mentioned by Juſtin, with this inſcription, Semoni Sanco Deo Fidio.

[c] Recog. Clem. l. ii. c. 22, &c. Hom. xix. § 14. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. ii. p. 383. Auguſt. de Hæreſ. c. 1. Tertull. de Anim. c. 34.

† Apol. ii. p. 69, 91. ‡ Ant. Van Dale ad calc. lib. de Orac. Deyling. Obſ. Sac. t. i. Ob. 36.

The ſum of his fanatical doctrine, diveſted of allegory, was, that from the Divine Being, as a fountain of light, emane various orders of Æons, or Eternal Natures, ſubſiſting within the plenitude of the divine eſſence; that beyond theſe, in the order of emanation, are different claſſes of intelligences, among the loweſt of which are human ſouls; that matter is the moſt remote production of the emanative power, which, on account of its infinite diſtance from the Fountain of Light, poſſeſſes ſluggiſh and malignant qualities, which oppoſe the divine operations, and are the cauſe of evil; that it is the great deſign of philoſophy to deliver the ſoul from its impriſonment in matter, and reſtore it to that divine light from which it was derived; and that for this purpoſe God had ſent one of the firſt Æons among men. He alſo taught, that human ſouls migrate into other bodies, as a puniſhment for their ſins; and he denied the reſurrection of the body [a].

Simon Magus, having taught theſe and other ſimilar doctrines of the Oriental philoſophy, may perhaps be conſidered as the founder of a philoſophical ſect of Gnoſtics; but it is a miſtake to ſuppoſe, as many writers, implicitly following Irenæus [b], have done, that he was the head of the Chriſtian Gnoſtics; for, whereas theſe heretics thought Chriſt to be one of the Æons ſent down in a human form to deliver the world from the dominion of evil dæmons, Simon Magus claimed this very character to himſelf; and conſequently, notwithſtanding his temporary aſſumption of the Chriſtian name, muſt be ranked among the enemies of Chriſt.

DOSITHEUS was one of thoſe fanatics who aroſe from the rigorous diſcipline of that Jewiſh ſect, which, as we ſhall afterwards ſee, was devoted to ſolitude and abſtinence. Failing in his attempt to paſs among the Jews for their Meſſiah, he went over to the Samaritans, and endeavoured to perſuade them that he was the prophet predicted by Moſes, and practiſed among them various kinds of auſte-

[a] Recogn. Clem. l. ii. c. 21. p. 522. l. iii. p. 528. Epiph. Hær. p. 58, 59. Iren. l. i. c. 23. 28. Clem. Hom. iii. p. 648. xviii. p. 744. xix. p. 954. Plotin. Enn. vi. l. ix. c. 9. [b] L. c.

rities. The author of the "Clementine Recognitions" ſpeaks of Doſitheus as a diſciple of Simon; others make him his preceptor; but both without proof[a].

Menander, a Samaritan, trod in the footſteps of Simon Magus, boaſting himſelf to be a Great Power of God, ſent to deliver the world, by magical operations, from the tyranny of evil ſpirits. To thoſe who partook of his baptiſm he promiſed, that their bodies ſhould be purified from the dregs of materiality, and be raiſed to a ſpiritual and immortal exiſtence within the *Pleroma*, or Plenitude, of the divine nature[b].

From this time the affairs of the Samaritans declined, and their hiſtory affords nothing which requires our attention.

The Second great Event, in this period of the Jewiſh hiſtory, which affects the ſtate of philoſophy, is the ſettling of a Jewiſh colony in Egypt. Notwithſtanding the hereditary hatred which, from the moſt antient times, had ſubſiſted between the Hebrews and the Egyptians, neceſſity had obliged the two nations, as we learn from the Sacred Hiſtory, to unite more than once againſt the aſſaults of the kings of Aſſyria. In proceſs of time, the enmity between them was ſo far ſubdued, that the poſterity of Iſrael migrated to the country from which their anceſtors had been expelled.

The firſt certain record of the ſettling of a Jewiſh colony in Egypt is that of the prophet Jeremiah[c], from whom we learn, that during the Babyloniſh captivity (about five hundred and eighty years before Chriſt) after Iſhmael had treacherouſly cut off Gedaliah, the governor of Judea, appointed by Nebuchadnezzar king of Aſſyria, the Jews who ſtill remained in Judea, fearing the reſentment of the king, firſt took up their abode near the borders of Egypt, and then, contrary to the remonſtrance of the prophet Jeremiah, removed into Egypt, and ſettled at Tahpanhes. According to the prediction of the prophet, in a ſucceſsful attack ſoon after-

[a] Epiphan. Hær. xiii. & 30.

[b] Iren. Hær. l. ii. c. 31. Theodor. Hæret. Fab. l. i. c. 2. Euſeb. Hiſt. Ec. l. iii. c. 26. Epiph. Hær. xxii. Tertull. de Reſur. c. 5. 19. de An. c. 50.

[c] Ch. xlii. ver. 15. xliii. 10 xliv. 11.

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wards made upon Amaſis, king of Egypt, by Nebuchadonoſor, they were carried captive, with a body of Egyptians, into Babylon. A few of their number, however, who had eſcaped into ſolitary places, remained in Egypt, and their poſterity greatly increaſed.

When Alexander, in order to people his new city, Alexandria, invited ſtrangers from different countries; among the reſt a conſiderable body of Jews left their native country, and put themſelves under the protection of the conqueror, who granted them the ſame privileges which he had conferred upon his own countrymen[a]. This Jewiſh colony was afterwards enlarged by Ptolemy Lagus, who invaded Syria and Judea, beſieged and took Jeruſalem, and carried an hundred thouſand Jews and Samaritans in captivity to Egypt[b]. Under the protection of Alexander and his ſucceſſors, this numerous body of Jews long continued to flouriſh, and occaſionally to receive new acceſſions from Judea. Ptolemy Philadelphus treated them with great liberality, and put them on the footing of equality with the reſt of his ſubjects; allowing them the free exerciſe of their religion, according to the precepts of their law, and the traditions of their fathers[c].

It was at this time that the Alexandrian Jews, who now commonly ſpoke the Greek language, wrote their celebrated Greek Tranſlation of their Sacred Scriptures, known by the name of the Septuagint Verſion. This tranſlation has been ſaid to have been made by order of the king, through the ſolicitation of Demetrius Phalereus his librarian[d]; but[e] it is improbable that a Peripatetic philoſopher ſhould have paid ſo much reſpect to the books of the Jews, as to requeſt ſuch an exertion of the royal authority; and the ſtory is inconſiſtent, as we have already ſhewn, with well known facts, in the life of Demetrius Phalereus. The truth ſeems to be, that the tranſlation was reluctantly undertaken by the Jews themſelves, for the convenience of that numerous body, among whom Greek

[a] Joſeph. Ant. Jud. l. xi. c. 8. [b] Id. l. xii. c. 1.
[c] Joſeph. ib. c. 2. [d] Joſeph. l. c. [e] Conf. Van Dale, Diſs. ſuper Ariſtea. Hody Diſs. contr. Ariſtea. Ox. 1684. 8vo. et de Bibl. Text. 1705. fol.

was

was now the common language; but that, when the Alexandrian Jews found that this public expoſure of their ſacred oracles was diſpleaſing to their brethren in Paleſtine, they invented this ſtory, to give their verſion the ſanction of royal authority. On ſimilar grounds, the ſtory of another verſion [a], more antient than the Septuagint, of the Pentateuch, from which Pythagoras and Plato borrowed ſome of their doctrines, is to be rejected as fabulous; for the fact reſts wholly upon the teſtimony of Ariſtobulus, whom there is reaſon, as we ſhall ſee, to ſuſpect of having, through national vanity, invented this ſtory, in order to transfer the credit of the Greek philoſophy to the Hebrews.

From this period, there can be no doubt that the doctrine of the Jews was known to the Egyptians; and, on the other hand, that Pagan philoſophy was known to the Jews. Grecian wiſdom, corrupted by being mixed with the Egyptian and Oriental philoſophy, aſſumed a new form in the Platonic ſchool of Alexandria. This ſchool, by pretending to teach a ſublimer doctrine concerning God and divine things, enticed men of different countries and religions, and among the reſt the Jews, to ſtudy its myſteries, and to incorporate them with their own. The ſymbolical method of inſtruction, which had been in uſe from the moſt antient times among the Egyptians, was adopted by the Jews; and it became a common practice among them to put an allegorical interpretation upon their ſacred writings. Hence, under the cloak of ſymbols, Pagan philoſophy gradually crept into the Jewiſh ſchools; and the Platonic doctrines, mixed firſt with the Pythagoric, and afterwards with the Egyptian and Oriental, were blended with their antient faith in their explanations of the law and the traditions [b]. The ſociety of the Therapeutæ (of which we ſhall preſently ſpeak more fully) was formed after the model of the Pythagorean diſcipline: Ariſtobulus, Philo, and others, ſtudied the Grecian philoſophy, and the Cabbaliſts formed their myſtical ſyſtem upon the foundation of the tenets

[a] Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i. p. 305. 342. Euſeb. Præp. Ev. l. xiii. c. 12. Joſeph. Ant. l. xii. p. 391. [b] Euſeb. Præp. Ev. l. viii. c. 9, 10.

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taught in the Alexandrian ſchools. The practice of clothing the precepts of the Moſaic law in a Platonic dreſs, and mixing Platonic notions with the doctrine of the Jewiſh religion, ſeems to have given birth to the antient Jewiſh book, improperly called, *The Wiſdom of Solomon*[a], a work which abounds with Platonic language, and was probably written after the Cabbaliſtic philoſophy was introduced among the Jews.

The preceding narrative of facts clearly ſhews in what manner the purity of divine doctrine became corrupted among the Jews in Egypt. Enticed by the promiſe of new and hidden treaſures of wiſdom concerning God and divine things, they admitted, under the diſguiſe of allegory, doctrines never dreamed of by their antient lawgivers and prophets, and adopted a myſtical interpretation of the law, which converted its plain meaning into a thouſand idle fancies. This corruption, which begun in Egypt about the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, ſoon ſpread into Paleſtine, and every where diſſeminated among the Jews a taſte for metaphyſical ſubtleties and myſteries[b].

ARISTOBULUS, an Alexandrian Jew, who lived in the reign of Ptolemy Philometer, was an admirer of the Greek philoſophy, and united with the ſtudy of the Moſaic law, in the myſtical and allegorical method at this time introduced, ſome knowledge of the Ariſtotelian ſyſtem. Euſebius ſpeaks of him as a favourite of Ptolemy, and quotes, from a work of his inſcribed to that prince, ſundry verſes of Orpheus, in which mention is made of Moſes and Abraham. Theſe verſes are alſo found in the works of Juſtin Martyr; but with ſo much variation as to afford ground for ſuſpecting their authenticity. It is not improbable that Ariſtobulus himſelf, who, as Clemens Alexandrinus relates[c], aſcribes the Grecian philoſophy

[a] Among many other paſſages of this book, in which both the ſentiments and language are borrowed from the Greek philoſophy, the reader may conſult c. i. 7. c. vii. 17.—22. In ch. v. ver. 25. the Oriental doctrine of emanation is clearly expreſſed.

[b] Joſeph. Proem. Ant. Jud. p. 3. [c] Strom. l. i. 305.

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to a Hebrew origin, was the author of this fraud, as well as of the tales reſpecting the Greek verſions of the Hebrew ſcriptures. On theſe accounts, we cannot heſitate to rank Ariſtobulus among the firſt corruptors of Jewiſh wiſdom[a].

From Egypt we ſhall now paſs over into Judea, to inquire into the ſtate of philoſophy among its inhabitants. Soon after their return from the Babyloniſh captivity, they forſook the antient ſimplicity of their ſacred doctrine, and liſtened to the fictions of human fancy. This change happened, not through any intercourſe which the Jews had, during their captivity, with the Chaldean Magi (for it does not appear that they borrowed any tenets from theſe) but in conſequence of the conqueſts of Alexander and his ſucceſſors, which obliged them, contrary to their antient habits, to mingle with foreigners. A circumſtance which, left to its natural operation, would have led them imperceptibly into the adoption of foreign opinions and cuſtoms. But their conquerors haſtened this change by compulſion; for we are informed that Antiochus Epiphanes commanded them to forſake their antient religious ceremonies; and, although the greater part of the nation bravely reſiſted this unjuſt and tyrannical command, there were ſome among them ſo unfaithful to their country and their God, as to ſhew an inclination to court the favour of the conqueror by mixing Pagan tenets and ſuperſtitions with their own ſacred doctrines and ceremonies[b]. The influence of example in their Alexandrian brethren, who had already caught the infection of gentiliſm, doubtleſs, concurred with the circumſtances of the times, to introduce corruption into the ſchools of Judea. Accordingly we find, in fact, that a taſte for Grecian philoſophy and Egyptian myſteries ſo far prevailed in the joint reign of Ariſtobulus and Hyrcanus, that ſome of the zealous advocates for the purity of the Jewiſh faith and worſhip thought it neceſſary to denounce *anathema* upon any one who ſhould teach the

[a] Maccab. l. ii. c. i. ver. 10. Euſeb. Præp. l. viii. c. 9. l. xiii. c. 5. Juſtin. Cohort. ad. Gent. et Apol. ii.

[b] Maccab. Hiſt. Joſeph. Ant. J. l. xii.

Grecian

Grecian wiſdom to his children[a]. No *Anathema*, however, could prevent the ſpread of Grecian learning among the Jews.

In the time of Alexander Jannæus, about one hundred years before Chriſt, Simon ben Schetach, a learned Jewiſh doctor, who had, for ſome political offence, been baniſhed Judea, was recalled, with his diſciples, from Alexandria, "and with him," as Jehudas Levi relates[b], "the Cabbala, or oral tradition, recovered its priſtine vigour." And there can be little doubt that this Cabbala included the theoretical as well as preceptive doctrines received by the Alexandrian Jews under the notion of traditions; eſpecially ſince we have ſo many proofs of the early prevalence of theſe doctrines among the Jews, in the writings of Philo and others.

The reſult of the facts already related is, that the myſtical, or cabbaliſtic, doctrine of the Jews aroſe in the time of the firſt Ptolemies. The Jewiſh myſtics, indeed, pretend to trace back their fanciful ſyſtem even to Adam in Paradiſe, and boaſt that their oldeſt cabbaliſtic books were written by the patriarch Abraham[c]. But it will be evident to any one, who compares theſe books with the ſyſtem compounded of Oriental, Pythagoric, and Platonic doctrines, which the Jews at this time began, as we have ſeen, to mix with the Moſaic law, that the leading tenets of the Cabbala and the Alexandrian philoſophy are the ſame. The antient book entitled *Coſri*, writtten by Jehuda Levi before the compilation of the Talmud, deſcribes in allegorical and myſtical language the philoſophy which paſſed over from the Alexandrian ſchools into Judea. The ſame philoſophy is found in the cabbaliſtic books of the *Jezirah*, mentioned in the Talmud; in the *Sohar*, aſcribed to Simeon ben Jochai, a diſciple of Akibha, who lived in the time of Veſpaſian; and in the *Bakir*, ſaid to be of ſtill greater antiquity. Although the age of theſe books is not certainly known, there is great reaſon to conclude from their contents, that the ſeeds of the cabbaliſtic doc-

[a] Gemar. Bab. in Menachoth. f. 64. Lightfoot Hor. Heb. Math. viii. 30.
[b] Lib. Coſri, p. iii. p. 240. Conf. R. Mardochai de Karæis, c. 3.
[c] R. Gedalias Shalſhel. Hakkabal. p. 28.

trine were firſt ſown under the Ptolemies, when the Jews began to learn the Egyptian and Oriental theology, and to incorporate theſe foreign dogmas with their antient creed.

Having ſaid thus much concerning the introduction of Gentile philoſophy among the Jews both in Egypt and Paleſtine, the way is prepared for inquiring into the riſe and progreſs of their DOMESTIC SECTS. After all the learned labour which has been beſtowed upon this ſubject, the origin of theſe ſects ſtill remains involved in obſcurity. Some eminent writers, on the authority of ſeveral paſſages in the hiſtory of the Maccabees, and in Joſephus, have ſaid [a], that many of the Jews, after their return from captivity, expreſſed their religious zeal, not only by a ſtrict obſervance of the law, according to its literal meaning, but by introducing certain religious ceremonies, and other ſervices, not preſcribed in the written law, as voluntary expreſſions of extraordinary ſanctity; that a large body of theſe zealots formed themſelves into a fraternity, or ſacred college, under the name of Haſidæi, who, under the perſecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, joined the Maccabees; that, in proceſs of time, the inſtitutions of this body were digeſted into a regular canon, which created innumerable diſputes, and produced parties among the Jews, of whom thoſe who adhered ſtrictly to the letter of the Moſaic law were called Karæites, while the advocates for the new inſtitutions retained the name of Haſidæi; and that from the former ſprung the Sadducees, and from the latter the Phariſees and Eſſenes. This account of the riſe of the Jewiſh ſects is plauſible, but deſtitute of ſufficient evidence from antiquity. For, the Haſidæi, mentioned by the author of the hiſtory of the Maccabees [b], were not a religious ſect, but a civil party, which aroſe during the wars. Upon this matter nothing further is certain, than that, ſoon after the termination of the prophetic age, the Jews began to corrupt the law of Moſes, by introducing certain precepts and inſti-

[a] Scaliger. Elench. Trihæreſ. c. 22. Druſius et Serrarius de Haſidæis. edit. a Trigland. in Syntagm. de Trib. Sect. Jud. Delph. 1704. Goodwin's Moſes and Aaron. l. i. c. 9. [b] L. i. c. vii. 13. l. ii. c. xiv. 6.

tutions,

tutions, which they profeſſed to have received by oral tradition from the moſt antient times. This traditionary law, which chiefly reſpected religious ceremonies, faſtings, and other practices diſtinct from the moral duties of life, at length obtained, with the greater part of the Jewiſh nation, a degree of authority equal to that of the Moſaic law; whilſt the reſt, rejecting theſe innovations, adhered ſtrictly to the inſtitutions of their ſacred oracles. Theſe two general claſſes, which do not appear to have been diſtinguiſhed, on this ſingle ground, by any peculiar appellation, gradually adopted other tenets and cuſtoms, and formed ſeveral diſtinct ſects, of which the principal were the Sadducees, the Karæites, the Phariſees, and the Eſſenes.

Without paying any attention to the extravagant fiction of the Jewiſh writers, who pretend to refer the origin of the Sadducean doctrine to Pagan atheiſts, among whom they reckon Ariſtotle; who, by the way, was, they affirm, afterwards converted, and made a proſelyte of righteouſneſs, by Simeon the Juſt [a]; we ſhall confine ourſelves to thoſe events, in the hiſtory of the Jewiſh church, which ſeem to have gradually given exiſtence to the ſect of the SADDUCEES.

It is exceedingly probable, that, as ſoon as the oral, or traditionary, law above mentioned was introduced, multitudes reprobated the innovation, and determined to adhere to the written law, in its obvious and literal meaning. This diſpute might naturally occaſion a controverſy concerning the doctrine of the Hebrew ſcriptures upon the ſubject of a future ſtate; and the ſpeculations of the Alexandrian Jews, which about this time began to be known in Judea, might furniſh freſh matter of debate. Theſe conjectures are confirmed by facts.

ANTIGONUS SOCHÆUS [b], a native of Socho on the borders of Judea, who flouriſhed in the time of Eleazar the high prieſt (or about three hundred years before Chriſt) and was a diſciple of Si-

[a] Shalſheleth Hakkabalah, p. 83.

[b] Lightfoot, Hor. Hebr. ad Matt. iii. 7. t. ii. p. 273. Reland Palæſt. l. iii. p. 1018. Baſnage, l. ii. c. 14.

meon the Juſt, offended at the innovations which were introduced by the patrons of the traditionary inſtitutions, and particularly at the pretenſions which were made to meritorious works of ſupererogation, by means of which men hoped to entitle themſelves to extraordinary temporal rewards, ſtrenuouſly maintained and taught, that men ought to ſerve God, not like ſlaves for hire, but from a pure and diſintereſted principle of piety. This refined doctrine, which Antigonus only oppoſed to the expectation of a temporal recompence for works of religion and charity, his followers miſinterpreted, and extended to the rewards of a future life. Sadoc and Baithoſus, two of his diſciples, taught, that no future recompence was to be expected, and conſequently that there would be no reſurrection of the dead. This doctrine they taught to their followers; and hence aroſe, about two hundred years before Chriſt, the ſect of the Baithoſæi, or Sadducees. Theſe appellations, derived from the names of the founders of the ſect, ſeem to have been at firſt uſed promiſcuouſly; but by degrees the former fell into diſuſe; which accounts for the ſilence of the ſacred hiſtory, and of Joſephus, concerning the Baithoſæi [a].

The ſect of the Sadducees long continued to flouriſh in Judea, and to poſſeſs great authority. Although they differed in fundamental points of faith from the reſt of the nation, they were admitted to ſacred privileges and offices, and even to the higheſt dignity of the prieſthood [b]. And notwithſtanding the enmity which ſubſiſted between this ſect and that of the Phariſees, on account of the contempt with which the Sadducees treated the traditionary law, theſe ſects frequently united in public councils, and in defence of the common cauſe of religion. Under the reign of Hyrcanus, who, about one hundred and thirty years before Chriſt, poſſeſſed the ſupreme civil and ſacerdotal power in Judea, the Sadducees were the leading ſect; for that prince, being oppoſed by the Phariſees in the execution of the office of high prieſt, treated them with great

[a] Pirke Abhoth. c. 5. R. Nathan. ad l. c. apud Lightfoot. t. ii. p. 737.
[b] Acts, v. 17. Joſeph. Ant. l. xx. c. 15.

ſeverity,

ſeverity, and eſpouſed the Sadducean party, requiring the whole nation, on pain of death, to profeſs the doctrine of this ſect. After the death of Hyrcanus, the perſecution of the Phariſees was, for ſome time, continued by his ſon, Alexander Jannæus; but Alexandra, the wife of Jannæus, who ſucceeded him in the government, finding that the Phariſaic ſect was more popular than the Sadducean, eſpouſed the intereſt of the Phariſees, and reſtored their power and influence. The Sadducees, however, afterwards regained a conſiderable ſhare of political and eccleſiaſtical conſequence; for we find, that Caiaphas and Ananus, who were both of this ſect, poſſeſſed in ſucceſſion the office of high prieſt [a]. After the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, the ſect of the Sadducees fell into contempt among their countrymen, and even incurred the hatred of the Chriſtians: the emperor Juſtinian iſſued a ſevere edict againſt them [b], inflicting baniſhment, and, in caſe of obſtinate perſeverance, even death, upon thoſe who ſhould teach their doctrines.

The chief heads of the Sadducean tenets were theſe [c]:

All laws and traditions, not comprehended in the written law, are to be rejected as merely human inventions. Neither angels nor ſpirits have a diſtinct exiſtence, ſeparate from their corporeal veſtment. The ſoul of man, therefore, does not remain after this life, but expires with the body. There will be no reſurrection of the dead, nor any rewards or puniſhments after this life. Man is not ſubjected to irreſiſtible fate, but has the framing of his condition chiefly in his own power. Polygamy ought not to be practiſed.

It has been aſſerted [d], that the Sadducees only received, as of ſacred authority, the five books of Moſes. But the contrary clearly appears from their controverſy with the Phariſees, in which the latter appeal to the prophets, and other ſacred writings, as well as the law,

[a] Joſeph. Ant. l. xiii. c. 18, 24. Megellath. Taanith, c. 4. Baſnage, l. ii. c. 15.

[b] Novell. 146.

[c] Joſeph. Ant. l. xiii. c. 18. l. xviii. c. 2. de Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 12. Acts, xxiii. 6. 8. Matt. xxii. 23. Mark, xii. 18. Luke, xx. 27.

[d] Tertull. de Præſcript. l. i. c. 14, Orig. contr. Cel. l. i. p. 39.

which

which they could not have done with any propriety or effect, had not the Sadducees admitted their authority. To this we may add, that had this been the case, it is very improbable that such heresy would have passed without censure.

The Sadducees are sometimes ranked with the Epicureans; but improperly: for, though they agreed with them in denying the doctrine of a future state, they differed from them essentially in their ideas of God and providence. Whilst the Epicureans admitted no supreme intelligent ruler of the world, and supposed the gods wholly unconcerned in human affairs, the Sadducees acknowledged the existence of the one true God, the Jehovah of the Jews, and admitted his universal providence, only rejecting the notion of an absolute and uncontroulable influence over the volitions and actions of men: they admitted, too, the reasonableness and obligation of religious worship. Their denial of a future state of rewards and punishments may perhaps be in part ascribed to their belief in the homogeneous nature of man; for Josephus expressly says[a], that they took away the distinct and permanent nature of the soul: ψυχῆς τε τὴν διαμονὴν ἀναιρεῖσι. This was, probably, the chief ground of their opposition to christianity, whose distinguishing doctrine is that of the resurrection from the dead.

The sect of the KARÆITES[b], though its history be exceedingly obscure, is not to be confounded with that of the Sadducees. The name Karaite denotes a textuary, or scripturist, and seems intended to distinguish those who followed the written law alone, from those who admitted the authority of traditionary precepts. The origin of this sect is, therefore, to be referred to the time when the traditionary, or oral, law was introduced, and with it the allegorical interpretation of the written law. It may be collected from the Jewish records, that this sect existed in the time of Hyrcanus, and that the followers of Shammai were addicted to it[c]. The fact

[a] De Bell. J. l. ii. c. 12. Conf. Ant. J. l. xviii. c. 2. l. xx. c. 8.
[b] R. Mardochai de Karæis, Trigland. Shupart. et Wolf. de Kar.
[c] R. Mose. Bethshitshi ap. Trigland. de Kar. c. 6.

ſeems to have been, that the traditionary law was oppoſed, as a corruption of the true religion, by a numerous body, who ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the ſufficiency and perfection of the antient written law, explained in its literal ſenſe. Among theſe, as we have already ſeen, were the Sadducees. But it is exceedingly probable, that the Sadducean tenets were highly offenſive to many pious men, who, nevertheleſs, were not diſpoſed to join thoſe who received the traditionary inſtitutions. Theſe adhering ſimply to the letter of the Moſaic law, but at the ſame time refuſing to adopt the doctrine of the Sadducees, would of courſe become a ſeparate ſect, which would be diſtinguiſhed by ſome name expreſſive of their leading principle. It is not improbable that the oppoſite party gave them, in deriſion, the name of Scripturiſts, or Karæites. In this manner we conceive that this ſect aroſe at the ſame time with thoſe of the Sadducees and Phariſees.

The continuance of the ſect of the Karæites through ſeveral ſubſequent ages may be learned from the *Coſri* of Jehuda Levi, above quoted, which intimates, that, in the time of the Rabbies Jehuda ben Tabbai and Simeon ben Shetach, when the traditionary precepts obtained increaſing authority, the followers of the letter of the law were a ſeparate body. Perhaps the claſs of νομικοι, lawyers, mentioned by the Evangeliſts as diſtinct from the Scribes and Phariſees[a], were the Karæites. This conjecture is favoured by a tradition preſerved in the Jeruſalem Talmud[b], that there were in Jeruſalem four hundred and eighty ſynagogues, each of which had a ſeparate apartment for the law, and another for the Talmud, or traditionary records; whence it ſeems probable, that the Scripturiſts were a party diſtinct from the Traditionaries. The ſcribes, whoſe office it was to expound the law, from the manner in which they are uſually mentioned in the New Teſtament, in conjunction with the Phariſees, may be concluded to have adopted, in their interpretations, the allegorical method of the Traditionaries and Cabbaliſts, and therefore to have commonly belonged to their party.

[a] Luc. xi. 45, 46. [b] Megillat. f. 73.

After

After the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, the intereſt of the traditionary party greatly increaſed, and that of the Scripturiſts proportionally declined: ſo that the Karæites are from this time little heard of, except when they are mentioned by the phariſaical rabbies in terms of reproach, till the eighth century, when we find the ſect revived by the Rabbi Anari ben David, whoſe hereſy brought upon him a heavy load of obloquy. The hiſtory of this Rabbi clearly ſhews, that he was not, as ſome have ſuppoſed, the author, but the reſtorer of the Karæite ſect[a]. From his time, this ſect continued to produce men well ſkilled in the Jewiſh law; among whom, in the twelfth century, was Abu-Alphareus, who lived in Paleſtine, and wrote a commentary upon the Pentateuch, which added ſo much ſtrength to the intereſt of the Karæites, that the traditionary party thought it neceſſary to implore the aſſiſtance of the civil magiſtrate[b]. Notwithſtanding this, however, the Karæites continued to hold their aſſemblies; and they are, at this day, found as a diſtinct body in Turkey, Ruſſia, and Lithuania, but are oppreſſed by the jealouſy of their countrymen, to whom a Karæite is more hateful than a Chriſtian, or a Turk[c].

The diſtinguiſhing tenets of the ſect of the Karaites are: that there is no other rule of faith and worſhip than the writings of Moſes and the prophets; that all oral traditions, and all allegorical and myſtical interpretations of the law are to be rejected; that all material beings were created by an uncreated Deity, of whom no reſemblance can be found in any thing which he has made; that he knows all things, and exerciſes a conſtant providence over all his works; that the human mind is ſubject to divine influence, but at the ſame time remains free in its volitions; that true penitence takes away guilt; that, after death, the ſoul, if it be worthy, aſcends to the intellectual world to live there for ever, but if it be guilty, it is conſigned to a ſtate of pain and ignominy; that God alone is to be

[a] Abr. Ben Dior. Kabb. Hiſt. f. 66. [b] Buddæi Hiſt. Ph. Heb. § 30.
[c] Tenzel. Colloq. Menſtr. 1691. Baſnage, l. ii. c. 6

worſhipped;

worſhipped; and that faſts are to be ſtrictly obſerved[a]. The preſent adherents of this ſect are ſaid to obſerve the moral precepts of their law more ſtrictly than their brethren, the phariſaic Rabbinites, with whom, nevertheleſs, they are thought unworthy of eccleſiaſtical communion.

The moſt celebrated of the Jewiſh ſects was that of the PHARISEES. Its origin, as well as that of the other ſects, is involved in ſome obſcurity. The prophet Iſaiah, indeed, found among the Jews, in his time, ſeveral appearances of the ſpirit and character which afterwards diſtinguiſhed the ſect of the Phariſees[b]. But we have no proof that they exiſted as a diſtinct body in the prophetic age; nor do we find any traces of this ſect prior to the time when oral traditions, together with the allegorical interpretations of the written law, were introduced in the manner already explained. Although we meet with no ſatisfactory evidence of the exiſtence of the ſect of the Haſidæi, which Scaliger[c] ſuppoſes to have been the foundation of the Phariſaic ſect, we think there can be little reaſon to doubt that this ſect aroſe ſoon after the return from the Babyloniſh captivity, in conſequence of the introduction of traditionary inſtitutions and allegorical interpretations. That it was eſtabliſhed, and had acquired great authority in the time of Hyrcanus, and of his ſons, Ariſtobulus and Alexander, has been already hinted, and may be ſeen more at large in Joſephus's account of their affairs[d]. Joſephus, who was himſelf of this ſect, ſpeaks of it as flouriſhing in the time of Jonathan the high prieſt, together with thoſe of the Sadducees and Eſſenes; which invalidates the conjecture of Baſnage[e], that the Phariſaic ſect owed its riſe to the ſeparation which took place

[a] R. Japhet. Lev. Conf. Wolf. Bib. Heb. p. i. p. 671. Trigland. l. i. c. 10, 11. Schudt. Memor. Jud. p. ii. l. vi. c. 27.

[b] Iſ. lviii. 2, 3. lxv. 5.

[c] Elench. Trihæreſ. c. 22. p. 170. Reland. Antiq. Sac. p. 2. c. ix. § 13.

[d] Ant. Jud. l. xiii. c. 9, 24.

[e] Hiſt. des Juifs, l. ii. c. 17. § 2. Conf. Wolf. Bibl. Heb. p. ii. p. 816.—824. Natal. Alex. Hiſt. Eccl. c. i. art. 5. § 3.

between the ſchools of Hillel and Shammai; for the Jewiſh writers agree, that theſe celebrated doctors did not flouriſh earlier than an hundred years before the Chriſtian æra.

Although the exact time of the firſt appearance of the Phariſaic ſect cannot be aſcertained, its origin may be eaſily traced back to the ſame period in which the Sadducean hereſy aroſe. From the time that the notion of ſupernumerary acts of ſelf-denial, devotion, and charity, was introduced under the ſanction of the traditionary law, a wide door was opened for ſuperſtition, religious pride, and hypocriſy. Whilſt, on the one hand, ſome would deſpiſe the weakneſs, or the affectation, of profeſſing to be pious and holy beyond the preſcription of the written law, others, through a fanatical ſpirit, or that they might provide themſelves with a convenient cloak for their vices, would become ſcrupulous obſervers of the traditionary inſtitutions. And when theſe pretenders to extraordinary ſanctity ſaw that many of thoſe who obſerved only the written law, not only diſclaimed all works of ſupererogation, but even renounced the hope of future rewards, they would think it neceſſary to ſeparate themſelves into a diſtinct body, that they might the more ſucceſsfully diſplay their ſanctity and piety. Theſe conjectures are confirmed by the name of the ſect, which is derived from the word פרש, *to ſeparate*[a]. Their ſeparation conſiſted chiefly in certain diſtinctions reſpecting food, clothing, and religious ceremonies: it does not ſeem to have interrupted the uniformity of religious worſhip, in which the Jews of every ſect appear to have always united.

The peculiar character and ſpirit of Phariſaiſm conſiſted in the ſtrict obſervance of the oral law, which they believed to have been delivered to Moſes by an archangel, during his forty days reſidence on Mount Sinai, and to have been by him committed to Seventy Elders, who tranſmitted it to poſterity[b]. Their ſuperſti-

[a] Suidas in Phariſ.

[b] Joſeph. Ant. Jud. l. xiii. c. 18, 23, 24. l. xvii. c. 3. De Bell. J. l. ii. c. 12. Eiſſenmenger Jud. Detect. p. i. c. 8. Hornbeck de Jud. Conv. l. i. c. 3.

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tious reverence for this law, and the apparent ſanctity of manners which it produced, rendered them exceedingly popular. The multitude, for the moſt part, eſpouſed their intereſt; and the great, who feared their artifice, were frequently obliged to court their favour. Hence they obtained the higheſt offices both in the ſtate and the prieſthood, and had great weight both in public and private affairs: in ſome inſtances they proved ſo troubleſome to the reigning powers as to ſubject themſelves to ſevere penalties. Hyrcanus and Alexander reſtrained their increaſing influence, and treated them with great rigour. Under Alexandra, however, they regained their conſequence; the diſſenſions between the ſchools of Hillel and Shammai[a], a little before the Chriſtian æra, increaſed their number and power; and they continued, till the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, to enjoy the chief ſway in the ſanhedrim and in the ſynagogue. After that period, when the other ſects were diſperſed, the Phariſees retained their authority; and, though the name has been dropped, their tenets and cuſtoms have ever ſince prevailed among the Jewiſh Rabbinites; ſo that at this day, except the Karæites, ſcarcely any Jews are to be found who are not, in reality, of the Phariſaic ſect[b].

The principal dogmas of the Phariſees were theſe:

The oral law, delivered from God to Moſes on Mount Sinai, by the angel Metraton, and tranſmitted to poſterity by tradition, is of equal authority with the written law. By obſerving both theſe laws, a man may not only obtain juſtification with God, but perform meritorious works of ſupererogation. Faſting, alms-giving, ablutions, confeſſions, are ſufficient atonements for ſin. Thoughts and deſires are not ſinful, unleſs they are carried into action. God is the creator of heaven and earth, and governs all things, even the actions of men, by his providence. Man can do nothing without divine influence; which does not, however, deſtroy the freedom of

[a] Gieger. de Hill. et Shamm.

[b] Menaſs. ben Iſrael de Termino Vit. l. i. § 3. Schudt. Mem. Jud. p. 2. l. vi. c. 27. § 11. Wolf. Bibl. Heb. p. ii. p. 816.

the human will. The ſoul of man is ſpiritual and immortal. In the inviſible world beneath the earth, rewards and puniſhments will be diſpenſed to the virtuous and vicious. The wicked ſhall be confined in an eternal priſon; but the good ſhall obtain an eaſy return to life. Beſides the ſoul of man, there are other ſpirits, or angels, both good and bad. The reſurrection of the body is to be expected [a].

It appears from many paſſages in the writings of the Jewiſh rabbis, that they held the doctrine of the migration of ſouls from one body to another: and it is probable that they derived it from the antient Phariſees, and theſe from the Oriental philoſophers. This *Metempſychoſis* is, however, to be underſtood in the Pythagoric and not in the Stoic ſenſe. The Jews, probably, borrowed this error from the Egyptians. There is no reaſon, as ſome writers have done, to conſider the ſect of the Phariſees as a branch from the Stoic ſchool [b]. For, though the Phariſees reſembled the Stoics in their affectation of peculiar ſanctity, their notion of Divine Providence was eſſentially different from the Stoical doctrine of Fate: and their caſt of manners aroſe from a different ſource; that of the Stoics being derived from their idea of the nature of the ſoul, as a particle of the divine nature; that of the Phariſees, from a falſe perſuaſion that the law might be fulfilled, and juſtification with God obtained, by ceremonial obſervances.

The peculiar manners of this ſect are ſtrongly marked in the writings of the Evangeliſts [c]; particularly, their exactneſs in obſerving the rites and ceremonies of the law, both written and traditionary; the rigour of their diſcipline, in watchings, faſtings, and ablutions; their ſcrupulous care to avoid every kind of ritual impurity; their long and frequent prayers, made not only in the ſynagogues and temple, but in the public ſtreets; their broad phylacteries on the borders of their garments, in which were written ſen-

[a] Joſeph. Ant. Jud. l. xiii. c. 9. l. xviii. c. 2. Bell. J. l. ii. c. 12.

[b] Joſeph. in Vita ſua, p. 999. Budd. Hiſt. Ph. Heb. § 19. Fab. Bib. Gr. v. ii. n. 508. Budd. Hiſt. Eccl. Vet. T. t. ii. p. 1217.

[c] Matt. vi. ix. xv. xxiii. Luk. vii. &c.

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tences of the law; their aſſiduity in making proſelytes; their oſtentatious charities; and, under all this ſhow of zeal and piety, their vanity, avarice, licentiouſneſs, and inhumanity. This account is confirmed by the teſtimony of the Jewiſh writers themſelves[a]. The Talmudic books[b] mention ſeveral diſtinct claſſes of Phariſees, under characters which ſhew them to have been deeply immerſed in the idleſt and moſt ridiculous ſuperſtitions. Among theſe were, the Truncated Phariſee, who, that he might appear in profound meditation, as if deſtitute of feet, ſcarcely lifted them from the ground; the Mortar Phariſee, who, that his contemplations might not be diſturbed, wore a deep cap, in the ſhape of a mortar, which would only permit him to look upon the ground at his feet; and the Striking Phariſee, who, ſhutting his eyes as he walked, to avoid the ſight of women, often ſtruck his head againſt the wall. Such wretched expedients did ſome of theſe hypocrites make uſe of to captivate the admiration of the vulgar. The political influence which their popularity gave them appears in almoſt every part of the Jewiſh hiſtory; particularly in the reigns of Hyrcanus, Ariſtobulus, Jannæus Alexander, Alexandra, and Herod[c]. Among the followers of Phariſaiſm were women, who, after the example of the men, under the cloak of ſingular piety and ſanctity, diſguiſed the moſt licentious manners[d].

Another Jewiſh ſect was that of the ESSENES, concerning the origin of which the learned are much divided in opinion. It is certain, from the teſtimony of Joſephus[e], that it flouriſhed in the time of Jonathan, the brother of Judas Maccabæus, that is, one hundred and ſixty years before Chriſt. It alſo appears from the

[a] Lightfoot ad. loc. cit. Goodwin Moſ. & Aaron, p. 180, 202. Pirke Abhoth. c. ii. n. 5. Bava Bathra, f. viii. 2. Baſnage, H. J. l. ii. p. 499.

[b] Lightfoot in Math. ii. 7. Goodwin, p. 205. Buxtorf. Lex. Talm. p. 1852. Hottinger. Theſaur. Phil. l. i. c. 1.

[c] Joſ. Ant. Jud. l. xiii. c. 18, 24, 25. l. xviii. c. 1, 2. Vitringa de Vet. Synag. p. 191. Reland. Ant. Heb. p. 132. Selden de Syned. p. 736.

[d] Lightfoot in Matt. iii. 5.

[e] Antiq. Jud. l. xiii. c. 9, 24.

account

account which Joſephus gives of the inſtitutions of this ſect, that they were borrowed from the Pythagoreans. It may therefore be conjectured, with a high degree of probability, that at the time when the great body of the Jews were carried captive into Babylon, the ſmall remainder of this oppreſſed people, after their temple was demoliſhed, their city laid waſte, and their religious worſhip interrupted, were driven by the cruel oppreſſion of Gedaliah, the prefect ſet over them by the king of Aſſyria, to take refuge in Egypt; that here, for want of the public rites of religion, theſe fugitives, who had a ſettled averſion to the idolatries of the Egyptians, withdrew into ſolitary places, where they endeavoured to ſupply the place of ſacrifices by devoting themſelves, in private, to a religious life; and that, when they became acquainted with the Pythagoreans, who in the ſame country adopted a plan of life ſomewhat ſimilar to their own, they borrowed from them ſuch of their opinions and practices, as, by the help of the Egyptian method of allegorizing, they could incorporate with the doctrines and inſtitutions of Moſes. Afterwards, when new colonies of Jews were brought into Egypt by Alexander and Ptolemy Lagus, and were allowed the free exerciſe of their religion, it is probable that theſe Jewiſh hermits, having been long accuſtomed to ſolitude, perſiſted in their aſcetic life and peculiar inſtitutions, and formed a diſtinct ſociety; that ſome of theſe, with others of their countrymen, embracing the indulgence granted them by Ptolemy Lagus, returned to Judea; and that here, through the power of habit, they continued their former manner of life, and, retiring to the deſert parts of the country, eſtabliſhed and propagated that peculiar ſect, which, from their extraordinary ſanctity were called Eſſenes, a name probably derived from the word חסי, which ſignifies *holy*. Theſe conjectures, though not ſupported by any direct authority, perfectly agree with the ſubſequent hiſtory of this ſect, and account for its exiſtence more ſatisfactorily than any other which have been ſuggeſted[a].

[a] Conf. Joſ. Ant. l. xviii. 2. Bell. J. l. ii. c. 11. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. v. c. 17. Pliny was too little acquainted with Jewiſh affairs to deſerve credit on this ſubject.

The Eſſenes formed themſelves into a friendly fraternity, for the purpoſe of ſubduing their paſſions, and leading a holy life. They commonly lived in a ſtate of celibacy, and adopted the children of other men, to educate them in their own principles and cuſtoms. They deſpiſed riches, and had a perfect community of goods; every one, who was admitted into their ſociety, lodging his whole property in a common treaſury, whence the wants of all were equally ſupplied. They clothed themſelves in plain garments, chiefly white, and held oil, and unguents of every kind, in abomination. Their daily religious exerciſes they performed with great exactneſs. Before the riſing of the ſun, they ſuffered no common language to paſs their lips, but recited certain prayers, that it might riſe upon them fortunately; at the ſame time looking towards the ſun, which they regarded as a ſymbol of the deity. From this time to the fifth hour every one was employed in his proper occupation; then, waſhing themſelves, and putting on their white garments, they went into their public hall, or refectory, to dinner, and received their portion of food from the hand of the ſervitor in ſilence. After their evening labours, they ſupped together in the ſame manner; and every meal was begun and cloſed with prayer. No noiſe or confuſion was ever heard or ſeen in their aſſemblies; but converſation was carried on with ſuch quietneſs, that a ſpectator would have imagined the ſilence and tranquillity of the ſcene intended to expreſs ſome ſacred myſtery. They were temperate, peaceable, and honeſt; true to their word, without the obligation of an oath, to which they were averſe, except on the moſt ſolemn occaſions; and prompt to deeds of kindneſs, which they performed at pleaſure, without the authority of the maſter of the fraternity, whoſe inſtructions they were in all other things obliged to follow. The virtues of plants and minerals were much ſtudied among them, and applied to the cure of diſeaſes. They honoured the name of Moſes next to that of God; and he who blaſphemed it was puniſhed with death. So rigorous were they in the obſervance of the ſabbath, that they would neither kindle a fire, nor remove a veſſel, nor eaſe themſelves on that day. To be touched by any one not belonging to their

ſect,

ſect, or for an old man of their order to be touched by a young perſon, they held to be an impurity which required ablution. Some among them undertook to predict future events from their ſacred books. They offered no ſacrifices, but on the ſeventh day repaired to the ſynagogue, where the elder brethren explained the law to the younger. Through the ſimplicity of their manner of living, it commonly happened, that they lived to an extreme old age. They were capable of enduring pain with great fortitude; as appeared in the firmneſs with which they bore the tortures inflicted upon them by the Romans, rather than blaſpheme their lawgiver, or violate any of his precepts. They held, that the body is periſhable, but the ſoul immortal; that the ſoul, formed of a ſubtle ether, is impriſoned in the body, and is never happy till it is releaſed from its priſon; that the good will, after death, be removed to a tranquil and delightful region beyond the ocean, but the bad to a dark habitation, which reſounds with never-ceaſing lamentations; and that all things are under the direction of divine providence [a].

The body of the Eſſenes was not a ſingle community, but conſiſted of many diſtinct ſocieties, formed in the country, where they practiſed agriculture, or at a ſmall diſtance from a town, where they might exerciſe their manual occupations: they had, however, one common intereſt; and when any one of their number happened to travel, wherever he found an Eſſene fraternity, he was ſure of being ſupplied with neceſſary proviſion and clothing. All domination they held to be unjuſt, and inconſiſtent with the law of nature, who has produced all her ſons in a ſtate of equality. So averſe were they to war, that they would not ſuffer any of their body to be employed in manufacturing military weapons, or inſtruments of any kind. No one was admitted as a member of this fraternity, without paſſing through a courſe of preparatory diſcipline out of the ſociety, for one year, and afterwards approving his con-

[a] Joſeph. de Bell. J. l. ii. c. 12. Ant. J. l. xviii. c. 2. l. xiii. c. 9. Philo de Eſſen. Op. p. 876, &c.

ſtancy,

ſtancy, by two years regular attendance within the college. After this, if he was judged worthy, he was received as a brother, with a ſolemn oath to conform to the diſcipline, and obſerve the rules of the ſociety, to guard its ſacred books, and the names of its angels, and not to divulge its myſteries. Joſephus computes the number of Eſſenes, in his time, to have been about four thouſand.

What was meant, in the oath adminiſtered to the noviciates, by "guarding the names of the angels," may be conjectured from the notion, which commonly prevailed in the Eaſt, and in Egypt, concerning the power of dæmons, or angels, over the affairs of this world. It is probable that the Eſſenes, having adopted the viſionary fancies of their Pagan neighbours concerning theſe ſuperior natures, imagined themſelves able, by the magical uſe of the names of angels, to perform ſupernatural wonders; and that the due obſervance of theſe myſtical rites was the charge, which they bound themſelves by oath to take, of the ſacred names of the angels [a].

From the ſilence of the Evangeliſts concerning this ſect, and from ſeveral tenets and cuſtoms in which they differed from the reſt of the Jews, ſome have ſuppoſed that they were a ſect of Pagan philoſophers, who adopted in part the Jewiſh manners. But this opinion is contrary to the expreſs teſtimony of Philo and Joſephus, who both ſpeak of three ſects of Jews; Sadducees, Phariſees, and Eſſenes. There can be no doubt, however, that this ſect borrowed many things from the heathen philoſophers, and particularly from the Pythagoreans, whom they nearly reſembled in their manner of living. The truth ſeems to be, as we have already intimated, that they became acquainted with the doctrines and inſtitutions of the Pythagoreans in Egypt; and that, adopting theſe as far as their reverence for the law of Moſes would permit, they formed a diſtinct ſect which ſubſiſted after their return into Judea.

Philo mentions two claſſes of Eſſenes, of whom one followed a practical inſtitution, the other profeſſed a theoretical ſyſtem. The

[a] Vitring. de Vet. Synag. l. c. Goodwin Moſ. & Aar. l. i. c. 12. § 23. Hottinger, l. c. Coloſſ. ii. 18.

latter he diſtinguiſhes by the name of the THERAPEUTÆ. According to this writer[a], who is here our only authority, the Therapeutæ, ſo called, as it ſeems, from the extraordinary purity of their religious worſhip, were a contemplative ſect, who, with a kind of religious phrenzy, placed their whole felicity in the contemplation of the divine nature. Detaching themſelves wholly from ſecular affairs, they transferred their property to their relations or friends, and withdrew into ſolitary places, where they devoted themſelves to a holy life. The principal ſociety of this kind was formed near Alexandria, where they lived, not far from each other, in ſeparate cottages, each of which had its own ſacred apartment, to which the inhabitant retired for the purpoſes of devotion. After their morning prayers, they ſpent the day in ſtudying the law and the prophets, endeavouring, by the help of the commentaries of their anceſtors, to diſcover ſome allegorical meaning in every part. Beſides this, they entertained themſelves with compoſing ſacred hymns in various kinds of metre. Six days of the week were, in this manner, paſſed in ſolitude. On the ſeventh day they met, clothed in a decent habit, in a public aſſembly; where, taking their places according to their age, they ſat, with the right hand between the breaſt and the chin, and the left at the ſide. Then, ſome one of the elders, ſtepping forth into the middle of the aſſembly, diſcourſed, with a grave countenance and a calm tone of voice, on the doctrines of the ſect; the audience, in the mean time, remaining in perfect ſilence, and occaſionally expreſſing their attention and approbation by a nod. The chapel where they met was divided into two apartments, one for the men, the other for the women. So ſtrict a regard was paid to ſilence in theſe aſſemblies, that no one was permitted to whiſper, or even to breathe aloud; but when the diſcourſe was finiſhed, if the queſtion which had been propoſed for ſolution had been treated to the ſatisfaction of the audience, they expreſſed their approbation by a murmur of applauſe. Then the ſpeaker, riſing, ſung a hymn of praiſe to God, in the laſt verſe of which the whole aſſembly

[a] De Vit. Contempl. Op. p. 891.

joined. On great feſtivals, the meeting was cloſed with a vigil, in which ſacred muſic was performed, accompanied with ſolemn dancing: and theſe vigils were continued till morning, when the aſſembly, after a morning prayer, in which their faces were directed towards the riſing ſun, was broken up. So abſtemious were theſe aſcetics, that they commonly eat nothing before the ſetting ſun, and often faſted two or three days. They abſtained from wine, and their ordinary food was bread and herbs.

Much diſpute has ariſen among the learned concerning this ſect. Some have imagined them to have been Judaizing Gentiles[a]; but Philo ſuppoſes them to be Jews, by ſpeaking of them as a branch of the ſect of Eſſenes, and expreſsly claſſes them among the followers of Moſes. Others have maintained, that the Therapeutæ were an Alexandrian ſect of Jewiſh converts to the Chriſtian faith, who devoted themſelves to a monaſtic life[b]. But this is impoſſible, for Philo, who wrote before chriſtianity appeared in Egypt, ſpeaks of this as an eſtabliſhed ſect. From comparing Philo's account of this ſect with the ſtate of philoſophy in the country where it flouriſhed, we conclude, that the Therapeutæ were a body of Jewiſh fanatics, who ſuffered themſelves to be drawn aſide from the ſimplicity of their antient religion by the example of the Egyptians and Pythagoreans. How long this ſect continued is uncertain; but it is not improbable, that, after the appearance of Chriſtianity in Egypt, it ſoon became extinct.

Beſides the four principal ſects of the Jews, the Karaites, the Sadducees, the Phariſees, and the Eſſenes, ſeveral others are mentioned by antient writers; but they are either wholly fictitious, or of little conſequence.

Among theſe ſects there were, doubtleſs, many ingenious and able men, who, had their attention been turned towards philoſophy, might have been eminent philoſophers. But they were too deeply

[a] Langii Diſſ. Hal. 1721.

[b] Montefalcon Trad. Phil. de la Vie cont. Par. 1709. 8vo. Lettres, &c. ſur les Therapeutes, Paris, 1712.

engaged in the ſtudy of their written and traditionary law, to pay much attention to ſcience; and their hiſtory affords few particulars which can be brought within the deſign of this work. We muſt not, however, overlook the elegant moraliſt, Jeſhuah ben Sirach; the celebrated doctors of the law, Hillel and Shammai; the learned Philo; and the uſeful hiſtorian, Joſephus.

JESHUA, the SON OF SIRACH [a], appears from his own teſtimony to have been a native of Jeruſalem, and to have lived in the time of the high prieſt Eleazer, about three hundred years before Chriſt. The laſt high prieſt whom he mentions is Simeon, the ſon of Onias, who was immediately ſucceeded by Eleazer, whom he would doubtleſs have added to the reſt, had he not been ſtill living when Jeſhua wrote. We are indebted to this Jeſhua for a Moral Manual, which contains a ſummary of the ethics received among the Jews after the period of the prophets. It was originally written in Hebrew, and tranſlated into Greek by his grandſon, at the beginning of the reign of Ptoletny Euergetes [b]. This piece, called the book of Eccleſiaſticus, was formerly read by the Jews; but, after ſuffering much interpolation, it was at length prohibited. Paſſages extracted from this book are, however, ſtill in the hands of the Jews, under the title of, The Sentences of Ben Sira [c].

HILLEL, ſurnamed Haſſaken, was born, at Babylon, of poor parents, but of the royal ſtock of David, in the year one hundred and twelve before Chriſt. After reſiding forty years in Babylon, where he married, and had a ſon, he removed with his family to Jeruſalem, for the purpoſe of ſtudying the law. Shemaiah and Abdalion were at that time eminent doctors in Jeruſalem. Hillel, unable on account of his poverty to gain a regular admiſſion to their lectures, ſpent a conſiderable part of the profits of his daily labour in bribing the attendants to allow him a place at the door of the public hall, where he might gather up the doctrine of theſe emi-

[a] Ch. l. v. 29. Joſeph. Ant. Jud. l. xii. c. 2. Wolf. Bib. Heb. P. i. p. 256.

[b] Conf. Hieron. Præf. in Prov. Huet. Dem. Ev. Pr. ii. p. 253. Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 728, 9.

[c] Bartolocc. Bib. Rab. t. i. p. 680.

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nent maſters by ſtealth; and when this expedient failed him, he found means to place himſelf at the top of the building near one of the windows. By unwearied perſeverance, Hillel acquired a profound knowledge of the moſt difficult points of the law; in conſequence of which his reputation gradually roſe to ſuch an height, that he became the maſter of the chief ſchool in Jeruſalem. In this ſtation he was univerſally regarded as an oracle of wiſdom ſcarcely inferior to Solomon, and had many thouſand followers. He had ſuch command of his temper, that no one ever ſaw him angry. The name of Hillel is in the higheſt eſteem among the Jews, for the pains which he took to perpetuate the knowledge of the traditionary law. He arranged its precepts under ſix general claſſes; and thus laid the foundation of that digeſt of the Jewiſh law, which is called the Talmud. Hillel is ſaid to have lived to the great age of one hundred and twenty years [a].

SHAMMAI [b], one of the diſciples of Hillel, deſerted his ſchool, and formed a college of his own, in which he taught dogmas contrary to thoſe of his maſter. He rejected the oral law, and followed the written law only, in its literal ſenſe. Hence he has been ranked among the Karæites. The ſchools of Hillel and Shammai long diſturbed the peace of the Jewiſh church by violent conteſts, in which however the party of Hillel was at laſt victorious.

Among the Jews who inhabited Egypt was born, at Alexandria, of a noble and ſacred family, PHILO, a writer deſervedly celebrated for his erudition. The exact time of his birth is not known; but, as he ſpeaks of himſelf as old and grey-headed in the time of Caligula, when he was ſent upon an embaſſy from his countrymen in Egypt to the emperor, which happened in the year forty, it is probable that he was born at leaſt twenty years before the commencement of the Chriſtian æra [c].

[a] Bartolocc. Bib. Rab. t. i. p. 784. Geiger. Comment. de Hill. et Sham. Altdorf. 1707. Matt. Lightfoot Hor. Heb. 4to. p. 373. [b] Geiger. l. c.
[c] Hieron. Cat. Scr. Eccl. c. ii. Suidas. Phot. Cod. 105.

Whilſt

Whilſt he was young, Philo diligently applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Grecian eloquence and wiſdom in the ſchools of the Sophiſts and philoſophers. He was intimately converſant with the writings of Plato, whoſe philoſophy was at this time highly eſteemed in Alexandria, and made himſelf ſo perfectly maſter both of his doctrine and language, that it became a proverbial obſervation, "Either Plato philonized, or Philo platonized." After what manner Philo ſtudied philoſophy, will appear from a compariſon of the nature of Jewiſh learning with the ſpirit of the Alexandrian ſchools. We have ſeen, that, from the time of the Ptolemies, the uſe of allegories had been borrowed by the Jews from their Egyptian neighbours; and that by the help of theſe, Platonic and Pythagorean dogmas were introduced among them, as the concealed and ſymbolical ſenſe of their own law. In this manner they were able, without ſeeming to be indebted to heathen philoſophers, to make any uſe they pleaſed of their ſyſtems. We have alſo ſeen, that in Egypt theſe ſyſtems were adulterated with many dogmas from the Oriental philoſophy, particularly on the ſubject of the Divine Nature. This philoſophy, which had been ſo well received in Alexandria, Philo eagerly embraced; and, either for want of a perfect acquaintance with Jewiſh learning, or through a diſtaſte for the ſimple doctrine of the Moſaic law literally underſtood, he, by the help of allegory, boldly interwove the Platonic dogmas with the doctrines of the ſacred oracles, and aſcribed them to Moſes. It is, moreover, exceedingly probable, that he was herein, in ſome meaſure, influenced by the example of the Eſſenes and Therapeutæ; and that, though he did not adopt their manner of living, he imitated their method of philoſophiſing; for he always ſpeaks of them in the higheſt terms of commendation; and he deſcribes his youthful ſtudies and contemplations in language which perfectly agrees with the ſpirit of theſe ſects [a].

[a] Joſ. Ant. J. l. xviii. c. 18. Euſeb. Hiſt. Ecc. l. ii. c. 4. Pr. Ev. l. vii. c. 12. Phil. de Special. Leg. Op. p. 769.

Whatever

Whatever inclination Philo had towards the fanatical philoſophy of the Eſſenes, his love of eloquence drew him off from contemplative purſuits, and immerſed him in civil affairs. He viſited Rome, at the requeſt of his countrymen, to vindicate them from the calumnies with which they had been loaded by the Alexandrians. Though his embaſſy proved fruitleſs, he committed the ſubſtance of his Apology for the Jews to writing, and herein gave a favourable ſpecimen of his learning, ability, and integrity. Euſebius relates, that after the death of Caligula this Apology was read in the Roman ſenate[a].

That Philo was acquainted with Grecian literature and philoſophy ſufficiently appears from his writings; but his fondneſs for allegorical interpretations is no proof of the ſolidity of his judgment. At the ſame time that he greatly admired, and cloſely followed, the Platonic ſyſtem, in the adulterated ſtate in which it was taught in the Alexandrian ſchools, he profeſſed to derive the tenets of Platoniſm from the ſacred writings, and even repreſented Plato as a diſciple of Moſes. Of this ſtrange combination of Platonic refinements with the ſimple doctrine of the Hebrew ſcriptures, innumerable examples occur in his works.

In his book upon the creation of the world, Philo every where ſuppoſes the prior exiſtence of Plato's world of ideas; and repreſents the Deity as conſtructing viſible nature after a model which he had firſt formed. He attributes to Moſes all the metaphyſical ſubtleties of Plato upon this ſubject, and maintains, that the philoſopher received them from the holy prophet; "God," ſays he[b], "when he foreſaw, in his divine wiſdom, that no fair imitation could poſſibly exiſt without a fair pattern, nor any ſenſible object be faultleſs, which did not correſpond to the archetype of ſome intelligible idea, after he had decreed to make this ſenſible world, firſt formed an intelligible and incorporeal model, after which he might frame the material world; the latter containing as many kinds of ſenſible, as the former of intelligible natures. The ideal world

[a] Joſ. et Euſeb. l. c. [b] De Opif. Mundi, p. 3.

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muſt neither be repreſented, nor conceived, as circumſcribed by ſpace." Again [a], "This intelligible world is, according to the Moſaic doctrine, no other than the Word, or Reaſon (λογος) of God now forming the world; and this Reaſon in the beginning produced Heaven, which conſiſts in pure eſſence, and is the deſtined habitation of gods both viſible and inviſible." "The creator," adds he [b], "framed, in the intelligible world, firſt of all, an incorporeal heaven, an inviſible earth, and the image of air and ſpace, and afterwards the incorporeal eſſence of water and light, and the intelligible pattern of the ſun and all the ſtars."

After the example of the Alexandrian ſchool, which combined the Pythagorean doctrine with the Platonic, Philo ſuppoſes the order of the viſible world to have been adapted to the Pythagorean proportions and numbers. He maintains the immutability of the material world upon the principle univerſally adopted by the antients, that as from nothing nothing can be produced, ſo nothing which exiſts can be annihilated; whence it may be inferred, that he conceived matter to be coeval with Deity [c]. He held the human ſoul to conſiſt of three natures, the rational, the iraſcible, and the concupiſcible [d].

Concerning the deity, Philo every where makes uſe of the language of Plato rather than of Moſes. He ſpeaks of God as containing all things, but contained by none; as embracing all things within his boſom, and pervading every part of the univerſe. His language concerning the Divine Nature is ſo obſcure and inconſiſtent, that it is difficult to diſcover, with accuracy, his real meaning. But, if thoſe parts of his writings, in which he drops the popular language, and expreſſes his philoſophical notions on this ſubject, be diligently compared, it will perhaps be found, that Philo ſuppoſed a quaternion of principles in the Divine Nature; the firſt fountain of divinity, and three emanations from this

[a] P. 5. [b] P. 6. 9.
[c] De Mundo incorrupt. p. 939, &c.
[d] De Confuſ. Ling. p. 342. De Legis Alleg. p. 53.

fountain,

fountain, each poſſeſſing a diſtinct, ſubſtantial exiſtence, but all united in eſſence with the Firſt Principle. The firſt of theſe emanations, which he called The *Logos*, he conceived to have been the divine intellect, the ſeat of thoſe ideas which form the intelligible world; and the ſecond and third, to have been the ſubſtantial principles or powers by which the ſenſible world was created and governed. This doctrine of ſubſtantial emanations within the divine nature was at this time received among the Platoniſts from the Oriental ſchools; and we ſhall afterwards find that it was the doctrine of the Jewiſh Cabbala. It is therefore probable, that this was the doctrine concerning the divine nature embraced by this pupil of the Egyptian ſchools.

Philo, and other Egyptian Jews, who adopted the Oriental and Platonic philoſophy, ſeem neither to have conceived of the *Logos*, and other primary emanations from the firſt fountain of Deity, as beings ſeparate in nature and eſſence from God, nor merely as ſimple attributes, but as ſubſtantial virtues or powers radically united in the Divine Eſſence, and diſtinct from the Firſt Principle only in their peculiar mode of exiſting and acting; that is, they conceived, or imagined they conceived, a kind of middle nature, between beings who enjoy a ſeparate exiſtence and mere attributes or properties. This hypotheſis may ſerve to caſt a feeble ray of light upon thoſe obſcure paſſages, in which Philo ſpeaks of God as the Being *who is*, and who has two moſt antient powers neareſt him, one on each ſide, of whom one is called the Maker, the other the Governor [a]. Again, "The Middle Divinity, attended on each ſide by his powers, preſents to the enlightened mind, ſometimes one image, ſometimes three: *One*, when the ſoul, perfectly purified, paſſes beyond not only other numbers, but even that which is next to unity, the binary, and haſtens to that which is ſtrictly ſimple; *Three*, when, not yet initiated into the great myſteries, it is employed upon the leſs, and is unable to comprehend Him

[a] De Abrahamo, p. 367. [b] l. c.

Who Is, by himſelf alone without another, but ſees him in his operations as the former or governor of all."

After what has been advanced, the Platoniſm of Philo cannot, on any ſolid ground of argument, be called in queſtion. It muſt, however, be remembered, that his Platoniſm was of that adulterated kind, which at this time prevailed in Alexandria.

The works of Philo abound with proofs of genius and erudition, and may ſerve to caſt great light upon the ſtate of the Platonic philoſophy at that period; but they diſcover, in every page, a want of ſound and accurate judgment: and the allegorical ſtyle which he borrowed from the Egyptians has caſt ſuch a veil of obſcurity over his writings, that it is, perhaps, in vain to attempt to explain them throughout: ſome have even preſumed to queſtion, whether Philo himſelf always clearly underſtood what he wrote.

Josephus[a], the hiſtorian, was a native of Jeruſalem, and a deſcendant of the illuſtrious Aſmonean family: he was born in the year thirty-ſeven. At the age of fourteen, he had made great proficience in the knowledge of the Jewiſh law. For the purpoſe of ſtudying the hiſtory and tenets of the ſeveral Jewiſh ſects, he became, for three years, a pupil of Banun, a hermit, who had acquired great fame for wiſdom, and with him lived a recluſe and abſtemious life. After this, he addicted himſelf to the ſect of the Phariſees, and engaged in civil affairs. Viſiting Rome, in the twenty-ſixth year of his age, he obtained acceſs to Nero, and procured liberty for ſome of his countrymen. On his return home, he in vain attempted to perſuade his fellow-citizens to ſubmit quietly to the Roman yoke. At length, in the war of Veſpaſian, after an unſucceſsful defence of the citadel of Jotapata, he was taken priſoner. After a ſhort time, however, when Veſpaſian and Titus, according to a prediction which he is ſaid to have delivered, came to the empire, he was reſtored to liberty. He now viſited Egypt, and took up his

[a] Vit. Op. p. 998, &c. Ant. J. l. xx. c. 9.

reſidence at Alexandria, where he, doubtleſs, ſtudied the Grecian and Egyptian philoſophy.

Joſephus accompanied Titus in the ſiege of Jeruſalem, the memorable particulars of which he accurately minuted as they paſſed, and afterwards related at large in his Annals. He ſpent the latter part of his life at Rome, under the protection of Veſpaſian, Titus, and Domitian, and there wrote his Jewiſh Antiquities. He lived till after the thirteenth year of Domitian, when he wrote againſt Apion; but in what year he died is uncertain. His writings, at the ſame time that they diſcover an accurate knowledge of the affairs of his own country, ſhew an extenſive acquaintance with Grecian learning and philoſophy; but national vanity and partiality led him to imagine that all knowledge and wiſdom had originated in Judea, and had flowed thence through all the nations of the earth; a notion which gave riſe to many errors and miſrepreſentations in his writings, and which has ſince been too implicitly adopted by many Chriſtian writers *.

* Vidend. paſſim Reimann. Intr. in Hiſt. Theol. Jud. Carpzov. Int. in Theol. Jud. Eiſenmenger. Jud. Detect. Maii Theol. Jud. Wolfii Bibl. Hebr. Buddæi Introd. ad Hiſt. Ph. Heb. Baſnage Hiſt. des Juifs. Reland. Diſſ. de Samaritan. Cellarius de Samar. Gent. Hiſt. Horbius de Orig. Simon Mag. Huntington. Epiſt. Lond. 1704. Antiq. Eccl. Or. Lond. 1682. Voſſius de Septuag. Interp. Hag. Com. 1661. Van Dale Diſſ. de Ariſtea. Hody contra Hiſt. Ariſt. Ox. 1684. et de Bibl. Text. Orig. et Verſ. 1705. Nourry Apparat. Bibl. Diſſ. xii. Engelbach Diſſ. de Verſ. Græc. Sept. antiquiore. Viteb. 1706. Diſſ. de Veſtig. Phil. Alex. in Libro Sapientiæ, Miſc. Berolin. t. vi. p. 150. Bartoloccii Bibl. Rabbin. Buddæi Hiſt. Ecc. Vet. T. Zeltner de erud. Feminis Heb. Schudt. Memorab. Judaic. R. Mardochai de Karæis. Trigland. Syntagma trium. Script. de Trib. Jud. Sectis. Delph. 1704. Druſii Tract. de Haſidæis. Serarii in Trihæreſin contra Druſ. Scaligeri Elench. Trihæreſii Serarii. Shupart. de Sect. Karæor. Jenæ, 1701. Goodwin's Moſes and Aaron. Willimer Diſſ. de Sadducæis. Reland. Ant. Sac. Geiger. de Hillele et Shammai. Lightfoot Horæ Hebr. &c. Vitringa de Vet. Synag. Deyling. Diſſ. de Aſcet. Obſ. S. p. iii. Langii Diſſ. de Eſſæis, Ital. 1721. Wachter de Eſſenis. Clerici Epiſt. Crit. viii. Fabric. Diſſ. de Platon. Phil. Lipſ. 1693. in Sylloge Diſſ. Vander Wayen de λόγῳ. Got. Olear. Diſſ. de Vaticinio Joſephi, Lipſ. 1699. Pfeiffer Theolog. Jud. Schoetgen. Jeſus verus Meſſ. ex Theolog. Jud. dem. Lipſ. 1748. Wachter de Primordiis Chr. Rel.

## CHAP. II.

### OF THE STATE OF THE JEWISH PHILOSOPHY FROM THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM TO MODERN TIMES.

AFTER the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and the diſſolution of the Jewiſh ſtate, the hiſtory of the diſperſed Jews has little connection with the hiſtory of philoſophy. From this time to the Middle Age, we meet with nothing among them which claims our attention, except an exceſſive and abſurd fondneſs for their traditionary inſtitutions, and a kind of enthuſiaſtic philoſophy, called the Cabbaliſtic, which ſprung from the Alexandrian ſchools, and mixed Oriental, Egyptian, Pythagoric and Platonic notions with the ſimple doctrine of the Hebrew ſcriptures. In proceſs of time, when the Jews paſſed from the Eaſtern to the Weſtern world, the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, which became predominant among the Arabians, found its way into the Jewiſh ſchools.

In order to trace with preciſion the progreſs of the Jewiſh philoſophy, it will be neceſſary to take a general ſurvey of the ſtate of Jewiſh learning at this period. Without this it would be impoſſible to diſcern, how far their Talmudic and Cabbaliſtic doctrines were grounded upon authority, and derived from their domeſtic ſources; and how far they were borrowed from Gentile philoſophy.

The devaſtation and ruin which fell upon the Jewiſh nation after the conqueſt of Veſpaſian and Titus, reduced them to ſo low and wretched a condition, that only a ſmall number of learned men were left among them, to tranſmit their antient doctrines and inſtitutions to poſterity. Of theſe, part eſcaped into Egypt, where a Jewiſh colony had reſided from the time of Alexander; and part withdrew to Babylon, where alſo many Jews had remained from the

the time of the captivity. In both theſe countries, theſe Jewiſh refugees were humanely received [a]. An inconſiderable body of this unfortunate people ſtill remained behind, in the deſolated country of Paleſtine. Theſe collected the ſcattered fragments of Jewiſh learning from the general wreck, into a ſchool at Jafna [b] (frequently called by the Greek writers Jamnia) where they alſo revived their forms of worſhip. The Rabbi Jochanan was the founder of this ſchool; and the good deſign which he begun was completed, as far as the ſtate of the times would permit, by the Rabbi Gamaliel, who is from this circumſtance called GAMALIEL JAFNIENSIS. The ſucceſs which attended this ſchool induced many of the diſperſed Jews to return to Paleſtine: and another ſchool was formed at Tiberias, which ſoon became the chief ſeat of Jewiſh learning in its native country. This ſchool obtained immunities and privileges from the emperor Antoninus Pius; and it produced that curious record of Jewiſh wiſdom, the Jeruſalem Talmud. Other ſchools, after the example of Jafna and Tiberias, were erected at Bitterah, near Jeruſalem, at Lydda or Dioſpolis, at Cæſarea, and (which became more celebrated than the reſt) at Zippora, or Sephora, in Gallilee [c].

From this time, there was not wanting a ſucceſſion of Jewiſh doctors to tranſmit their religion and philoſophy to poſterity. They are arranged in a ſeries of ſeven claſſes [d], the laſt of which brings down the ſucceſſion to the time when the Jews, enticed by the example of the Saracens and Chriſtians, engaged in the ſtudy of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy. In each of theſe claſſes there were, doubtleſs, men of ability; but the talents which nature beſtowed upon

[a] Joſeph. Bell. J. l. vi. Conf. Baſnage, l. iii c. 1.

[b] Joſeph. Ant. J. l. xiv. c. 8. Bell. J. l. i. c. 5. Reland. Palæſt. l. iii. p. 823. Lightfoot. Cent. Chorogr. Matt. Proem. c. xv. t. ii. p. 181. R. D. Ganz in Zemach David. p. 39. Buxtorf. Tib. c. 5. Lightf. Op. p. 87. Baſnage, l. vi. c. 5. § 8.

[c] Lightf. Cent. Ch. c. 81. 52. 16. 82. 76. 96. Reland. l. c. p. 409, 679, 877.

[d] Pirke Abhoth. Maimonid. in Præf. Jad. Haſſakah. R. Abr. B. Dior. in Cabbala. R. Zackhuth, in Juchaſin. R. Gedalia in Shalſheleth Hakkabala. Conf. Hen. Othon. Hiſt. Miſhnic. cum Relandi Notis. Wolf. Bib. Heb. P. ii. p. 924.

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them were waſted upon the trifling and abſurd ſtudy of tradition, which, as tares choke the wheat, ſuppreſſed every manly exertion of reaſon. Or, if any among them attempted a ſuperior kind of wiſdom, they ſoon loſt themſelves in the myſteries of Cabbaliſtic metaphyſics. It is therefore wholly unneceſſary, in this work, to enter into a minute detail of their hiſtory. Only it muſt be remembered, that theſe Jewiſh doctors flouriſhed not only in Paleſtine, but in the Babyloniſh ſchools which were eſtabliſhed at Sora, Pumbedithena, and other places near the Euphrates: and we muſt not omit particularly to mention the Rabbi JEHUDA HAKKADOSH[a], who adorned the ſchool of Tiberias, and whoſe memory is ſo highly revered by the Jews, that they compare him with the Meſſiah. He was born about the year one hundred and twenty. The Jews relate many extravagant ſtories of this Rabbi: among the reſt, they aſſert, that he made the emperor Marcus Antoninus a proſelyte to Judaiſm, and that it was by his order that Jehuda compiled the Miſhna.

The hiſtory of the Miſhna is briefly this: The ſect of the Phariſees, after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, prevailing over the reſt, the ſtudy of traditions became the chief object of attention in all the Jewiſh ſchools. The number of theſe traditions had, in a long courſe of time, ſo greatly increaſed, that the doctors, whoſe principal employment it was to illuſtrate them by new explanations, and to confirm their authority, found it neceſſary to aſſiſt their recollection by committing them, under diſtinct heads, to writing. At the ſame time, their diſciples took minutes of the explanations of their preceptors, many of which were preſerved, and grew up into voluminous commentaries. The confuſion which aroſe from theſe cauſes was now become ſo troubleſome, that, notwithſtanding what Hillel had before done in arranging the traditions, Jehuda found it neceſſary to attempt a new digeſt of the oral law, and of the commentaries of their moſt famous doctors. This arduous undertaking is ſaid to have employed him forty years. It was completed, accord-

[a] Bartolocc. Bibl. Rab. t. iii. p. 79. Baſnage, l. iii. c. 3. § 2—6.

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ing to the unanimous teſtimony of the Jews, which in this caſe there is no ſufficient reaſon to diſpute, about the cloſe of the ſecond century. This Miſhna, or firſt Talmud, comprehends all the laws, inſtitutions, and rules of life, which, beſide the antient Hebrew ſcriptures, the Jews ſuppoſed themſelves bound to obſerve. Notwithſtanding the obſcurities, inconſiſtencies, and abſurdities with which this collection abounds, it ſoon obtained credit among the Jews as a ſacred book [a].

After all, however, the Miſhna did not completely provide for many caſes which aroſe in the practice of eccleſiaſtical law, and many of its preſcriptions and deciſions were found to require further comments and illuſtrations. The taſk of ſupplying theſe defects was undertaken by the Rabbis Chiiam and Oſchaiam, and others, diſciples of Jehudah; who not only wrote explanations of the Miſhna, but made material additions to that voluminous compilation. Theſe commentaries and additions were collected by the Rabbi Jochanan ben Eliezer, probably in the fifth century, under the name of the Gemara, becauſe it completed the Miſhna. This collection was afterwards called the Jeruſalem Gemara, to diſtinguiſh it from another of the ſame kind made in Babylon, at the beginning of the ſixth century. To theſe collections we muſt add the Miſhnic treatiſe called, *Capitalia Patrum*, "A Compendium of the Moral Maxims and Sentiments of the Jewiſh Fathers:" it is an antient compilation, probably made by Nathan a Babylonian Rabbi, who flouriſhed about the year one hundred and twenty [b].

With the ritual and eccleſiaſtical precepts of the law, there was alſo taught in the Jewiſh ſchools a myſtical kind of traditionary doctrine, which was called the Cabbala. In this metaphyſical ſyſtem we find the Jews, while they profeſs to follow the footſteps

[a] Maimon. Præf. ad. Seder Saraim, et ad Jad Chaſſaka. Morini Exerc. Bibl. l. i. c. 6. l. ii. ex. 6. c. 2. Baſnage, l. iii. c. 6. § 6. Ottho Hiſt. D. Miſhnic.

[b] Vid. Hiſt. Lit. Scriptores Jud. R. Zachuth, R. David Ganz, R. Gedalia. Conf. Baſnage, p. 139. Lightfoot Op. t. ii. p. 221. Morini Exerc. Bib. l. ii. ex. 10. c. i. Wolf. Bib. Heb. t. ii. p. 139.

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of Moſes, turning aſide into the paths of Gentile philoſophy. The Jews pretend to derive their Cabbala from Eſdras, Moſes, Abraham, and Adam: but it is very evident from the Cabbaliſtic doctrine concerning divine emanations, of which we ſhall ſpeak more fully in the ſequel, that it originated in Egypt, where the Jews learned, by the help of allegory, to mix Oriental, Pythagoric, and Platonic dogmas with Hebrew wiſdom. Theſe doctrines ſoon found their way into Paleſtine; and, though at firſt the number of Myſtics does not appear to have been great, after the diſſolution of the republic, multitudes were wonderfully captivated with this ſublime method of philoſophiſing upon divine ſubjects. Under the ſanction of antient names, many fictitious writings were produced, which greatly contributed to the ſpread of this myſtical ſyſtem. Among theſe were *Sepher Happeliah*, The Book of Wonders; *Sepher Hakkaneh*, The Book of the Pen; and *Sepher Habbahir*, The Book of Light. The firſt unfolds many doctrines ſaid to have been delivered by Elias to the Rabbi Elkanah; the ſecond contains myſtical commentaries on the divine commands; the third illuſtrates the moſt ſublime myſteries[a].

Among the profound doctors, who, beſides the ſtudy of tradition, cultivated with great induſtry the Cabbaliſtic philoſophy, the moſt celebrated names are the Rabbis Akibha and Simeon ben Jochai. To the former is aſcribed the book entitled *Jezirah*, Concerning the Creation; to the latter, the book *Sohar*, or Brightneſs; which are the principal ſources whence we derive our knowledge of the Cabbala.

Akibha, who lived ſoon after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and had a ſchool at Lydda, or Dioſcopolis, was ſo famous a teacher that, if we may credit the Jewiſh accounts, he had twenty-four thouſand diſciples. In ſuch high eſtimation was he held among the Jews of Paleſtine, that they did not ſcruple to ſay, that God revealed to Akibha what he had concealed from Moſes. His book *Jezirah* was quoted as of divine authority; an undoubted proof of the ig-

[a] Wolf. Bib. Heb. P. i. p. 196. 905. P. iii. p. 126, 7.

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norance and ſuperſtition of the Jews at this period; for it is impoſſible to take the moſt curſory ſurvey of its contents without perceiving that it abounds with trifles and abſurdities [a].*

At the time when Akibha was far advanced in life, and had eſtabliſhed extenſive authority, appeared the famous impoſtor, Bar Cochbas, under the character of the Meſſiah, promiſing to deliver his countrymen from the power of the emperor Adrian. Akibha eſpouſed his cauſe, and afforded him the protection and ſupport of his name; and an army of two hundred thouſand men repaired to his ſtandard. The Romans at firſt ſlighted the inſurrection; but, when they found that the inſurgents ſpread ſlaughter and rapine wherever they came, they ſent out a military force againſt them. At firſt, the iſſue of the conteſt was doubtful. After a ſhort time, however, this pretended Meſſiah was blocked up, with his army, in the city of Bitterah; and after a ſiege of three years and a half, he was made priſoner, and with his followers put to the ſword. In this carnage, Akibha, with his ſon Pappus, was flayed alive. This happened, according to the Jewiſh chronologiſts, in the year one hundred and twenty: Baſnage places the event in the year one hundred and thirty-eight [b]. Akibha, after his death, was honoured by the Jews as an eminent doctor of their law; and his tomb, which they ſuppoſed to be at Tiberias, was viſited with great ſolemnity. The Jewiſh writers aſſert, that Akibha received the *Jezirah* from

[a] Zemach. David. ad. An. Mund. 3760. Bayle. Lightfoot. Hor. Heb. t. ii. p. 449.

* E. g. Dixit R. Akibha †: "Ingreſſus ſum aliquando poſt R. Joſuam in ſedis ſecretæ locum, et tria ab eo didici: Didici primo, quod non verſus orientem et occidentem, ſed verſus ſeptentrionem et auſtrum nos convertere debeamus. Didici ſecundo, quod non in pedes erectum, ſed jam conſidentem ſe retegere liceat. Didici tertio, quod podex non dextra ſed ſiniſtra manu abſtergendus ſit. Ad hæc objecit ibi Ben Haſſai: Uſve adeo vero perfricuiſti frontem ergo magiſtrum tuum ut ea tantum obſervares? Reſpondit ille: Legis hæc arcana ſunt, ad quæ diſcenda id neceſſario mihi agendum fuit."—EN VERO EGREGIAM DOCTRINAM MORALEM!

[b] Baſnage, l. vii. c. 12. Lightfoot, t. ii. p. 280.

† In tr. Talm. Maſſech Berach f. 62. col. 1.

Abraham [a]; but there can be little doubt that its doctrines flowed from the Cabbaliſtic fountain of the Jewiſh ſchools in Egypt. The work, whether written by Akibha or one of his followers, has probably undergone interpolation.

Simeon ben Jochai [b], who flouriſhed in the ſecond century, and was a diſciple of Akibha, is called by the Jews the prince of the Cabbaliſts. After the ſuppreſſion of the ſedition, in which his maſter had been ſo unſucceſsful, he concealed himſelf in a cave, where according to the Jewiſh hiſtorians, he received revelations, which he afterwards delivered to his diſciples, and which they carefully preſerved in the book called *Sohar*. This book contains a ſummary of the Cabbaliſtic philoſophy, expreſſed in obſcure hieroglyphics and allegories. As this book has not been mentioned by any Jewiſh writer prior to the thirteenth century, its authenticity has been doubted; but its doctrine and method bear evident marks of antiquity, and render it exceedingly probable, that it is, in the main, a true repreſentation of the doctrine which the Cabbaliſtic Jews derived from the Egyptian ſchools [c].

From the third century to the tenth few traces of the Cabbaliſtic philoſophy are to be met with in the writings of the Jews. The probable reaſon is, that theſe myſteries, which differ materially from the antient doctrine of the Jewiſh church, were entruſted only to the initiated, and this under a ſolemn oath of ſecrecy; whence few perſons would venture to commit them to writing. If any ſuch books were written, they would, doubtleſs, be with great induſtry concealed from public inſpection; or if they happened to fall into the hands of an uninitiated Jew, their enigmatic language would be a ſeal upon their meaning, not to be broken by a vulgar hand. Add to this, that the Jews were for many centuries deeply involved in controverſy concerning their traditionary law, and if they were poſſeſſed of Talmudical erudition, thought themſelves

[a] R. Gedaliah, Hakkab. p. 28.
[b] Wolf. Bib. Heb. P. i. p. 702. Knorr. Præf. Cabb. Denud. p. ii.
[c] Knorr. ed. Soliſbach. 1684. Amſt. 1714.

ſufficiently learned; and that the whole nation was oppreſſed and harraſſed by perſecution.

Jewiſh learning, which, from the time of the diſperſion of this unfortunate people, had declined, began to revive at the period when the Saracens became the patrons of philoſophy. In the tenth century, the ſchools of Sora and Pumbeditha again flouriſhed under new preceptors[a]. The Rabbi SAADIAS GAON[b], a native of Egypt, in the year nine hundred and twenty-ſeven, took the charge of the ſchool of Sora, where he reſtored the ſtudy of literature and philoſophy. He wrote a work entitled, "The Philoſopher's Stone," which is not, as might be expected, Alchemic, but Cabbaliſtic: he alſo wrote "A Compendium of Jewiſh Theology," in which he not unſkilfully illuſtrates its principal heads by philoſophical reaſoning. In the eleventh century, a ſchool was inſtituted at Pherez Skibber, in which the Rabbis SHERIRA GAON, and his ſon HAI, preſided. The former wrote notes upon the Miſhna and Gemara; the latter illuſtrated the Cabbaliſtic philoſophy by a treatiſe concerning divine names, and a comment upon the book Jezirah. With them expired the Jewiſh learning in the Eaſt.

The Jews, being now violently perſecuted by the Saracens, fled from the Eaſtern to the Weſtern world, and found an aſylum in Spain, where they boaſt that the family of David is preſerved. Here they opened new ſchools, and cultivated Talmudic learning and Cabbaliſtic philoſophy. About the beginning of the twelfth century, the Talmud was tranſlated into Arabic, and a Talmudic lexicon was publiſhed; after which, many commentators upon the Talmud, and many Cabbaliſtic writers, appeared[c].

The attention which was now paid to the writings of Ariſtotle, both by Arabians and Chriſtians, among whom the Stagyrite was every where extolled as the oracle of truth, excited the emulation

[a] Baſnage, l. ix. c. 4. § 2.

[b] Ganzii Zemach David. p. 51. Zachuthi Juchaſin. p. 119, &c. Gedalia Shalſheleth Hakkabala, p 38. Baſnage, ib.

[c] Baſnage, l. ix. c. 10. l. vii. c. 9. Schudt. Mem. Jud. l. iv. c. 9.

of the Jews; and they, from this time, addicted themſelves to the ſtudy of the Peripatetic philoſophy. This innovation, ſo inconſiſtent with the reverence which they profeſſed to entertain for the law, and the traditions of their fathers, was exceedingly diſpleaſing to the zealous advocates for Talmudic learning; who eaſily perceived, that as the one gained credit the other muſt decline. The antient curſe denounced upon the Jew who ſhould inſtruct his ſon in Grecian learning was revived; and in the year one thouſand two hundred and eighty, the Rabbi who preſided in the ſynagogue of Barſina, Solomon ben Abraham ben Adrath (called by way of contraction Raſhba) prohibited the ſtudy of Gentile philoſophy [a]. Notwithſtanding all this, however, the Jews perſevered in their philoſophical purſuits, and, from the twelfth century, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their knowledge of mathematics and phyſics. Isaac ben Said conſtructed aſtronomical tables [b]; and Isaac Israel Toletanus was an eminent aſtronomer and chronologer [c].

To facilitate the ſtudy of Ariſtotle among the Jews, his writings were tranſlated (it may be preſumed, not very accurately) from the Arabic (for the Greek was at this time little read) into the Hebrew tongue. Several other antient works, particularly the Elements of Euclid, and the medical writings of the Greeks, towards the cloſe of the thirteenth century, appeared in a Hebrew dreſs. So highly was the name of Ariſtotle now reſpected among the Jews, that they not only called him the prince of philoſophers, but maintained that his philoſophy was the perfection of human ſcience, and could only be excelled by the doctrine of Divine Revelation. In order to ſcreen themſelves from cenſure for ſubmitting to receive wiſdom from a heathen philoſopher, they pretended that Ariſtotle was himſelf a proſelyte to Judaiſm, and was indebted to Solomon for a great part of his philoſophy [d]. The Rabbi Chanania ben

[a] Shalſhu'ɕth. p. 58. Wolf. p. 1033. [b] Juchaſin. p. 132.
[c] Wolf. p. 663.
[d] Wolf. p. 383. 655. 217. Maimon. Ep. ad. R. A. Tibbon.

Isaac

ISAAC wrote "Inſtitutes of the Philoſophers;" a collection of moral precepts and apothegms from the antients. In the work already mentioned, written about this time under the title of COSRI, or, more accurately, *Hacholari*[a], Ariſtotelian principles were employed in demonſtrating the truth of the Jewiſh religion: it may be conſidered as a ſpecimen of Jewiſh philoſophy in the Middle Age.

The moſt celebrated names among the learned Jews of this period are ABRAHAM BEN MUIR ABEN ESRA, and MOSES BEN MAIMON, or MAIMONIDES.

ABEN ESRA was born at Toledo, in Spain, and flouriſhed about the middle of the twelfth century. On account of his profound erudition, he was not only called the Wiſe, but the Great, and the Wonderful. He travelled for the purpoſe of acquiring knowledge, and far ſurpaſſed his brethren both in ſacred and profane learning. He wrote theological, grammatical, mathematical, and aſtrological works, many of which remain in antient libraries, not yet edited[b].

MAIMONIDES, who holds a diſtinguiſhed place among the learned of this age, was born at Cordova, in Spain, in the year eleven hundred and thirty-one. Among his preceptors was Averroës the Arabian. Through his ſuperior genius and induſtry, he acquired a degree of learning which excited the jealouſy and envy of his countrymen: perhaps, too, his connection with Averroës might lead him to adopt obnoxious opinions. It has been aſſerted, that he became a convert to Mahometaniſm; but this wants proof. Whatever was the cauſe, which it is not now eaſy to diſcover, it is certain that Maimonides found his reſidence in Spain troubleſome and hazardous, and removed into Egypt, where he ſettled at Cairo. Here his learning and talents engaged the notice of the Sultan of Egypt, Malich El Hadul, who employed him as his phyſician. Maimonides inſtituted a ſchool at Alexandria, where he had many

[a] Shalſheleth. p. 40. Wolf. p. 440.

[b] Shalſheleth. p. 41. Juchaſin, p. 131. Zemach D. ad. A. 4934. Wolf. p. 146. 764.

followers,

followers, who were, however, ſoon afterwards diſperſed by perſecution. Some ſay, that he died in Egypt, in the year one thouſand two hundred and one; others, that he died in Paleſtine, in the year one thouſand two hundred and five [a].

This learned Jew was not only maſter of many Eaſtern languages, but, which was a rare accompliſhment at that time, was well acquainted with the Greek tongue; in which he ſeems to have read the works of Plato, Ariſtotle, Themiſtius, Galen, and others. He confeſſes, that he had been much converſant with the writings of philoſophers. As a phyſician he poſſeſſed high reputation: he was a good logician, and had a competent knowledge of mathematics. In Talmudic learning, he excelled all his contemporaries. Beſides many other works [b], he wrote a treatiſe "On Idolatry;" another, "On the Theology of the Gentiles;" and a third, "On Allegorical Language;" which diſcovered great learning, but leaned towards Gentile philoſophy more than his countrymen approved. A ſingular proof of his fondneſs for the Ariſtotelian doctrines, and, at the ſame time, a curious ſpecimen of the abſurd method of allegorizing, adopted even by the more intelligent among the Jews, we meet with in his explanation of the ſapphire ſtone, which Moſes ſaw under the feet of the God of Iſrael, the whiteneſs of which he underſtood to denote the Ὑλὴ πρώτη, firſt matter, of Ariſtotle [c].*

[a] Juchaſin. p. 131. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. xiii. p. 296. Shalſheleth. p. 43. Baſnage, l. ix. c. 10. Wolf. p. 865. [b] Ed. Baſil. 1629. Epiſt. Venet. 1545.
[c] Conf. Budd. Intr. Hiſt. Heb. p. 167. Baſnage, l. ix. p. 277.

* Vidend. paſſim Zeltner. Diſſ. de Beruria. Altdorf. 1714. R. Moſes Mikkozi lib. Præcept. Maimonid. Præf. ad Seder Saraim. Buxtorf. Recenſio Op. Talm. Z. Grapius in Idea Talmud. Hier. Lipſ. 1695. Jo. A. Lent. Mod. Theol. Jud. Wagenſeil ad Sota. Merini Exerc. Bibl. Leo African. Maimon. in Præf. Jad. Haſſakah. Dior. in Cabbala. Zachuth in Juchaſin. Gedalia in Shalſheleth Hakkabala Gantz. Zemach David Otthon. Hiſt. Miſhnic. Wolf. Baſnage, Reland, Lightfoot, Hottinger, Buddæus, Prideaux, &c.

CHAP.

# CHAP. III.

## OF THE JEWISH PHILOSOPHY, EXOTERIC AND CABBALISTIC.

THE philoſophy of the Jews, which is inſeparably connected with their theology, differed eſſentially from that of the Greeks, in the ſources from which it was derived. Whilſt the ſeveral Grecian ſects of philoſophers applied the powers of the human underſtanding to every ſubject of ſpeculation, and attempted to eſtabliſh all their tenets upon the ground of rational argument, the Jews profeſſed to derive all their knowledge from Divine Revelation, either in the Moſaic law, or in the traditions and deciſions of their Fathers. Although the Jewiſh doctors diſtinguiſhed between ſuch doctrines as may be known from the principles of reaſon, and ſuch as reſt upon tradition, oral or written, they in fact made little uſe of this diſtinction, and were ſatisfied with nothing which could not be ſupported by authority. Even in maintaining thoſe doctrines which might have been eſtabliſhed by rational arguments, they relied more upon tradition than reaſon, and, by the help of allegorical interpretations, found in their ſacred books whatever tenets they had either borrowed from others, or framed in their own imaginations. In the writings of men, who thus forſook the pure doctrine of revelation in ſearch of fictions, and who, nevertheleſs, had no confidence in the natural powers of the human mind, it is in vain to expect much that can deſerve the name of philoſophy.

Two methods of inſtruction were in uſe among the Jews; the one, public or exoteric; the other, ſecret or eſoteric. The exoteric doctrine was that which was openly taught the people from the law of Moſes, and the traditions of the fathers. The eſoteric was that which

which treated of the myſteries of the divine nature, and other ſublime ſubjects, and was known by the name of the Cabbala. The latter was, after the manner of the Pythagorean and Egyptian myſteries, taught only to certain perſons, who were bound, under the moſt ſolemn *anathema*, not to divulge it.

The exoteric doctrine comprehended the popular articles of faith and rules of manners. Theſe were not reduced into a ſyſtematic form till the middle of the tenth century; when the Rabbi Saadias Gaon, the maſter of the ſchool at Sora, wrote a book in the Arabic language concerning the Faith [a], which Jehudah Tibbon tranſlated into Hebrew. The articles of the Jewiſh faith were afterwards reduced by Maimonides to thirteen, which were generally received, though not without ſome oppoſition, in the Jewiſh church [b]. Ethics were ſo little ſtudied among the Jews, that, in their whole compilation called the Talmud, there is only one treatiſe on moral ſubjects. After the Peripatetic doctrine was received among them, ſome attention was paid to Ariſtotle's doctrine of morals; and, among the Jews in the Weſtern world, we find, from the eleventh century, many writers, who treat upon the practical rules of life and manners, not however without a mixture of allegory and myſticiſm. Their books of morals chiefly conſiſted in a minute enumeration of duties. From the law of Moſes were deduced ſix hundred and thirteen precepts, which were divided into two claſſes, affirmative and negative, two hundred and forty-eight in the former, and three hundred and ſixty-five in the latter. Theſe may be ſeen in the Jewiſh catechiſm, and in a Talmudic treatiſe, entitled *Maccoth* [c]. It may ſerve to give the reader ſome idea of the low ſtate of moral philoſophy among the Jews in the Middle Age, to add, that of the two hundred and forty-eight affirmative precepts, only *three* were conſidered as obligatory upon women; and that, in order to obtain ſalvation, it was judged ſufficient to fulfil any one ſingle law in the hour of death; the ob-

[a] Budd. Intr. Hiſt. Ph. Heb. § 32.

[b] Wolf. p. 857. Baſnage, l. iv. c. i. § 1. Schudt. Mem. J. p. ii. l. vi. c. 27. § 18. Maimon Ld. Vorſtii. Amſt. 1638.

[c] Edit. Cantab. 1597.

ſervance

ſervance of the reſt being deemed neceſſary, only to increaſe the felicity of the future life[a]. What a wretched depravity of ſentiment and manners muſt have prevailed before ſuch corrupt maxims could have obtained credit! It is impoſſible to collect from theſe writings any thing like a conſiſtent ſeries of moral doctrine. Of their POPULAR THEORETICAL TENETS the following is a brief ſummary.

The Creator is One; there is none like him, and he alone has been, is, and will be. The exiſtence of God is nothing but his eſſence and truth. The foundation of wiſdom is to know, that God is the Firſt Being, and that he gives exiſtence to all others. The eſſence of God cannot be comprehended by the human underſtanding; he can only be known by his attributes and name. In the name of יהוה Jehovah there is great power; and it is unlawful for any man to utter it, except the prieſt when he pronounces the holy benediction. The nature of God is incorporeal and ſpiritual; ſimple eſſence, without compoſition or accident; intellect, in perpetual act. His duration, both paſt and future, is infinite. God is not ſo properly ſaid to be in place, as to be himſelf place, for all ſpace is full of his glory. God is the omniſcient and ſovereign Lord of the univerſe; he foreſees and ordains all things; but all evil is to be aſcribed to the free will of man.

The world was created from nothing, had a beginning, and will have an end. All human ſouls were created at the beginning of the world, and exiſted in a happy ſtate before they were ſent down into the body. Beſides theſe, there are other created ſpirits, good and bad, of various names and claſſes. The bad angels are corporeal, their bodies conſiſting of the two elements of air and fire. The heavens are animated; and the ſtars are rational beings, endued with the powers of intelligence and volition; they have an influence upon human affairs, and even upon inferior animals, plants, and minerals, and communicate to men the knowledge of future events. Dif-

[a] Wolf. ib. p. 744. 221. 571. Jo. A. Lent. Theol. Jud. c. xiv. § 3. Lev. Mutinens de Carim. Jud. p. v. c. 4.

ferent regions of the earth, and even individual men, have their miniſtring angels. Two archangels were the leaders of a rebellion againſt God; and the rebels were caſt out of heaven. The fallen angels, procreating with the daughters of men, produced giants and devils. The cauſe of natural death, and of all the calamities of mankind, is the fall of our firſt parents. No human being can attain to perfection; but good works are entitled to reward; and the pardon of ſin may be obtained by faſtings, prayers, confeſſions, and bodily ſufferings. All the laws of Moſes are eternal and immutable. The ſoul of man is a thinking ſubſtance, having three faculties; the vegetative, the ſenſitive, and the rational: it is poſſeſſed of liberty, and is immortal. After death, it is not immediately admitted to celeſtial joys, but wanders in this world, chiefly about its body, during which time it is tormented by evil dæmons: in this purgatory it is cleanſed from its ſtains; after which it paſſes into other bodies of men, or inferior animals. There will be a reſurrection of the bodies of dead men, and an univerſal judgment, which will be ſucceeded by a ſtate of retribution. The good will enjoy eternal life in Paradiſe, and the wicked will be conſigned to the infernal regions; the Jew for a time, but the infidel for ever. The world will be deſtroyed; but the materials of which it is compoſed will remain [a].

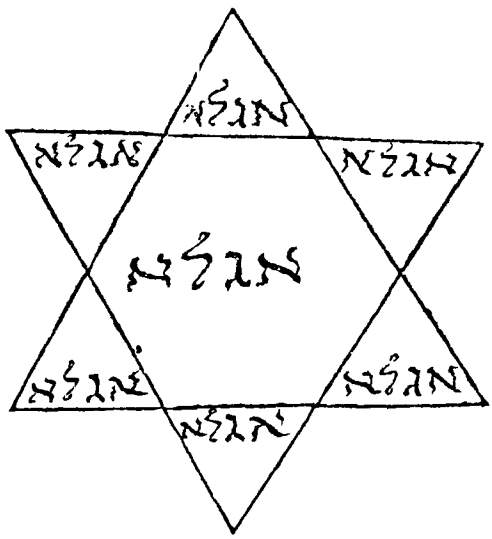
Many of the moſt valuable parts of theſe tenets, the Jews unqueſtionably derived from their ſacred ſcriptures; the reſt they borrowed from their Gentile neighbours. They firſt ſuffered their doctrine to be corrupted by the Egyptian philoſophy; and afterwards, learned from the Saracens to reaſon after the Peripatetic manner upon metaphyſical ſubjects: examples of which may be ſeen in the writings of Maimonides, and in the book Coſri.

The ſuperſtitious notions and practices of the Jews, in the Middle Age, concerning the names of God, were ſingular. Of theſe they

[a] Maimond. Moreh Nebhochim, et Jeſode Thora. R. Joſ. Albo Fund. Fid. Baſnage, l. iv. c. 6. Lightfoot. Hor. Heb.

reckoned

reckoned ſeventy-two; from which,[a] by different arrangements in ſevens, they produced ſeven hundred and twenty. The principal of theſe was אגלא *Agla*[a]; which they diſpoſed in the following figure.




This they called *The Shield of David*, and pretended that it was a ſecurity againſt wounds, would extinguiſh fires, and was able to perform other wonders[b].

The Eſoteric or concealed doctrine of the Jews was called the CABBALA, from the word קבל, which ſignifies, *to receive*, becauſe it had been received by tradition. Concerning the miraculous origin and preſervation of the Cabbala, the Jews relate many marvellous tales. They derive theſe myſteries from Adam; and aſſert, that whilſt the firſt man was in Paradiſe, the angel Raſiel brought him a book from heaven, which contained the doctrines of heavenly

[a] Contracted from אתה גבר לעולם אדני; thou art ſtrong in the eternal God.
[b] Fabric. Cod. Apoc. V. T. t. ii. p. 1006. t. iii. p. 143.

wiſdom; and that when Adam received this book, angels came down to him to learn its contents, but that he refuſed to admit them to the knowledge of ſacred things, intruſted to him alone; that after the Fall, this book was taken back into heaven; that, after many prayers and tears, God reſtored it to Adam; and that it paſſed from Adam to Seth [a]. The Jewiſh fables go on to relate, that the book being loſt, and the myſteries it contained almoſt forgotten, in the degenerate age before the flood, they were reſtored, by ſpecial revelation, to Abraham, who committed them to writing in the book Jezirah; that the revelation was renewed to Moſes, who received a traditionary and myſtical, as well as a written and preceptive, law from God; that being again loſt amidſt the calamities of the Babyloniſh captivity, it was once more revealed to Eſdras; that it was preſerved in Egypt, and has been tranſmitted to poſterity through the hands of Simeon ben Setach, Elkanah, Akibha, Simeon ben Jochai, and others

All that can be inferred from theſe accounts, which bear the evident marks of fiction, is, that the Cabbaliſtic doctrine obtained early credit among the Jews as a part of their ſacred tradition, and was tranſmitted, under this notion, by the Jews in Egypt to their brethren in Paleſtine. That this ſyſtem was not of Hebrew origin may be concluded, with a great degree of probability, from the total diſſimilarity of its abſtruſe and myſterious doctrines to the ſimple principles of religion taught in the Moſaic law; and that it was borrowed from the Egyptian ſchools will preſently appear, from a compariſon of its tenets with thoſe of the Oriental and Alexandrian philoſophy. Many writers have indeed imagined, that they have found, in the Cabbaliſtic dogmas, a near reſemblance

[a] Eiſenmenger. Jud. Detect. p. i. c. 8. p. ii. c. 13. Baſnage, l. iii. c. 10. Wachter. Elucid. Cabbal. c. 1. § 1. Lib. Schar. par Bernſheith. col. 171.

[b] Buxtorf. Bib. Rabb. p. 184. Reuchlin. de arte Cabb. l. i. p. 622. Wolf. Bib. H. p. i. p. 112. Reimann. Hiſt. Th. Jud. l. i. c. 15. Budd. Intr. p. 424. Coſri. p. iii. § 65.

of

of the doctrines of Chriſtianity, and have been of opinion that the fundamental principles of this myſtical ſyſtem were derived from Divine Revelation. But this opinion is to be traced up to a prejudice, which began with the Jews, and paſſed from them to the Chriſtian Fathers, by which they were led to aſcribe all Pagan wiſdom to an Hebrew origin; a notion which, there can be little room to doubt, took its riſe in Egypt, where Pagan tenets firſt crept in among the Jews. When they firſt embraced the doctrines of Heathen philoſophy, neither their national vanity, nor their reverence for the law of Moſes, would ſuffer them to acknowledge themſelves indebted to Pagans for their wiſdom: they had, therefore, nothing left, but to profeſs to derive theſe new opinions from their ſacred writings, and, by the help of the allegorical method of interpretation taught them by the Egyptians, to reconcile them, as well as they were able, with the antient doctrines of their religion. In ſupport of this pretence, they ſuppoſed that the ſtream of wiſdom, which they profeſſed to derive from their own ſacred fountain, had formerly flowed out of their incloſure into the neighbouring countries; and that the Oriental, Egyptian, and Grecian ſchools had been at firſt indebted to the land of Iſrael for their knowledge. Philo, Joſephus, and other learned Jews, to flatter their own vanity, and that of their countrymen, induſtriouſly propagated this opinion; and the more learned fathers of the Chriſtian church, who thought highly of the Grecian, particularly of the Platonic philoſophy, haſtily adopted it, imagining that if they could trace back the moſt valuable doctrines of Paganiſm to an Hebrew origin, this could not fail to recommend the Jewiſh and Chriſtian religions to the attention of Gentile philoſophers. Many learned moderns, relying implicitly upon theſe authorities, have maintained the ſame opinion, and have hence been inclined to credit the report of the divine original of the Jewiſh Cabbala. But both theſe opinions are equally without foundation. In tracing the antient Barbaric and Grecian philoſophy to their ſources, it has ſufficiently appeared, that they were not of Hebrew extraction:

traction*: and we ſhall ſoon ſee that the Cabbaliſtic ſyſtem is fundamentally inconſiſtent with the pure doctrine of Divine Revelation.

The truth, as far as we have been able to develope it, after a careful compariſon of the various opinions which have been advanced with the antient records which remain upon this ſubject, may be thus briefly ſtated. The Jews, as their own writers atteſt, like other Oriental nations, from the moſt remote period, had ſecret doctrines or myſteries. During the prophetic ages, theſe, probably, conſiſted in a ſimple explanation of thoſe divine truths which the prophets delivered under the veil of emblems. After this period, when the ſects of the Eſſenes and Therapeutæ were formed, as we have ſeen, in Egypt, foreign tenets and inſtitutions were borrowed from the Egyptians and Greeks, and, in the form of allegorical interpretations of the law, were admitted into the Jewiſh myſteries. Theſe inno-

* In further confirmation of what has been already advanced upon this point, it may be remarked, that thoſe who have ſuppoſed the Chaldean and Egyptian philoſophy to have originated with the Hebrews, have not conſidered that Thoth, Hermes Triſmegiſtus, the Chaldean Zoroaſter, and other founders of the antient Barbaric philoſophy, were prior in time to Moſes, and even to Abraham. Beſides, if it were granted that there were, among the Hebrews, patriarchs coeval with the firſt Chaldean or Egyptian ſages, it ſtill remains, to ſhew by what means the former could have prevailed upon the latter to become their diſciples, and to adduce ſome plauſible evidence that this was in fact the caſe. It is wonderful, that any learned men ſhould have maintained, that the Egyptians were indebted to the Iſraelites for their wiſdom, when it appears from the ſacred hiſtory, that the Egyptians treated the Iſraelites with contempt, as a race of foreign ſlaves; and that the deſcendants of Jacob inhabited a ſeparate region, where they had little intercourſe with the natives of Egypt. Is there a ſhadow of probability, that the Egyptians would borrow from ſuch a people any part of their ſacred myſteries? But, if even this were allowed to be probable, ſtill, the difference between the antient Hebrew religion, and that of the Egyptians and other nations, is too great, to leave any room for admitting the fact. If then it be wholly inconceivable that the antient Egyptians ſhould have received their dogmas from the Hebrews, it muſt be admitted as highly probable, that when, in later times, a wonderful agreement appears between the Jewiſh and Egyptian tenets, the Jews borrowed their Cabbaliſtic dogmas from the Alexandrians, among whom they reſided *.

* Conf. Reuchlin. de Art. Cabb. l. ii. p. 642. Wachter. Spinoz. Jud. p. ii. p. 221. Burnet Arch. l. i. c. 7.

vations

vations chiefly conſiſted in certain dogmas concerning God and divine things, at this time received in the Egyptian ſchools, particularly at Alexandria, where the Platonic and Pythagorean doctrines on theſe ſubjects had undergone a material alteration, by being mixed with the Oriental philoſophy. For the Alexandrian Platoniſts, having rejected the Dualiſtic Syſtem, had now, from the Orientaliſts, adopted the Emanative, and admitted the doctrine of various orders of divine emanation. This doctrine, which by the help of allegory was eaſily accommodated to the ſacred writings, was embraced, under the notion of traditionary myſtery, by Ariſtobulus, and other founders of the ſect of the Therapeutæ, and admitted into their writings, as may be ſeen in the works of Philo. The Jewiſh myſteries, thus enlarged by the acceſſion of Pagan dogmas, were conveyed from Egypt to Paleſtine, at the time when the Phariſees, who had been driven into Egypt under Hyrcanus, returned, and with them many other Jews, into their own country. From this time the Cabbaliſtic myſteries continued to be taught in the Jewiſh ſchools; till, at length, they were adulterated by the mixture of Peripatetic doctrines, and other tenets, which ſprang up in the Middle Age. Theſe myſteries were not, probably, reduced to any ſyſtematic form in writing, till after the diſperſion of the Jews, when, in conſequence of their national calamities, they became apprehenſive that theſe ſacred treaſures would be corrupted, or loſt. In ſucceeding periods, the Cabbaliſtic doctrines underwent various corruptions, particularly from the prevalence of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy[a].

This account of the riſe and progreſs of the Jewiſh Cabbala agrees with the facts before recited, and is confirmed by the reſemblance obſervable between the features of the Oriental and Cabbaliſtic ſyſtems, as far as the veil of metaphor and allegory, with which they

[a] Wachter. Elucid. Cabb. c. ii. p. 19. Knorr. Cabb. Denud. t. ii. p. 389. 181. Philo. Op. p. 877. 893. Maimon. Mor. Neba. l. iii. c. 4. Wolf. Bibl. Heb. p. ii. l. vii. c. 1.

are

are covered will permit us to compare them. The obſcurity of the Cabbaliſtic philoſophy is indeed ſuch, that there is ſome reaſon to queſtion, whether the authors themſelves clearly underſtood what they wrote: a ſuſpicion which may always ariſe, where metaphyſical ideas, which are only to be underſtood by mental abſtraction, are repreſented under ſenſible images. It is probable, however, that the writers ſuppoſed themſelves to have ſome meaning, in works upon which they beſtowed much time and ingenuity: and it becomes a matter of curioſity, to inquire what meaning lies concealed under the apparent jargon. Perhaps more pains has been taken to make this diſcovery than the ſubject deſerves: but as others have laboured with indefatigable induſtry, and not without ſome degree of ſucceſs, in exploring the mazes of this labyrinth[a], we muſt not fly from the undertaking as deſperate; and we may, poſſibly, find in the reſult, that it is not wholly unprofitable. It will be neceſſary, however, before we proceed, to premiſe, that our inquiry only reſpects the theoretical part of the Cabbala; and that we pay no attention, either to the Enigmatical Cabbala, which conſiſts in certain ſymbolical tranſpoſitions of the words or letters of the ſcriptures, fit only for the amuſement of children, and thoſe who delight in Anagrams and Acroſtics, or to the Practical Cabbala, which profeſſed to teach the art of curing diſeaſes, and performing other wonders, by means of certain arrangements of ſacred letters and words[b].

The chief heads of the Cabbalistic doctrine are theſe:

From nothing, nothing can be produced; ſince the diſtance between exiſtence and non-entity is infinite. Matter is too imperfect in its nature, and approaches too near to non-entity, to be ſelf-

[a] Budd. Intr. § 35. 46. Hiſt. Ph. H. l. i. c. 10. Wachter. Spinoz. l. i. p. 22. p. ii. c. 17. Eluc. Cabb. Præf. p. vi. c. 3. § 1—13. Knorr. Cab. Den. t. i. p. ii. p. 79. t. ii. p. 390. Baſnage, l. iii. c. 14, 16, 19. H. Mori Quæſt. t. i. p. 62.

[b] Schudt. Mem. J. p. ii. l. vi. c. 31. Hackſpan. Miſcell. S. p. 290. Glaſſii Philol. S. l. ii. p. i. tr. 2. ſ. 3. art. 2.

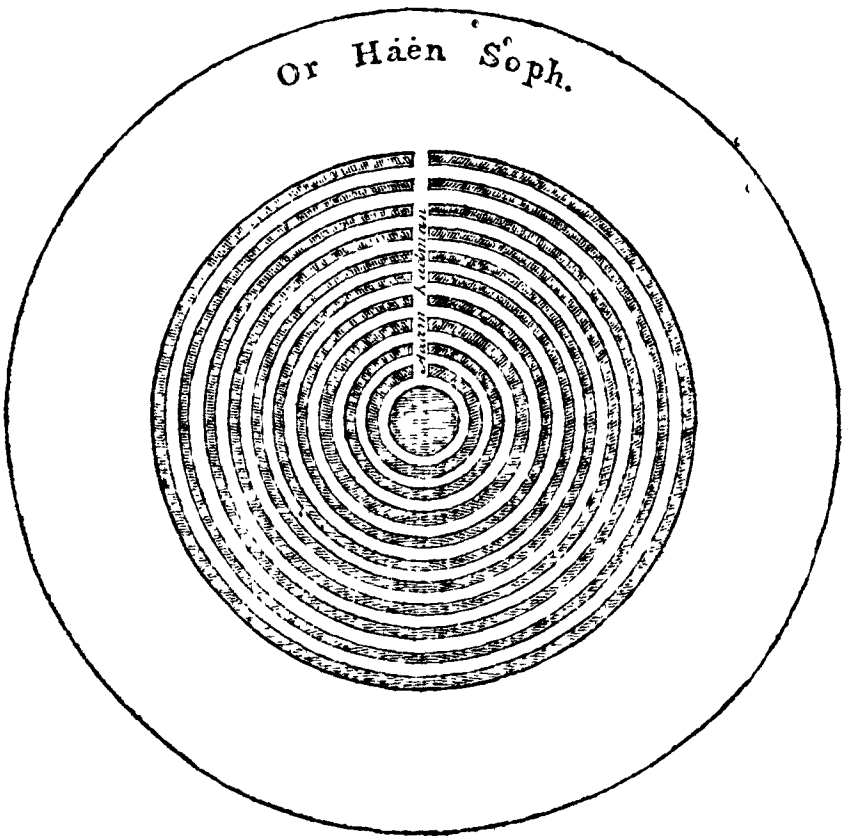
exiſtent. The Being from whom all things proceed is a Spirit, uncreated, eternal, intelligent, percipient, having within itſelf the principles of life and motion exiſting by the neceſſity of its nature, and filling the immenſity of ſpace. This ſpirit is EN-SOPH, the Infinite Deity. This Eternal Fountain of exiſtence ſends forth from himſelf natures of various orders, which, nevertheleſs, are ſtill united to their ſource. The world is a permanent emanation from the Deity, in which his attributes and properties are unfolded, and variouſly modified. The nearer any emanation is to the Firſt Fountain, the more perfect and divine is its nature; and the reverſe.

Before the creation of the world, all ſpace was filled with the OR HAEN-SOPH, or Infinite Intellectual Light. But when the volition for the production of nature was formed in the Divine Mind, the Eternal Light, hitherto equally diffuſed through the infinite expanſe, withdrew itſelf to an equal diſtance, in every direction, from a certain point, and thus left, about this center, a ſpherical portion of empty ſpace, as a field for the operations of emanation, by which all things were to be produced. In the ſpace from which the Divine Light was thus withdrawn, there were ſtill, however, ſome portions, or traces, left of the divine eſſence, which were to become the receptacle of rays ſent forth from the Eternal Fountain, or the baſis of future worlds. From a certain part of the concavity of Infinite Light which ſurrounded the opaque ſphere, the energy of emanation was firſt exerted, and rays were ſent forth, in right lines, into the dark abyſs. The beam of light, thus produced, formed a channel, through which ſtreams were to flow for the production of worlds. This beam was united to the Concave of Light, and was directed towards the center of the opaque ſphere. From this luminous channel ſtreams of light flowed, at different diſtances from the center, in a circular path, and formed diſtinct circles of light, ſeparated from the Concave of Light, or from each other, by portions of dark or empty ſpace. Of theſe cir-

cles of light, ten were produced, which may be called Sephiræ, or Splendors [a].

The rectilineal beam of light, which is the First Emanation from the Eternal Fountain, and is itſelf the ſource of all other emanations, may be diſtinguiſhed by the name Adam Kadman, the Firſt Man, the firſt production of Divine Energy, or, the Son of God. The Sephiræ are fountains of emanation ſubordinate to Adam Kadman, which ſend forth rays of divine light, or communicate eſſence and life to inferior beings. The ten Sephiræ are known, according

[a] The reader's imagination may perhaps be aſſiſted by the following diagram:




to

to the order of emanation, by the names, Intelligence or the Crown, Knowledge, Wiſdom, Strength, Beauty, Greatneſs, Glory, Stability, Victory, Dominion. Theſe are not the inſtruments of the divine operations, but *media*, through which the Deity diffuſes himſelf through the ſphere of the univerſe, and produces whatever exiſts. They are not beings detached from the deity, but ſubſtantial virtues or powers, diſtinctly, but dependently, ſent forth from the eternal ſource of exiſtence through the mediation of Adam Kadman, the firſt emaning power, and becoming the immediate ſource of exiſtence to ſubordinate emanations. They are dependent upon the firſt fountain, as rays upon a luminary, which is conceived to have ſent them forth with a power of drawing them back, at pleaſure, into itſelf.

The firſt Infinite Source of Being is the Enſophic World, or world of infinity, within which, after the manner above deſcribed, four worlds are produced by the law of emanation, according to which the ſuperior is the immediate ſource of the inferior: theſe are, AZILUTH, or the world of emanation, including the Sephiræ; BRISH, or the world of creation, containing certain ſpiritual natures, which derive their eſſence from the Sephiræ; JEZIRAH, or the world of forms, compoſed of ſubſtantial natures, derived from the ſuperior ſpiritual ſubſtances, and placed within ethereal vehicles, which they inform and animate; and ASIAH, or the material and viſible world, comprehending all thoſe ſubſtances which are capable of motion, compoſition, diviſion, and diſſolution.

Theſe derived worlds are different evolutions, or expanſions, of the Divine Eſſence, or diſtinct claſſes of beings, in which the infinite light of the divine nature is exhibited with continually decreaſing ſplendor, as they recede from the Firſt Fountain. The laſt and moſt diſtant production of the divine energy of emanation is Matter; which is produced when the divine light, by its receſſion from the fountain, becomes ſo attenuated as to be loſt in darkneſs, leaving nothing but an opaque ſubſtance *, which is only one degree

* Carbo ignis divinæ.

above non-entity. Matter has no ſeparate and independent exiſtence, but is merely a modification, and permanent effect, of the emanative energy of the divine nature.

The Sephiræ, or firſt order of emanative being, exiſting in Aziluth, are ſuperior to ſpirits, and are called *Parzuphim*, PERSONS, to denote that they have a ſubſtantial exiſtence. The inhabitants of the ſecond world are called THRONES, on account of the dominion which they poſſeſs over the various orders of ANGELS, which inhabit the third world. The fourth, or material world, is the region of evil ſpirits, called *Klippoth*, the dregs of emanation. Theſe are the authors of the evil which is found in the material world; but they are continually aſpiring towards the Sephiræ, and will, in the great revolution of nature, return into the inexhauſtible fountain of Deity. Spirits of all orders have a material vehicle, leſs pure and ſubtile, in proportion to their diſtance from En-ſoph; and this vehicle is of the nature of the world next below that to which they belong. Metraton is the prince of Jezirah, or the angelic world, in which there are ten diſtinct orders; Sandalphon, of Aſiah, or the material world: theſe, together with the hoſts over which they preſide, animate aerial vehicles, capable of impreſſion from corporeal objects, and in different ways requiring renovation.

The human ſoul, proceeding by emanation from the Deity, is an incorporeal ſubſtance, of the ſame nature with the divine intellect. Being united to the body, one complex nature is produced, endued with reaſon, and capable of action. The human ſoul conſiſts of four parts, *Nephe∫h*, or the principle of vitality; *Ruach*, or the principle of motion; *Ne∫chamah*, or the power of intelligence; and *Jechidah*, a divine principle, by means of which it contemplates ſuperior natures, and even aſcends to the Enſophic world. All ſouls were produced at once, and pre-exiſted in Adam. Every human ſoul has two guardian angels, produced by emanation, at the time of the production of ſouls. The mind of man is united to the Divine Mind, as the radius of a circle to its center. The ſouls of good men aſcend above the manſion of the angels, and are delighted

lighted with the viſion of the firſt light, which illuminates all the worlds.

The univerſe continues to exiſt by the divine energy of emanation. Whilſt this energy is exerted, different forms and orders of beings remain: when it is withheld, all the ſtreams of exiſtence return into their fountain. The En-ſoph, or Deity, contains all things within himſelf; and there is always the ſame quantity of exiſtence, either in a created or an uncreated ſtate. When it is in an uncreated ſtate, God is all; when worlds are created, the Deity is unfolded, or evolved, by various degrees of emanation, which conſtitute the ſeveral forms and orders of created nature[a].

Such is the general outline of the Cabbaliſtic philoſophy, as far as we are able to diſcover it through the thick cloud of words by which it is concealed; and we ſhall be readily excuſed from ing into any further detail of ſo fanciful and myſtical a ſyſtem.

It is impoſſible to review the maſs of conjectures and fictions, called the Jewiſh Cabbala, without perceiving that it could not be derived from the pure ſource of divine revelation; or to compare the Cabbaliſtic doctrine with the Oriental and Egyptian philoſophy, without diſcovering that they are the ſame ſyſtem. The Cabbaliſtic notion of Deity as a pure intellectual fire, and of the production of nature as an emanation from this fountain, was taught, as we have already ſeen, in all the Eaſtern nations, particularly the Chaldean and Perſian. Change the names, and for Mithras ſubſtitute Enſoph; for Oromaſdes, Adam Kadmon; and for Arimanius, Klippoth; and then compare the dogmas advanced concerning each, and it will be ſufficiently evident from what ſource the Jews derived their Cabbala. The Gnoſtic doctrine of Æons ſubſiſting in the Plenitude of the divine nature, which ſprang from the ſame ſtock, is perfectly ſimilar to that of the Cabbaliſtic Sephiræ: both appear to have been known to Philo. The Alexandrian philoſophers of the

[a] Lorriiæ lib. Druſchim. et Iriræ Porta Cœlor. ed. a Knorrio in Cabb. Denud. Menaſſeh B. Iſrael de Creat. p. 27. Moſes Corduer. Pard. Rimmonim. tr. iv. p. 23.

Eclectic

Eclectic ſect adopted the ſame notions, and purſued them into a variety of extravagant and abſurd fancies, in many particulars nearly reſembling thoſe of the Jewiſh ſchool. The common tenets, in which the Oriental, the Alexandrian, and the Cabbaliſtic philoſophers were agreed, may be thus briefly ſtated.

All things are derived, by emanation, from one principle. This principle is God. From him a ſubſtantial power immediately proceeds, which is the image of God, and the ſource of all ſubſequent emanations. This ſecond principle ſends forth, by the energy of emanation, other natures, which are more or leſs perfect, according to their different degrees of diſtance, in the ſcale of emanation, from the firſt ſource of exiſtence, and which conſtitute different worlds, or orders of being, all united to the eternal power from which they proceed. Matter is nothing more than the moſt remote effect of the emanative energy of the Deity. The material world receives its form from the immediate agency of powers far beneath the Firſt Source of Being. Evil is the neceſſary effect of the imperfection of matter. Human ſouls are diſtant emanations from Deity, and, after they are liberated from their material vehicles, will return, through various ſtages of purification, to the fountain whence they firſt proceeded.

On the whole, the ſimilarity, or rather the coincidence of the Cabbaliſtic, Alexandrian, and Oriental philoſophy, leaves us little room to heſitate in pronouncing the latter the parent of the two former. With reſpect to the Cabbaliſtic ſyſtem in particular, it cannot be difficult, after the ſurvey we have taken of its leading tenets, to form a judgment of its merit. It is unqueſtionably a fanatical kind of philoſophy, which originates in defect of judgment, and eccentricity of imagination, and which tends to produce a wild and pernicious enthuſiaſm. The Cabbaliſtic ſyſtem can by no means be reconciled with juſt ideas of the Divine Nature; ſince, in ſuppoſing all things to flow from God, it makes all beings not only dependent upon him, but a part of his eſſence. In this ſyſtem all ſpiritual and even material ſubſtances are ſo intimately united with their origin, that they do not differ from it in their nature, but merely in their mode

mode of exiſtence; the univerſe is an evolution of the divine eſſence, and is, in fact, God. To this we muſt add, that the idea, which this ſyſtem affords, of the mode of divine operation, by an expanſion or retraction of his eſſence, is too groſs to be applied to the firſt intelligent cauſe of all things. Nothing can be more viſionary, than the fundamental hypotheſis, that God is an infinite light, which has withdrawn itſelf from a portion of infinite ſpace, in order to unfold itſelf in ſundry emanations, which conſtitute the univerſe; nor can any thing be more fanciful, than the numerous fictions which fill up the ſyſtem. Its tendency to encourage fanaticiſm cannot be doubted. The firſt principle of this philoſophy is the ground upon which the whole ſtructure of enthuſiaſm is erected. From the notion that all things emane from God, and will flow back to him, it naturally follows, that it is the great end of philoſophy to prepare the human mind for its return to its ſource, when it will be abſorbed in the Divine Plenitude from which it flowed; a doctrine which is the very ſoul of enthuſiaſm, both theological and philoſophical.

But it is high time that we retreat out of this fairy land, where we ſhould not have remained ſo long, had it not been neceſſary to aſcertain diſtinctly the place of the Jewiſh Cabbala in the hiſtory of philoſophy, in order to diſcover its connection with preceding, and its influence upon contemporary or ſubſequent, ſyſtems: for it muſt be confeſſed, that the hiſtory of this ſyſtem is chiefly valuable, as it furniſhes an example of the folly of permitting reaſon, in its ſearch after truth, to follow the wild reveries of an unbridled imagination.*

* Vidend. Jo. A. Lent. Theol. Jud. Reimann. Hiſt. Theol. Jud. Budd. Intr. Ph. Heb. Menaſſe ben Iſrael ap. Cromayer. Scrutin. Relig. Diſſ. Leo Mutin de Cærem. et Conſuetud. Jud. R. Joſ. Albo. Fundam. Fid. R. Moſes ad Jezirah. Lib. Coſri. Menaſſe ben Iſrael de Term. Vitæ, de Creat. &c. Abarbanel de Cap. Fid. Saubert. Paleſtra Theol. Diſſ. 1. Windet de Vit. Funct. Statu. Bartolocc. Bibl. Rabb. Hartman. loc. paral. Talm. Greſſæ. 1708. Ottom. Hiſt. Doct. Miſhn. Reuchlin. de Art. Cabb. Schrammii Intr. in Dialect. Cabb. Hackſpan. de Cabbala. Carpzov.

Carpzov. Intr. in Theol. Jud. Pici Apol. Op. Præf. Baſil. 1601. Compend. ap Budd. Intr. § 34. Peſtorii Ars Cabb. Baſ. 1581. Rittengel de Lib. Jezirah. Amſtel. 167-. Knorrii a Roſenroth Cabbala denudata. Soliſbaci, 1677. Contin. lib. Sohar, Jezirah, & Hen. More ad lib. Druſchim. Wachter. Spinozizm. in Jud. Ejuſd. Elucidarium Cabb. Rom. 1706. Mayer. de Trinit. Harder. 1712. Burgonovo ſelect. Cabb. Dogm. Baſnage. Eiſenmenger. Wolf. Burnet. Arch. c. 7.

# BOOK V.

## OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE SARACENS.

### CHAP. I.

#### OF THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF PHILOSOPHY AMONG THE SARACENS, OR ARABIANS.

AT the period when ignorance and barbariſm prevailed through every part of the Roman empire, Philoſophy found an aſylum among the Saracens, or Arabians; a people, who, for ſeveral centuries after the appearance of Mahomet, were ſcarcely leſs celebrated in their literary and philoſophical, than in their civil and military character. Before we proceed to deſcribe the ſtate of philoſophy in the Chriſtian world, from the birth of Chriſt to the revival of letters, we muſt, therefore, briefly relate the hiſtory, and delineate the features, of the Arabian or Saracenic philoſophy.

Concerning the antient ſtate of philoſophy in Arabia, we have already ſeen, that little is known. The Arabian writers, as far as we are acquainted with them, leave the philoſophical and literary hiſtory of their country, prior to the time of Mahomet, in almoſt total obſcurity. Abulfarius, one of the principal Arabian annaliſts,

confeſſes [a], that there are no certain records of the antient Arabian nations, nor any means of inveſtigating their hiſtory. Of this deficiency it is wholly unneceſſary to ſearch for any other cauſe, than the barbariſm which at that time prevailed almoſt univerſally through this country. The Arabian writers themſelves oppoſe the ſtate of Iſlamiſm to the ſtate of ignorance which preceded [b]. Ebn Chalican [c], an Arabian hiſtorian, mentions it as an acknowledged fact, that the firſt inventor of Arabic writing was Moramer, an Anbarian, who lived not long before the time of Mahomet; and relates [d], that at the time when the Koran was publiſhed, there was not a ſingle perſon to be found in the whole diſtrict of Yamen, who could write or read Arabic. The Jews and Chriſtians who reſided in Medina were, for their learning, diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of The People of the Book, whilſt the Arabians were almoſt univerſally illiterate. Mahomet himſelf was wholly deſtitute of learning. The Arabians themſelves call him, The Illiterate Prophet; and boaſt, that God choſe out of the unlearned the meſſenger whom he ſent to the unlearned [e]. It is no wonder, therefore, that this prophet, in framing his new religion, found it neceſſary to call in aſſiſtance from the Jews and Chriſtians. He could not have accompliſhed his great deſign without the help of Warakan, the kinſman of his wife Chadijia, who had been converſant with the Jews and Chriſtians, and could write Hebrew as well as Arabic [f].

The appearance of Mahomet, and the promulgation of his religion, in themſelves contributed nothing towards the progreſs of knowledge and philoſophy. This impoſtor thought it neceſſary to keep his followers as ignorant as himſelf. That he might, at one ſtroke, cut off impertinent contradiction, he iſſued an edict, which made the ſtudy of the liberal ſciences and arts a capital offence. At the ſame time, to captivate the imaginations of his ignorant followers, and hereby eſtabliſh his authority, he ſent forth, in ſeparate

[a] Dynaſt. ix. p. 100. [b] Ib. p. 101.
[c] Ap. Pococke Specimen Hiſt. Arab. p. 153. [d] Ib. l. c.
[e] Pococke ib. p. 156. [f] Elmacini Hiſt. Saracen. l. i. c. 1. p. 10.

portions, a ſacred book, to which he gave the name of the Koran, containing the doctrines and precepts of his religion. This book, which was chiefly a compilation, ſufficiently injudicious and incoherent, from the books of the Neſtorian Chriſtians and of the Jews then reſident in Arabia, and from the antient ſuperſtitions of the Arabians, long continued the only object of ſtudy among the Mahometans. Their reverence for this holy book, the leaves of which, they were taught to believe were communicated to the prophet by an angel from heaven, long ſuperſeded every philoſophical and literary purſuit. Imagining that the Koran contained every thing neceſſary, or uſeful, to be known, whatever was contrary to its dogmas was immediately condemned as erroneous; and whatever was not to be found in this ſacred volume was diſmiſſed as ſuperfluous [a]. Deterred

[a] This was the principle upon which the caliph Omar conſigned the Alexandrian libraries to the flames. Abulpharagius relates *, that when Alexandria was taken by Amrus, the Mahometan commander, Philoponus requeſted that he might be allowed to reſcue the philoſophical books in the royal libraries from deſtruction. Amrus wrote to Omar, informing him of the requeſt of Philoponus; to which Omar replied: "As to the books you mention, if they accord with the book of God, there is without them in that book all that is ſufficient; but if there be any thing in them repugnant to that book, we have no need of them: order them therefore to be all deſtroyed." Amrus upon this gave orders that they ſhould be diſperſed through the baths of Alexandria, and burned in heating them †. After this manner, in the ſpace of ſix months, they were all conſumed. The hiſtorian adds, "Hear what was done, and wonder!"

The authenticity of this ſtory has lately been called in queſtion by Mr. Gibbon, who thinks the report of a ſolitary ſtranger, who wrote at the end of ſix hundred years, on the confines of Media, over-balanced by the ſilence of two annaliſts of a more early date, both Chriſtians, both natives of Egypt, and the moſt antient of whom, the patriarch Eutychius, has amply deſcribed the conqueſt of Alexandria. But the poſitive evidence of an hiſtorian, of ſuch unqueſtionable credit, as Abulpharagius cannot be ſet aſide by an argument merely negative. Mr. G. alſo pleads the repugnancy of the rigid ſentence of Omar to the precept of the Mahometan caſuiſts, which declared it unlawful to burn the religious books of Jews and Chriſtians, and allowed the uſe of prophane writers: but he ſeems himſelf aware of the weakneſs of this argument; for he imputes the protection granted to the religious books of Jews and Chriſtians to reverence for the *name* of God, and acknowledges, that "a more deſtructive zeal may perhaps be attributed

*Dyn. p. 114. Oxon. 1663. † That is, probably, in kindling the fires.

Deterred by the fear of puniſhment from examining the foundation of their law, or opening their minds to the light of philoſophy, the followers of Mahomet quietly ſubmitted their reaſon to the yoke of authority. Add to this, that the violent ſpirit and military character of Iſlamiſm was in itſelf inimical to philoſophy and ſcience. A prophet, who propagated and eſtabliſhed his religion, not by reaſoning, but the ſword, would keep his followers too buſily employed in war and conqueſt, to leave them leiſure for literary purſuits [a].

From theſe cauſes, philoſophy, during the firſt ages of Mahometaniſm, found no protection in Arabia. But, in this period of thick darkneſs, when, among Chriſtians, true ſcience was loſt in the thorny controverſies of theology; and when, among the Saracens, it was trampled under foot by ignorance and bigotry; after the extinction of the dynaſty of the Ommiadæ, who trod in the footſteps of Mahomet [b], the acceſſion of the family of the Abbaſidæ, or Haſhemidæ, to the Caliphate (which happened in the one hundred and twenty-ſeventh year of the Hegira, or the ſeven hundred and forty-ninth of the Chriſtian æra) proved the dawning of philoſophy in Arabia [c].

The firſt princes of the Abaſidean dynaſty were, indeed, chiefly occupied in eſtabliſhing and extending the new empire. But they were in one reſpect wiſer than their predeceſſors; they paid little regard to the abſurd edict, by which arts and ſciences had been baniſhed out of the realms of Mahomet. The ſecond prince of this family, Abug Iaafar Al-Manſor, poſſeſſed diſpoſitions and talents,

to the *firſt* ſucceſſors of Mahomet." His references to A. Gellius (Noct. Att. l. vi. c. 17.) Amm. Marcellinus (l. xxii. c. 16.) & Oroſius (l. vi. c. 15.) as ſpeaking of the Alexandrian libraries in the *paſt* tenſe, are foreign from the purpoſe; for theſe writers only refer to the deſtruction of books at Alexandria in the time of Julius Cæſar; after which, large libraries muſt have been continually accumulating, during the long period in which the ſchools of philoſophy flouriſhed in that city.

[a] Abulfar. Dyn. p. 99. 104. 110. Pococke, l. c. p. 121. 136. 162. 165. 166. Tophail ep. de Hai Ebn Yockdan. p. 14. R. Jehudæ lib. Coſri, p. 1. § 5. Elmacin. Hiſt. Sar. l. i. c. 1.

[b] Elmacin. Hiſt. Sar. l. i. c. 7. [c] Ib. l. ii. c. 1. Abulf. Dyn. ix. p. 123.

which

which inclined and enabled him to favour the progreſs of knowledge among his ſubjects. His gentle temper contributed towards ſubduing the ferocity of the times; his natural good ſenſe taught him the value of learning, and qualified him to detect the erroneous maxims upon which the Mahometan ſyſtem of policy was founded; and his liberal and candid ſpirit rendered him eaſy of acceſs to learned men of all countries and profeſſions [a].

The firſt circumſtance, which ſeems to have led to the introduction of ſcience and philoſophy into the courts of the Caliphs, was the neceſſity, which the ignorant Arabians were under, of calling in the more enlightened Chriſtians, who reſided at this time in great numbers at Bagdat, the ſeat of the empire, and in other parts of the Mahometan dominions, to ſuperintend and regulate the practice of the medical art. Al-Manſor had two Chriſtian phyſicians in his court, who, on account of their ſkill in medicine, ſtood high in his eſteem, and who, being men of letters, inſpired the prince with the love of literature and philoſophy. The Caliph himſelf, under their direction, ſtudied aſtronomy. He paid great reſpect to learned men, and offered liberal rewards to thoſe who would undertake the tranſlation of the Greek writers in philoſophy, aſtronomy, mathematics, medicine, and other branches of learning. Theſe exertions on the part of the prince were not without their effect on his ſubjects. But, the Arabians not underſtanding Greek, the tranſlation of antient authors was entirely executed by the Chriſtians then reſident in Bagdat; and, becauſe the vernacular tongue of that city was the Syriac, theſe verſions were made in that language; from which many of them were afterwards tranſlated into Arabic. Hence moſt of the Arabic tranſlations of the antients, ſtill extant, are exceedingly defective [b].

After Al-Manſor, the fifth Caliph of the Abbaſidean dynaſty, Haron Raſhid [c], who aſſumed the government in the year ſeven

[a] Elmacin. Hiſt. Saracen. l. ii. c. 3. Abulfar. ib. p. 129.

[b] Abulf. Dyn. ix. p. 148. 94. 99. Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 814. Friend. Hiſt. Med. p. ii. p. 5.

[c] Elmacin. l. ii. c. 6.

hundred

hundred and eighty-ſix, cheriſhed the riſing plants of ſcience and literature. He was a liberal patron of genius and learning of every kind, but was particularly fond of thoſe who poſſeſſed poetical talents. He never travelled without a retinue of learned men. Raſhid was at firſt, through bigotry, diſinclined to encourage the learned Chriſtians; but their ſuperior ſkill in medicine ſoon introduced them to his favour. It happened, that a young Egyptian female, of great beauty, who was a favourite with the Caliph, was attacked with a ſevere illneſs, which baffled the ſkill of the Arabian phyſicians: upon which Raſhid ſent a meſſenger into Egypt, to invite Balatian, the patriarch of Alexandria, eminent for his ſkill in medicine, to viſit Bagdat. Balatian obeyed the ſummons, and ſoon accompliſhed the cure of his fair patient. For this acceptable ſervice he received from the Caliph ample rewards; and he obtained a mandate in favour of his Chriſtian brethren in Egypt, for the reſtoration of certain lands, of which they had been unjuſtly deprived. Afterwards, when Raſhid himſelf was ſeized with an apoplexy, a Chriſtian phyſician, in oppoſition to the judgment of the Arabian practitioners, bled him, and hereby effected his recovery. Theſe and other fortunate circumſtances eſtabliſhed the credit of the Chriſtian phyſicians in the court of Bagdat, and enabled them, with the knowledge of medicine, to introduce an acquaintance with other branches of ſcience among the Arabians [a].

The light of philoſophy, which, at firſt, under Al-Manſor, and afterwards under Raſhid, dawned upon Arabia, in the caliphate of the younger ſon of Raſhid, ABUL-ABBAS AL-MAMON [b], ſhone forth in meridian ſplendor. Endued with a good underſtanding and a liberal ſpirit, this prince ſoon outſtripped his predeceſſors in the zealous and ſucceſsful patronage of ſcience and learning. Whilſt Raſhid was living, he nominated his eldeſt ſon, Al-Mamin, to the inhe-

[a] Eutychii Alex. Origin. Eccl. Al. (ed. Selden. Lond. 1642.) t. ii. p. 407. Abulfar. Dyn. ix. p. 114. Fab. Bib. Gr. v. xiii. p. 17. Elmacin. l. ii. c. 6.

[b] Elmacin. l. ii. c. 8. Abulfar. Dyn. ix. p. 160. Leo Afric. de Vir. Arab. c. 1. Zonaras, l. iii. Pococke, p. 166.

ritance

ritance of the caliphate, and gave Al-Mamon the government of Chorazan. Here this excellent youth applied himſelf to ſtudy under learned men, whom he collected from various countries. Theſe he formed into a ſociety, or college, appointing for their preſident John Meſſue, of Damaſcus, a Chriſtian phyſician, who had reſided at Bagdat, and with whoſe abilities and merit he had long been acquainted. Raſhid, when he was informed of this appointment, expreſſed great diſpleaſure that his ſon ſhould confer ſo diſtinguiſhed an honour upon a Chriſtian. Al-Mamon, in his own juſtification, replied, "I have made choice of Meſſue, not as a teacher of religion, but as an able preceptor in uſeful ſciences and arts; and my father well knows, that the moſt learned men, and the moſt ſkilful artiſts, in his dominions, are Jews and Chriſtians." After the death of Raſhid, and the ſhort and diſgraceful reign of his elder ſon Al-Mamin, the caliphate paſſed into the hands of the enlightened and liberal Al-Mamon, who ſoon made Bagdat the firſt ſeat of the muſes[a].

Having collected many valuable books, written in the Greek, Perſian, Chaldean, and Egyptian or Coptic languages, Al-Mamon employed learned men to tranſlate them into Arabic[b]. Among the Greek writings, which now appeared in an Arabic dreſs, were the works of Galen and Ariſtotle; and from this epocha we are to date the commencement of the long reign of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy among the Arabians. The Caliph appointed Meſſue to ſuperintend theſe tranſlations. Under his auſpices this learned preceptor alſo inſtituted and conducted a ſchool, in which he inſtructed a numerous train of pupils in philoſophy, and other branches of learning. Among other diſciples of Meſſue was Honain, an eminent Chriſtian phyſician, who tranſlated the Elements of Euclid, the Almageſtus of Ptolemy, and the writings of Hippocrates and other

[a] Leo Afr. l. c.

[b] Renaudot. de Verſ. Arab. et Syr. ap. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 814.

Greek

Greek authors. He may juſtly be ranked among the fathers of the Arabian philoſophy[a].*

Al-Mamon was not only an illuſtrious patron of the learned, but was himſelf no mean adept in ſeveral branches of ſcience. He was well acquainted with aſtronomy, mathematics, and philoſophy; and was frequently preſent at the conferences of learned men, entering with great ſpirit into the ſubjects of their debates. In the midſt of the praiſe which is due to this Caliph, it muſt, however, be mentioned with regret, that, through an ill-judged partiality for his vernacular tongue, he gave orders that, after the Arabic verſions were finiſhed, the original Greek manuſcripts ſhould be burned[b]. A ſimilar folly ſeized the Caliphs of Africa: and to this cauſe we are, doubtleſs, to aſcribe the entire loſs of many antient writings. The diligence, however, with which this Caliph cultivated and encouraged learning, cancels in ſome meaſure this diſgrace, and leaves him entitled to an honourable ſtation among philoſophers[c]. It was no inconſiderable proof of the great ſervice which Al-Mamon rendered to philoſophy, that ſuperſtition and barbariſm bitterly com-

[a] Leo Afr. l. c.

* Of Honain, Abulfaragius relates † the following anecdote:—One day, after ſome medical converſation, the Caliph ſaid to him, "Teach me a preſcription by which I may take off any enemy I pleaſe, without being diſcovered." Honain declining to give an anſwer, and pleading ignorance, was impriſoned. Being brought again, after a year's interval, into the Caliph's preſence, and ſtill perſiſting in ignorance, though threatened with death, the Caliph ſmiled upon him, and ſaid, "Be of good cheer, we were only trying thee, that we might have the greater confidence in thee.' As Honain upon this bowed down and kiſſed the earth, "What hindered thee," ſays the Caliph, "from granting our requeſt, when thou ſaweſt us appear ſo ready to perform what we had threatened?" "Two things," replied Honain, "my Religion, and my Profeſſion. My religion, which commands me to do good to my enemies; and my profeſſion, which was purely inſtituted for the benefit of mankind." "Two noble laws," ſaid the Caliph; and immediately preſented him, according to the Eaſtern uſage, with rich garments, and a ſum of money.

[b] Leo Afr. l. c. [c] Abulf. ap. Pococke, p. 160.

† Abulph. p. 172. ap. Hatri. Phil. Inq. p. 378

plained

plained of the incroachments, which, during his reign, were made upon their territories; and that Takiddin[a], a bigotted Mahometan, ſaid, that God would aſſuredly puniſh Al-Mamon for daring to interrupt the devotions of the Mahometans by introducing philoſophy among them. No wonder that the zealous advocates for the religion of Mahomet began to be alarmed, when they ſaw that the wretched poverty of their Koran was diſcovered, and the groſs abſurdity of their ſuperſtitions expoſed, by the light of philoſophy. During the reign of Al-Mamon, the love of ſcience became ſo prevalent among the Saracens, that ſcarcely a moſque was erected without annexing to it a ſchool, in which philoſophy and literature were to be taught.

After the death of Al-Mamon, which happened in the year eight hundred and thirty-three, philoſophy continued its progreſs among the Saracens. Some of his ſucceſſors were, indeed, too buſily occupied in war, or of too indolent a diſpoſition, to pay much attention to ſcience; but there were others, who foſtered the riſing plant, and took much pains to bring it to maturity. Among theſe, the prince, whoſe name is moſt memorable, is Aaron Wacic, or Wathek, who was advanced to the Caliphate in the year eight hundred and forty-one[b]. He liberally encouraged learned men of every claſs, particularly mathematicians and aſtronomers. His reign produced the celebrated aſtronomer Al-Haſan, who wrote a treatiſe on the Lunar Irregularities[c]. The ſchools, which in the times of Raſhid and Al-Mamon had been inſtituted under the direction of John of Damaſcus, Honain, and others, long flouriſhed, and ſent forth, in great abundance, philoſophers and learned men, ſeveral of whom will be diſtinctly noticed in the ſequel.

Science continued to enjoy the protection of the Saracen princes, after the empire was divided into ſeveral Caliphates, in Aſia, Africa, and Europe, and was, by means of their conqueſts, diſſeminated through a great part of the world. In the tenth century, under the

[a] Ib. p. 166. Bayle
[b] Elmacin. l. ii. c. 10. 11.
[c] Abulf. p. 258.

Caliph Abulfadli Murtadir, and others, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves as patrons of learning, poetry and philoſophy were equally encouraged; and they continued to flouriſh among the Saracens till the thirteenth century, when, the power of the Saracens yielding to that of the Turks, learning fled for refuge to the Perſians, Tartars, and Scythians [a].

From the beginning of the ninth to the end of the thirteenth century, eminent ſchools of learning flouriſhed in the Saracen empire, among which the principal were thoſe at Bagdat, Baſſora, and Bochara, in the Eaſt; at Alexandria and Cairo, in Egypt; at Morocco and Fez, in Barbary; and in ſeveral cities of Spain. The college at Bagdat was ſo flouriſhing at the beginning of the twelfth century, that it contained ſix thouſand men, including maſters and ſcholars. In that of Baſſora, the members of the ſociety formed a ſect for correcting the corruptions which had crept into Iſlamiſm, which they acknowledged could not be purged away without the aid of philoſophy. At Cairo, where, about the year one thouſand, twenty ſchools were inſtituted, the philoſophy of Ariſtotle was taught to great crowds of pupils from all parts of the world. The ſchools of Africa and Spain were diſtinguiſhed by the names of Averroës, Avicenna, and other eminent philoſophers, at a period when barbariſm univerſally prevailed among the Weſtern Chriſtians. Many of theſe colleges were large and magnificent buildings, liberally endowed, furniſhed with valuable libraries, and adorned with learned profeſſors of languages, mathematics, aſtronomy, and philoſophy [b].

It was a neceſſary conſequence of the increaſe of knowledge among the Saracens, that the abſurdities of the ſuperſtition, which their illiterate prophet had eſtabliſhed, were perceived; and it became neceſſary, in order to defend it againſt the reaſonings, and the ridicule, of Chriſtians, Jews, and philoſophers, to give ſuch an ex-

[a] Abulf. p. 179, 200, 208, 217. Elmacin. l. ii. c. 9. 16. l. iii. c. 1, 4, 8.

[b] Abulf. p. 217. 230. Benj. Tudelenſis Itin. p. 121. Leo Afr. Hiſt. Afr. l. viii. 267, 272. Elmacin. l. i. c. 13. Toletan. Hiſt. Ar. c. 9, 12.

planation of the Koran, as might make it appear not wholly inconſiſtent with reaſon and common ſenſe. Hence aroſe a variety of forced interpretations of the law, each of which had its advocates, and became the foundation of a diſtinct ſect. Soon after the time when philoſophy began to be ſtudied among the Saracens, the followers of Mahomet were divided into ſix ſects, and theſe were afterwards ſub-divided into ſeventy-three. The riſe of theſe ſects was unqueſtionably owing to the advancement of knowledge. When philoſophy had ſo far prevailed over ſuperſtition, that the more enlightened profeſſors of the Mahometan religion began to be themſelves ſenſible of its abſurdities, they endeavoured to conceal them under the veil of figurative interpretation[a]. In order to accommodate the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem, which was guarded by the ſanction of penal laws, to their philoſophical conceptions, they blended the abſtract ſpeculations of the ſchools with the groſs and vulgar conceptions of the Koran. They made uſe of the ſubtleties of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, in the defective ſtate in which it had come into their hands, to aſſiſt them in improving upon the literal meaning of their ſacred books, and thus gave a new, and for the moſt part a metaphyſical, turn to the religion and law of Mahomet. One of their own writers confeſſes this to have been the origin of their religious ſects. "At the beginning of Mahometaniſm," ſays Al-Gazel[b], "the art of reaſoning upon religious ſubjects was unknown; but afterwards, when ſects began to ariſe, and antient articles of belief to be called in queſtion, it was found neceſſary to make uſe of the aid of logic in defending the truth againſt the bold attacks of innovators."

To this new kind of philoſophical theology, the Arabians gave the diſtinct name of Al-Calam, the Wiſdom of Words[c], or the Science of Reaſon, and thoſe who profeſſed it were called Rationaliſts. Maimonides, who himſelf long reſided among the Arabians, and accurately examined into the hiſtory of their ſects, aſſerts[d], that

[a] Elmacin. l. i. c. 5. l. ii. c. 16. l. iii. c. 6, 8. Pococke, p. 209. Sale Proleg. ad Koran. § 8. Maimonid. Mor. Nebhoch. l. iii. c. 16. [b] Apud Pococke, p. 196.
[c] Shareſtan apud. Pococke, p. 194. [d] Mor. Nebh. p. i. c. 71.

theſe Rational Theologians, among the Mahometans, were chiefly indebted, for the weapons with which they defended Iſlamiſm againſt philoſophy, to the Greek philoſophers themſelves; and that they borrowed this method of defence from the Chriſtians, to eſtabliſh the articles of their faith by reconciling them with the dogmas of philoſophy. This rational Iſlamiſm was firſt reduced into a ſyſtematic form by Almawakif[a], an Arabian, who called his ſyſtem, the ſcience by means of which any one might be qualified to reſolve doubts concerning religion, and to maintain the truth of its doctrines againſt innovators. Philoſophy was, in this ſect, forced into the ſervice of ſuperſtition; whence it happened, as might naturally be expected, that theſe Rationaliſts employed the diſtinctions and ſubtleties of the Ariſtotelian ſchool, not for the diſcovery of truth, but for the purpoſe of concealing the real dogmas of the Koran, which could not have been fairly explained without manifeſt detriment to the cauſe of Iſlamiſm.

Of the manner in which the dialectic ſects of Mahometans trifled, Maimonides furniſhes the following example[b]. They choſe rather to call God the firſt agent, or efficient, than the firſt cauſe; for they argued, that if they called God a cauſe, this would neceſſarily ſuppoſe an effect; and it would follow, that God being from eternity a neceſſary cauſe, the effect produced, or the univerſe, muſt alſo have been eternal; but, if they repreſented the Deity as an agent or efficient, the neceſſary exiſtence of the effect would not follow; ſince the efficient not only muſt be prior to the production, but might exiſt long before the actual exertion of power, by which it is produced[c].

This ſpecimen of the method of reaſoning, which prevailed among the Mahometan Rationaliſts, may ſerve to illuſtrate and confirm the following character given of this ſect by another learned Jew: "The ſect of the Rationaliſts," ſays R. Aben Tibbon[d], "is

[a] Hottinger Biblioth. Orient. c. ii. p. 187.
[b] L. c. p. i. c. 69.
[c] Conf. Hottinger, l. c. c. ii. p. 188, 194.
[d] In Lib. Moreh.

compoſed

compoſed of certain philoſophical ſcioliſts, who judge of things, not according to truth and nature, but according to their own imaginations, and who confound men by a multiplicity of ſpecious words without meaning; whence their ſcience is called, The Wiſdom of Words." The deſign, which was formed by this ſect, of illuſtrating and defending the Koran by logical and metaphyſical diſquiſitions, was highly diſpleaſing to many zealous Muſſelmen, who wiſhed to retain the ſimplicity and ignorance of their Founder, rather than to corrupt his ſacred book, by explaining it according to the rules of a philoſophical ſyſtem wholly unknown to the prophet. So vehement was the popular averſion to this ſect, that it was ſaid by Al-Shafi [a], "Whoever devotes himſelf to The Wiſdom of Words ought to be impaled, and carried through all the tribes of Muſſelmen, the public crier every where proclaiming, 'This is the reward of the man, who has forſaken the Koran, and the ſacred traditions, to follow Al-Calam'." This philoſophical theology of the Arabians was the nurſe at leaſt, if not the parent, of the ſcholaſtic philoſophy, which, from the tenth century, confounded and diſtracted the world with its obſcure ſubtleties, and barren diſputations.

Among the Saracens, in Aſia, Mauritania, and Spain, we find a long catalogue of writers on metaphyſics, phyſics, logic, ethics, politics, mathematics, and aſtronomy. From theſe we ſhall ſelect ſuch names as are moſt deſerving of attention in the hiſtory of philoſophy.

A diſtinguiſhed place among the Arabian philoſophers is due to JACOBUS AL-KENDI [b], of Baſſora. His father was prefect of Cufa under Muhamed Mohdi and Raſhid; whence it appears, that Al-Kendi flouriſhed in the Caliphate of Al-Mamon, that is, at the beginning of the ninth century. He devoted himſelf to learning

[a] Pococke, c. 166. Bayle. Takkiddin.

[b] Abulfar. Dyn. ix. p. 213. Bayle. Pococke, p. 365. Lackemacher. Diſſ. de Alkend.

and

and philoſophy in the ſchool of Baſſora, and attained ſuch diſtinction among his contemporaries, that he was called, by way of eminence, The Philoſopher. After the manner of the age, he yielded implicit ſubmiſſion to the authority of Ariſtotle, and was chiefly occupied in interpreting and illuſtrating his writings. He did not, however, confine himſelf to theſe ſtudies; for we find his name mentioned among the mathematicians and aſtronomers of the times[a]; and his medical writings, which are ſtill extant, prove that he made no inconſiderable figure among the Arabian phyſicians. Abulfarius, ſpeaking of Al-Kendi, relates a memorable inſtance of his moderation towards a malicious adverſary. Whilſt this philoſopher was viſiting the ſchools of Bagdat, which was at this time the chief reſort of the learned, his attempts to promote the ſtudy of philoſophy, and to reconcile the doctrines of Iſlamiſm with the principles of reaſon, gave great offence to one of the interpreters of the Koran, who, doubtleſs, began to be afraid leſt the increaſe of knowledge ſhould expoſe the abſurdity of the vulgar ſuperſtitions. This bigot publicly expreſſed the moſt vehement indignation againſt Al-Kendi, and accuſed him of impiety and hereſy. Al-Kendi, however, inſtead of reſtraining the fury of his perſecutor by violence, as through his intereſt with the Caliph he might eaſily have done, generouſly adopted the more gentle method of attempting to ſubdue his malignity by enlightening his underſtanding. Having detected the deſign which this Abu Maaſhar (that was the zealot's name) had formed upon his life, he employed againſt him no other weapons than the monitions and precepts of philoſophy. Well knowing the power of wiſdom to meliorate the temper, he found means to engage a preceptor to inſtruct him, firſt in mathematics, and afterwards in philoſophy. The conſequence was, that the man who had, not long before, inveighed with ſavage ferocity againſt Al-Kendi, ſoon became ſenſible of his folly, and offered himſelf as a pupil to the philoſopher whom he had perſecuted. Al-Kendi received him with the moſt meritorious condeſcenſion, and his convert became an

[a] L. c. p. 272. 178. Zachut. in Juchaſin. p. 111.

ornament

ornament to his ſchool. In fine, on account of his virtues no leſs than his learning, Al-Kendi is entitled to an honourable rank among philoſophers.

Another Arabian, who muſt be mentioned among the teachers of philoſophy and mathematics, is THABET EBN KORRA, who was of the antient ſect of the Zabii, and wrote a ſummary of their doctrine. He acquired reputation as a mathematician, both in geometry and algebra, and left behind him ſeveral mathematical works: he flouriſhed in the tenth century [a].

One of the moſt celebrated philoſophers of the ſchool of Bagdat was AL-FARABI, or more properly Abu Naſr, a native of Balch Farab [b], who flouriſhed in the tenth century. He was born of wealthy parents, but, preferring the purſuits of philoſophy to thoſe of riches, he devoted himſelf to ſtudy at Bagdat, where he made ſuch proficiency in learning, that he became one of the moſt eminent philoſophers of his age. He ſtudied mathematics and medicine, but chiefly excelled in logic. His learning and abilities were univerſally admired, and great men and princes were emulous to load him with honours and rewards. But Al-Farabi refuſed every offer of this kind; and, either through his love of philoſophy, or perhaps through a natural gloomineſs of temper, gave himſelf up to ſolitude and an abſtemious life. He conſtantly ſlept, even during winter, upon ſtraw; his countenance was always ſorrowful, and he found no conſolation in any thing but philoſophy. The caſt of his mind led him to dread all intercourſe with the world as deſtructive of innocence, and to lament the imperfection and vanity of human life. He employed his time in ſtudy, and read the writings of Ariſtotle with unwearied attention. He wrote ſixty diſtinct treatiſes on different parts of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, which were read and admired, not only among the Arabians but alſo among the Jews, who began about this time to adopt the Ariſtotelian mode of philoſophiſing. Many of his books were tranſlated from Arabic into

[a] Abulf. Dyn. ix. p. 184. Pococke, p. 377. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. v. ii. p. 564.

[b] A town in Aſia Minor, afterwards called by the Turks Otrar.

Hebrew.

Hebrew. Logic, metaphyſics, and phyſics, were the ſubjects on which he chiefly treated. Among his phyſical writings are mentioned treatiſes on optics and aſtronomy [a].

As a philoſophical theologian, Al-Ashari, or Esciari, obtained high renown. He applied an extenſive knowledge of the Peripatetic philoſophy to the explanation of the Iſlamitic law, and founded a new ſect among the Mahometan divines, who were from him called the Aſharites. His ſubtle reaſonings on theology, particularly on the eſſence and attributes of God, and on the concurrence of divine agency with human actions, rendered him univerſally famous. His ſect became exceedingly popular, and acquired ſuch authority, that all others were deemed heretical: his writings were read and explained in the ſchools; and a ſummary of his doctrine was committed to memory by children. Al-Aſhari died at Baſara in Arabia Felix, in the year nine hundred and forty-two [b].

Among the profeſſors of mathematical and phyſical ſcience, who at this time adorned the ſchool of Bagdat, one of the moſt celebrated was Abul Husein Esophi. He was ſo eminent an aſtronomer, that it was ſaid of him, that he underſtood the heavens better than the great geographer, Ptolemy, underſtood the earth. It is aſſerted that he was the firſt who deſcribed a celeſtial planiſphere. This philoſopher died about the middle of the tenth century [c].

In medicine and philoſophy, a high degree of reputation was obtained by Al-Rasi, called alſo Abubeker and Al-Manſor, a native of Rai, in Perſia. After having been in his youth employed in merchandiſe, upon the death of his father he engaged, at thirty years of age, in the ſtudy of the medical art; at the ſame time availing himſelf of the opportunities which the ſchool of Bagdat, in which he ſtudied, afforded for the purſuit of other branches of knowledge. By a long courſe of ſtudy, and by the experience

[a] Leo Afric. de Vir. Illuſtr. Arab. c. 5. Abulfar. Dyn. ix. p. 208. Pococke, p. 372. Gab. Sionit. de Mor. Orient. p. 16. Fabr. v. xiii. p. 265. Weidler. Hiſt. Aſtr. c. 8.

[b] Leo Af. c. 2. Herbelot, Bibl. Or. p. 133, 261. Maimon. Mor. Nebh. p. iii. c. 16.

[c] Leo Af. c. 3.

which

which he acquired from ſuperintending an hoſpital, he became ſo bold and ſucceſsful in the practice of medicine, that he was called the Experimenter, and the Arabian Galen. At the invitation of Al-Manſor, king of Corduba, he removed into Spain, where, under the patronage of that prince, he lived in wealth and ſplendour. He wrote a ſummary of medicine, which he dedicated to his patron, and which has, from this circumſtance, taken the title of Al-Manſor. Al-Raſi wrote many valuable treatiſes in medicine and chemiſtry. In philoſophy, among other works, he left a commentary on the ſublimer parts of metaphyſics. This piece, with moſt of his other writings, has been tranſlated from Arabic into Hebrew and Latin. He died at Corduba, about the year nine hundred and eighty-ſix [a].

No ſmall degree of celebrity is annexed to the name of the phyſician AVICENNA, or Ibn-Sina, born at Bochara in the year nine hundred and ſeventy-eight. His firſt preceptor was Abu-Abdalla, a philoſopher whom his father engaged to inſtruct him in his own houſe: concerning whom Avicenna ſays, that he taught him the terms of logic, but was unacquainted with the nature of the art. Before he arrived at his eighteenth year, Avicenna, more, as it ſeems, through his own induſtry than by the aſſiſtance of preceptors, became well read in languages, in the Iſlamitic law, and in the ſciences. In order, however, to render himſelf a more perfect maſter of the ſublime doctrines of philoſophy, and the ſubtle queſtions of dialectics, he became a ſtudent in the ſchool of Bagdat. Here he proſecuted his ſtudies with indefatigable induſtry, but at the ſame time with a fanatical ſpirit ſcarcely conſiſtent with manly ſenſe and ſound judgment. When he was perplexed with any logical queſtion, or could not diſcover a proper middle term for a ſyllogiſm, he uſed to repair to the moſque, and poured out prayers for divine illumination; after which he fancied, that the arguments and proofs he had ſought were communicated to him in his ſleep.

[a] Leo Af. c. 5. Abulfar. D. ix. p. 208. Fab. Bib. Gr. v. xiii. p. 46. Herbelot. p. 18. Al-Raſi Op. ed. Baſil. 1544.

As was uſual among the philoſophers of Bagdat, Avicenna united with the ſtudy of philoſophy the practice of medicine; and he ſoon acquired ſuch a degree of reputation, that the Caliph conſulted him, with reſpect to his ſon, in a caſe which perplexed the phyſicians of the court. His preſcription ſucceeded; and the ſucceſs obtained him admiſſion to the court, and acceſs to the library of the prince. From this time he continued to proſecute his ſtudies with diligence, and to practiſe medicine with great applauſe. During this tide of proſperity, Avicenna had no ſmall degree of influence in public affairs, and rapidly increaſed his poſſeſſions. An unfortunate circumſtance, however, ſuddenly turned the current of his fortune, and removed him from the court to a priſon. The ſultan Jaſoch-bagh propoſing to ſend his nephew as his repreſentative into the native country of Avicenna, the young prince obtained the ſultan's permiſſion to take Avicenna with him, as his companion and phyſician. The ſultan was, not long afterwards, informed, that the young prince, with his brother, was meditating a rebellion. Upon this, he immediately ſent ſecret orders to Avicenna, to take off the leader of the conſpiracy by poiſon. The philoſopher had too much fidelity to his maſter to fulfil the commiſſion; but, at the ſame time, through caution or fear, choſe to conceal the order from the young prince. But when Avicenna's maſter became, by ſome unknown means, acquainted with the ſultan's deſign againſt his life, he was ſo highly offended with Avicenna for his diſhoneſt reſerve, in not communicating to him ſo important a circumſtance, that he ordered him to be impriſoned. Avicenna endeavoured to juſtify himſelf, by pleading, that he had concealed the ſultan's order, from the hope of preventing thoſe miſchiefs which he foreſaw muſt have ariſen from the diſcovery. The prince, however, ſuffered him to remain in priſon from this time to his death, which he is ſaid to have haſtened by incontinence: he died in the fifty-eighth year of his age [a].

[a] Leo Afr. c. 7. Abulf. p. 230. Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. xiii. p. 96. Pococke. p. 362. Herbelot. p. 812. N. Anton. Bib. Vet. Hiſp. t. ii. p. 6. Avic. Op. ed. Maſſæ, Venet. 1608.

Philoſophy

Philoſophy was rather corrupted than improved by Avicenna. Though a ſuperſtitious admirer of Ariſtotle, he ſeems to have been very imperfectly acquainted with the Peripatetic doctrine. His medicinal works are injudicious compilations from the Greek writers, full of obſcurity and error; nor was he more ſucceſsful in his writings upon logic, metaphyſics, or phyſics. Nevertheleſs Avicenna was, for a long time, greatly admired, and much followed, not only in the ſchools of the Saracens, but in thoſe of the Chriſtians. Hebrew and Latin verſions of his works are ſtill extant; but the tranſlators do not appear to have been ſufficiently maſters of the Arabic tongue to do juſtice to their author [a].

THOGRAI, a Perſian of Iſpahan, who was Grand Vizier to the Sultan Malich Maſhud, is celebrated, for his poetical talents, a ſpecimen of which is given by Pococke; and for a Commentary which he wrote upon the Republic of Plato, a philoſopher to whom the Saracens paid little attention. After a ſtrange reverſe of fortune, he was put to death, by order of the ſultan, in the year one thouſand one hundred and twenty-one [b].

We muſt not omit AL-GAZEL, of Tos, or Tus, in Aſia, celebrated, among the Mahometan theologians, for his numerous treatiſes in defence of the Mahometan religion againſt the Jews and Chriſtians; particularly for his "Demonſtration of Iſlamiſm," and his "Treatiſe on the Unity of God." Nevertheleſs, he did not eſcape the reproach of hereſy. One of his pieces, which freely cenſured ſome of the indulgences of the Iſlamitic law, found at Bagdat after his deceaſe, was condemned; and it was ordered, that if any copy of this work ſhould be found in any part of the Saracen empire, it ſhould be burned. The title of this book was "The Reſurrection of the Law of Science." He alſo wrote a treatiſe, "On the Opinions of Philoſophers;" and another, entitled, "The Deſtruction of Philoſophers." After living in great ſplendour as a

[a] Hottinger. Bib. Or. p. 218, 245. Bartolocc. Bib. Rabb. t. i. p. 6. Voſſ. de Phil. p. 272. Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. xiii. p. 272. Mercklin. de Script. Med. p. 99.

[b] Pococke ad. Carm. Thogr. p. 4. ed. Oxon. 1661. Leo Afr. c. 13.

public preceptor at Bagdat, he diſtributed his riches among the poor, aſſumed the habit of a hermit, and retired to Mecca. From Mecca he travelled into Syria and Egypt, and, ſtaying ſome time, firſt at Cairo, and afterwards at Alexandria, he returned to Bagdat, where he died [a].

If from Aſia we paſs over to the Moors in Africa and Europe, we ſhall, during the period of which we are now treating, meet with ſeveral celebrated Arabian philoſophers.

ESSERIPH ESSACHALI, a native of Sicily, was famous for his knowledge of medicine, aſtrology, and coſmography. When Roger, duke of Apulia and Calabria, having been appointed king of Sicily by Pope Anacletus, was beſieging the town of Mazzara, the inhabitants ſent this philoſopher to Roger, to treat with him concerning terms of ſurrender. Eſſeriph, to intereſt Roger in his favour, preſented him with a work upon antient and modern geography. The king, pleaſed with the account which the author gave him of the deſign and plan of his work, ordered it to be tranſlated into Latin. Upon reading the tranſlation, he expreſſed great ſurprize, that the Mahometans ſhould be ſo much better acquainted with theſe ſubjects than the Chriſtians, and invited the author to remain in his court. The philoſopher refuſed his requeſt, and withdrew into Mauritania. Roger, however, ſtill continued to admire the book; and when he was aſked, why he did not preſer the geography of Ptolemy, a much more learned writer, he anſwered, "Ptolemy has deſcribed only a part of the world, Eſſeriph the whole." This philoſopher died at Cividat, in Africa, in the year one thouſand one hundred and twenty-one [b].

Among the Spaniſh Saracens, Avenpace and Avenzoar are celebrated names. AVENPACE, a Spaniard, wrote a commentary upon Euclid, and philoſophical and theological Epiſtles. He was intimately converſant with the Peripatetic philoſophy, and applied it to the illuſtration of the Iſlamic ſyſtem of theology, and to the explanation of the Koran. On this account, he was ſuſpected of

[a] Pococke, l. c. p. 371. Leo Afr. c. 12. Herbolot. p. 362.
[b] Pococke, Spec. Hiſt. Ar. p. 373. Leo Afr. c. 14.

hereſy,

hereſy, and thrown into priſon at Corduba. He flouriſhed about the middle of the twelfth century[a]. AVENZOAR, a native of Seville, the ſeat of the Caliphs, deſerves notice, chiefly for the improvements which he made in the practice of medicine, and as the preceptor of Averroës. He died in the year one thouſand one hundred and ſixty-eight[b].

About the ſame time flouriſhed THOPHAIL, of Seville, famous for his medical ſkill, and for his knowledge of the Peripatetic philoſophy. He was preceptor to Maimonides and Averroës. This philoſopher employed the Ariſtotelian doctrine, as an inſtrument of enthuſiaſm, in the elegant tale, ſtill extant, of *Hai Ebn Yockdan*[c], a youth, who, having been expoſed when an infant upon the ſea coaſt, was nouriſhed by a hind, and grew up in the woods, without any intercourſe with human beings; and who, by the unaided exertion of his powers, attained to the knowledge of things natural and ſuper-natural, and arrived at the felicity of an intuitive intercourſe with the Divine Mind. The piece is written with ſuch elegance of language, and vigour of imagination, that, notwithſtanding the improbability of the ſtory, it has been univerſally admired. It exhibits a favourable ſpecimen of Peripatetic philoſophy, as it was taught among the Saracens; and, at the ſame time, affords a memorable example of the unnatural alliance, which was now ſo generally eſtabliſhed, between philoſophy and fanaticiſm[d]. Thophail died about the cloſe of the twelfth century[e].

Of all the Arabian philoſophers and phyſicians the moſt celebrated was AVERROES[f], a philoſopher whom Chriſtians as well as Arabians eſteemed equal, if not ſuperior, to Ariſtotle himſelf.

[a] Leo Af. c. 15. Abulf. ap. Pococke Specim. p. 385.

[b] Leo Afr. c. 16, 18. N. Anton. Bib. Hiſp. t. ii. p. 232.

[c] Theophail. Philoſ. Autodid. cum Verſione Lat. a Pococke, Oxon. 1700.

[d] This work was tranſlated into Engliſh by S. Hockley, profeſſor of Arabic in Cambridge. Ed. London, 1711. 8vo.

[e] Leo Afr. c. 17.

[f] Leo Afr. c. 20. N. Anton. l. c. t. ii. p. 243. Bayle. Pococke Spec. p. 385.

Averroës was born about the middle of the twelfth century, of a noble family at Corduba, the capital of the Saracen dominions in Spain. He was early inſtructed in the Iſlamitic law, and, after the uſual manner of the Arabian ſchools, united with the ſtudy of Mahometan theology that of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy. Theſe ſtudies he purſued under Thophail, and became a follower of the ſect of the Aſharites. Under Avenzoar he ſtudied the ſcience of medicine, and under Ibnu-Saig he made himſelf maſter of the mathematical ſciences. Thus qualified, he was choſen, upon his father's demiſe, to the chief magiſtracy of Corduba. The fame of his extraordinary erudition and talents ſoon afterwards reached the Caliph Jacob Al-Manſor, king of Mauritania, the third of the Almohadean dynaſty, who had built a magnificent ſchool at Morocco [a]; and that prince appointed him ſupreme magiſtrate and prieſt of Morocco and all Mauritania, allowing him ſtill to retain his former honours. Having left a temporary ſubſtitute at Corduba, he went to Morocco, and remained there till he had appointed, through the kingdom, judges well ſkilled in the Mahometan law, and ſettled the whole plan of adminiſtration; after which he returned home, and reſumed his offices [b].

This rapid advancement of Averroës brought upon him the envy of his rivals at Corduba; and they conſpired to lodge an accuſation againſt him, for an heretical deſertion of the true Mahometan faith. For this purpoſe, they engaged ſeveral young perſons, among their dependants, to apply to him for inſtruction in philoſophy. Averroës, who was eaſy of acceſs, and always deſirous of communicating knowledge, complied with their requeſt, and thus fell into the ſnare which had been laid for him. His new pupils were very induſtrious in taking minutes of every tenet, or opinion, advanced by their preceptor, which appeared to contradict the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of Mahometan theology. Theſe minutes they framed into a charge of hereſy, and atteſted upon oath, that they had been fairly taken from

[a] Leo Af. Hiſt. Afr. l. ii. p. 60.
[b] Leo Af. de Vir. Ar. p. 280.

his

his lips. The charge was ſigned by an hundred witneſſes. The Caliph liſtened to the accuſation, and puniſhed Averroës, by declaring him heterodox, confiſcating his goods, and commanding him for the future to reſide among the Jews, who inhabited the precincts of Corduba, where he remained an object of general perſecution and obloquy. Even the boys in the ſtreets pelted him with ſtones, when he went up to the moſque in the city to perform his devotions. His pupil, Maimonides, that he might not be under the neceſſity of violating the laws of friendſhip and gratitude, by joining the general cry againſt Averroës, left Corduba. From this unpleaſant ſituation Averroës at laſt found means to eſcape. He fled to Fez; but he had been there only a few days, when he was diſcovered by the magiſtrate, and committed to priſon. The report of his flight from Corduba was ſoon carried to the king, who immediately called a council of divines and lawyers, to determine in what manner this heretic ſhould be treated. The members of the council were not agreed in opinion. Some ſtrenuouſly maintained, that a man who held opinions ſo contrary to the law of the prophet deſerved death. Others thought, that much miſchief, ariſing from the diſſatisfaction of thoſe among the infidels who were inclined to favour him, might be avoided, by only requiring from the culprit a public penance, and recantation of his errors. The milder opinion prevailed; and Averroës was brought out of priſon to the gate of the moſque, and placed upon the upper ſtep, with his head bare, at the time of public prayers, and every one, as he paſſed into the moſque, was allowed to ſpit upon his face. At the cloſe of the ſervice, the judge, with his attendants, came to the philoſopher, and aſked him, whether he repented of his hereſies. He acknowledged his penitence, and was diſmiſſed without further puniſhment. With the permiſſion of the king, Averroës returned to Corduba, where he experienced all the miſeries of poverty and contempt. In proceſs of time the people became diſſatisfied with the regent who had ſucceeded Averroës, and petitioned the king that their former governor might be reſtored. J. Al-Manſor, not daring to ſhew ſuch indulgence to one who had been infamous for hereſy, without the

conſent

conſent of the prieſthood, called a general aſſembly, in which it was debated, whether it would be conſiſtent with the ſafety of religion, and the honour of the law, that Averroës ſhould be reſtored to the government of Corduba. The deliberation terminated in favour of the penitent heretic, and he was reſtored, by the royal mandate, to all his former honours. Upon this fortunate change in his affairs, Averroës removed to Morocco, where he remained till his death, which happened, as ſome ſay, in the year one thouſand one hundred and ninety-five, or, according to others, in one thouſand two hundred and ſix[a].

Averroës is highly celebrated for his perſonal virtues. He practiſed the moſt rigid temperance, eating only, once in the day, the plaineſt food. So indefatigable was his induſtry in the purſuit of ſcience, that he often paſſed whole nights in ſtudy. In his judicial capacity, he diſcharged his duty with great wiſdom and integrity. His humanity would not permit him to paſs the ſentence of death upon any criminal; he left this painful office to his deputies. He poſſeſſed ſo great a degree of ſelf-command and patient lenity, that, when one of his enemies, in the midſt of a public diſcourſe, ſent a ſervant to him to whiſper ſome abuſive language in his ear, he took no other notice of what paſſed, than if it had been a ſecret meſſage of buſineſs. The next day, the ſervant returned, and publicly begged pardon of Averroës for the affront he had offered him; upon which Averroës only appeared diſpleaſed, that his patient endurance of injuries ſhould be brought into public notice, and diſmiſſed the ſervant with a gentle caution, never to offer that inſult to another, which had in the preſent inſtance paſſed unpuniſhed. Averroës ſpent a great part of his wealth in liberal donations to learned men, without making any diſtinction between his friends and his enemies; for which his apology was, that, in giving to his friends and relations, he only followed the dictates of Nature; but, in giving to his enemies, he obeyed the commands of Virtue. With uncommon abilities and learning, Averroës united great affability and urbanity

[a] Leo Afr. c. 20, &c. Bayle.

of

of manners. In fine, he may juſtly be reckoned one of the greateſt men of his age [a].

In philoſophy, however, Averroës partook of the enthuſiaſm of the times with reſpect to Ariſtotle, and paid a ſuperſtitious deference to his authority. Of this his preface to the Phyſics of Ariſtotle [b] affords a ſingular proof. "The writings of Ariſtotle," ſays he, "are ſo perfect, that none of his followers, through a ſpace of fifteen hundred years, have been able to make the ſmalleſt improvement upon them, or to diſcover the leaſt error in them; a degree of perfection, which is truly miraculous, and proves him to have been rather a divine than a human being." In another place, he ſays [c], "Let us bleſs God, who has raiſed this man above all others in perfection, and appropriated to him the higheſt degree of human excellence." And again; "The doctrine of Ariſtotle is the perfection of truth, and his underſtanding attained the utmoſt limit of human ability; ſo that it might be truly ſaid of him, that he was created, and given to the world, by divine providence, that we might ſee in him, how much it is poſſible for man to know." Extravagant, however, as Averroës was in his admiration of Ariſtotle, it is unqueſtionably true, that he was unacquainted with the Greek language, and read the writings of his oracle in wretched Arabic tranſlations, taken immediately from Latin, or Syriac, verſions. The neceſſary conſequence was, that his Commentaries on Ariſtotle were nothing better than a confuſed maſs of error and miſrepreſentation. Yet ſuch is the power of prejudice, that many learned men, ſince the revival of letters, have paſſed high encomiums upon Averroës as an excellent commentator. His writings of this kind were exceedingly numerous, and were ſo much admired by the Jews, that many of them were tranſlated into Hebrew. Beſides theſe, Averroës wrote a paraphraſe of Plato's Republic; and a treatiſe in defence of philoſophy againſt Al-Gazal, entitled *Happalath*

[a] Leo, l. c. [b] Ap. Malebranche Recherche, &c. l. ii. p. ii. c. 7.
[c] Ap. Lipſ. Manud. Stoic. l. i. Diſſ. 3, 4.

*hahappalah*, commonly cited under the name of *Deſtructorium deſtructorii*; and many other treatiſes, in theology, juriſprudence, and medicine. He took great pains to improve the theory of medicine by the help of philoſophy, and, particularly, to reconcile Ariſtotle and Galen; but it does not appear that he practiſed phyſic. Few of his writings are to be met with, except in Hebrew or Latin tranſlations[a].

Much has been aſſerted concerning the impiety of Averroës, but without ſufficient proof. It is probable, however, that he adhered with more devotion to his philoſopher than to Mahomet, or any other legiſlator; for it appears, that, after Ariſtotle, he held the eternity of the world, and the exiſtence of one Univerſal Intellect, inferior to Deity, the external ſource of all human intelligence[b], and conſequently denied the diſtinct exiſtence and immortality of the human ſoul.

Beſides the Arabian philoſophers which have been enumerated, there were others of inferior note, who acquired ſome degree of celebrity by their commentaries upon Ariſtotle, and other philoſophical works, but which it is wholly unneceſſary particularly to mention. There are alſo many great Arabian names, in aſtronomy, mathematics, chemiſtry, medicine, and other ſciences; but, for a diſtinct account of theſe, we muſt refer to thoſe writers, who have traced the riſe and progreſs of the ſeveral branches of ſcience through the Arabian ſchools.*

[a] Leo l. c. Pococke ad Portam Moſis, p. 112. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 111, &c. Aver. Reſp. Plat. ed. Venet. p. 1552. N. Anton. Bibl. Hiſp. t. ii. p. 240. Huet. de claris Interp. p. 229. Mercklin. Lind. Renov. p. i. p. 94.

[b] Bayle. Conf. Rhodogin. Ant. Lect. l. iii. c. 2.

* Videnda. Leo Africanus de Viris illuſtr. ap. Arabos. Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. xiii. p. 96. 259. Goll. de Medic. et Phil. Arab. Dormius ad Jonſ. de Script. Hiſt. Ph. l. iii. c. 28. § 5. Hottinger Bibl. Quadripart. l. iii. p. ii. c. 2. Abulfar. Hiſt. Oxon. 1663. 4to. Elmacini Hiſt. Saracen. Lugd. Bat. 1625. fol. Eutychii Annales. Ox. 1658. 4to. Hottinger. Hiſt. Orient. et Biblioth. Orient. Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Par. 1697. Ludewig. Hiſt. rationalis Phil. apud Turcas. Lackemaker de Fatis Studiorum

rum inter Arabos. Horn. Hiſt. Phil. l. 5. Bayle. Conring. Antiq. Acad. Suppl. xix. xx. Friend's Hiſtory of Medicine. Voſſ. de Scient. Toletan. Hiſt. Arab. Avicen. Vit. et Op. Ed. Maſſæ. Venet. 1608. Merklin. Linden. Renov. Carm. Thograi Ed. Pococke. Ox. 1661. 8vo. Mod. Univ. Hiſt. ✱. xix. Aſſemanni Bibl. Or. Bibliander. de Orig. et Mor. Turcarum. Baſ. 1550.

## CHAP. II.

### OF THE NATURE AND SPIRIT OF THE SARACENIC PHILOSOPHY.

THE hiſtorical view we have taken of the riſe and progreſs of philoſophy among the Arabians, and of the lives and characters of their more celebrated philoſophers, will enable us to form an accurate idea of the nature and ſpirit of their philoſophy. This ſubject will not, however, require a prolix diſcuſſion; for it is very evident, from the facts which have been related, that the Arabians did not frame a new ſyſtem, but merely revived the Peripatetic doctrine, the features of which have been already delineated. In what manner this doctrine, and the general ſtate of philoſophy, were affected by their connection with Iſlamiſm, and by the peculiar circumſtances of the Saracen nations, it may be of ſome importance to remark, and we ſhall in this chapter endeavour to explain.

Before the introduction of the Mahometan religion among the Arabians (which happened in the year ſix hundred and twenty-two) their manner of living was unfavourable to the progreſs of knowledge. Leading an unſettled and roving life, in which they were

chiefly employed in the care of their flocks and herds, they had little opportunity, or inducement, to apply to any kind of learning; and it does not appear, that they had among them any other proofs of advancement in knowledge, than that kind of poetry and eloquence, which are commonly found in the early ſtages of civilization, and that attention to aſtronomy, which was common in the Eaſtern nations, and is natural in paſtoral life. About the ſecond or third century (for there is no ſufficient authority for an earlier date) we find, indeed, that a ſect aroſe in Arabia under the name of the Zabii, who derived their notions from the antient religion of the Perſians, and from the dreams of the Oriental philoſophy concerning the divine nature. This ſect ſuppoſed human nature connected with the Supreme Deity by intermediate beings of various orders, Powers, Virtues, Spirits, whom they conceived to be inſtruments of communication between the Firſt Being and man, and to whom their religious worſhip was wholly addreſſed. They believed the bodies of the planets to be the habitations, or temples, of intelligent natures; and this notion became the baſis of a fanciful and ſuperſtitious ſyſtem of ſtar-worſhip. The Zabian ſect probably derived their opinions immediately from the Cabbaliſtic philoſophy of the Jews, and from the tenets of certain Chriſtian heretics, who, about the time when this ſect appears to have ariſen, reſided in Arabia and its vicinity. But, whatever was the origin of this ſect, it deſerves little attention; for it was no better than a nurſery of idle tales, and puerile ſuperſtitions. Of the latter, Abulfarius furniſhes the following example. The Zabii, believing in the reſurrection of the dead, at the funeral of a departed friend killed a camel upon his tomb, that at the reſurrection he might not be without a beaſt to ride upon [a].

Such was the ſtate of philoſophical knowledge in Arabia, at the time when Mahomet appeared. This bold adventurer ſeized the opportunity, which the general prevalence of ignorance and ſuperſtition among his countrymen afforded him, for paſſing himſelf upon

[a] Abulf. apud Pococke, l. c. p. 139. Maim. Mor. Nebh. l. iii. c. 29.

the

the world as a divine prophet. Himſelf wholly illiterate, and aſſiſted by men who were better able to practiſe the arts of impoſture, than to teach the doctrine of truth and wiſdom, it is no wonder that the law, which this new prophet inſtituted, and to which he enjoined implicit obedience on pain of death, breathed little of the ſpirit of philoſophy. The great object of the artificers of this law was, to ſuit it to the feeble underſtandings, and groſs paſſions, of the ignorant multitude. For this purpoſe they filled it with vulgar notions, and romantic fables, as remote as poſſible from every thing rational. They who contend, upon the authority of certain Mahometan theologians, that whatever may be thought irrational in the Koran is to be taken figuratively, and explained in a philoſophical ſenſe, do not recollect, that the unlearned founder of the Iſlamitic law was a ſtranger to ſuch refinements, and that it was not till long after the eſtabliſhment of Iſlamiſm, that the neceſſity of introducing them was diſcovered. And even when the unphiloſophical ideas and language of the Koran obliged the teachers of Islamiſm, as they became more enlightened, to adopt the figurative and allegorical mode of interpretation, and produced the ſects of the Aſharites and Motazalitæ, there ſtill remained other ſects, particularly the Moſhabbehi and Cerami[a], who adhered to the vulgar notions, or choſe rather to impute their apparent abſurdity to human ignorance, than to abandon antient errors. The truth is, nothing could be more inimical to ſcience, than the blind aſſent which Mahomet required to the doctrines of the Koran; the violent means, which, as ſoon as he had acquired ſufficient ſtrength, he employed in propagating his religion; and the barbarous edict, by which he prohibited among his followers the ſtudy of literature and philoſophy. So ſucceſsful was this impoſtor in his attempts to prevent enquiry, and to bind his vaſſals in the chains of ignorance, that it became a common opinion among them, that the Koran was a complete ſummary of every thing neceſſary and uſeful to be known; and conſequently, that all other learning might be ſafely neglected. They believed that the book

[a] Pococke, l. c. p. 226. Port. Moſ. Diſſ. vii.

itſelf

itſelf was immediately ſent down from heaven; and violent diſſenſions, and even perſecutions, aroſe upon the queſtion, Whether the Koran was the created, or uncreated, Word of God. The firſt period of the Saracenic hiſtory, which includes the Ommiadean dynaſty, may be called the barbarous age of Arabian philoſophy [a].

After the acceſſion of the Abbaſidean dynaſty, we have indeed ſeen that learning, and learned men, enjoyed the countenance and protection of the Arabian princes. But philoſophy was rather called in to perform the office of a ſervile auxiliary to Iſlamiſm, than to reſume her natural authority over the human mind, and reſcue it from the tyranny of ſuperſtition. The princes themſelves, rigidly tenacious of the doctrine of Mahomet, regarded with indignation every attempt to weaken its authority; and employed their learned men rather in rivetting, than in looſening, the fetters which the founder of their religion had thrown over the underſtandings of men [b]. In the moſt enlightened period of Arabian philoſophy, the utmoſt that was attempted was, to apply the principles of philoſophy to the correction of the abſurdities of Mahometaniſm. The learned profeſſors of their ſchools were, indeed, thoroughly convinced, that Iſlamiſm could not long ſubſiſt, unleſs it were corrected by philoſophy. But in endeavouring to give a philoſophical air to the crudities and abſurdities of the Koran, the ingenuity of learned men, reſtrained by reverence for authority, framed a ſyſtem of opinions, in which, neither the true meaning and ſpirit of the Iſlamitic law were preſerved, nor the freedom of philoſophical ſpeculation was indulged; whence numerous ſects aroſe, in which an unnatural alliance was long maintained between philoſophy and ſuperſtition [c].

Two miſchievous conſequences followed this alliance. The firſt was, that the abſurd dogmas of the Koran were by this means ſo

[a] Pococke, p. 220.

[b] Elmacin. l. c. l. ii. c. 6, 8, 16. Eutych. Ann. t. ii. p. 375. 400—20. 472.

[c] Pococke, l. c. p. 213.—219.

far gloſſed over, or blended with more rational tenets, that the Mahometans imagined themſelves poſſeſſed of a law, which would harmoniſe with philoſophy, and with the doctrines of other religions, and were hereby confirmed in their attachment to a ſyſtem founded in abſurdity, and ſupported by impoſture. The ſecond, that when it was diſcovered that the letter of the Mahometan law would not eaſily accord with philoſophical notions, and that in attempting to produce this union inextricable difficulties and endleſs diſputes aroſe, ſome reſolved at once to treat all theſe ſpeculations with contempt, and, without the trouble of inquiry, to acquieſce in the doctrines of the prevailing religion, however irrational; whilſt others perplexed themſelves with ſubtle diſputations, till they were loſt in the miſts of ſcepticiſm, or in the thick darkneſs of atheiſm. Of this latter iſſue of Arabian polemics, the hiſtory of Iſlamiſm affords many examples [a].

How ineffectual the efforts of philoſophy were to ſolve the difficulties which aroſe in theology, appears from the diſputes which were long carried on, with great ſubtlety and much animoſity, among the different ſects of Mahometans, concerning the decrees of God, and the freedom of the human will. Modern ingenuity has ſcarely been able to invent a diſtinction on this obſcure ſubject, which may not be found in the Arabian controverſialiſts; yet, after all, the queſtion remains undecided [b].

Another cauſe of the imperfect ſucceſs of the Arabians in philoſophy, notwithſtanding all the induſtry and ſpirit with which they proſecuted theſe ſtudies, may be found in the ſtate of knowledge among the Chriſtians, at the period when philoſophy paſſed over from them to the followers of Mahomet. In the ſecond age of Iſlamiſm, that is about the latter end of the eighth century, when philoſophy began to be ſtudied at Bagdat, the Eclectic ſect being,

[a] Reimmann. Hiſt. Ath. p. 530. Elmacin. l. ii. c. 4. l. iii. c. 6. Hottinger. Hiſt. Or. l. i. c. 8. l. ii. c. 6. Herbelot. Bib. Or. p. 929. Pococke, p. 240.

[b] Maimon. Mor. Nebh. p. i. c. 83. Reland. de Rel. Muhammid. l. ii. § 3. Pococke, p. 241. Hottinger. l. ii. c. 6.

as

as we have ſeen, nearly extinct, together with Paganiſm, almoſt the whole Chriſtian world profeſſed themſelves followers of Ariſtotle; but derived their ideas of his philoſophy, not from the pure fountain of his own writings, but from the adulterated ſtreams of commentators, who were deeply infected with the Eclectic ſpirit of the Alexandrian ſchools, ſuch as Porphyry, Themiſtius, Simplicius, and Joannes Philoponus. When therefore the Saracen princes, and chiefly Al-Mamon, became deſirous of introducing philoſophy among their ſubjects, and for this purpoſe invited learned Chriſtians to their court, it was impoſſible that the Arabians ſhould be inſtructed in any other ſyſtem of philoſophy than the Peripatetic, or that even of this they ſhould form more than a very imperfect and obſcure conception [a].

This will ſtill more fully appear, if it be conſidered, through how obſcure a medium the Arabian philoſophers looked into the mind of Ariſtotle. Not only were they unaccuſtomed to metaphyſical abſtraction, and unacquainted with the general hiſtory of antient philoſophy, but they were even ignorant of the Greek language, and were obliged to have recourſe to Arabic verſions, and theſe not taken immediately from the originals, but from Syriac tranſlations, made by Greek Chriſtians at a period when barbariſm was overſpreading the Eaſtern world, and philoſophy was almoſt extinct. The firſt tranſlators themſelves were ill-qualified to give a true repreſentation of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, ſo obſcurely delivered by its author, and ſo wretchedly defaced by his commentators. What then was to be expected from the ſecond claſs of tranſlators, who implicitly followed ſuch blind guides? The truth is, that the Arabian tranſlators and commentators executed their taſk neither judiciouſly nor faithfully; frequently miſtaking the ſenſe of their author, adding many things which are not in the original, and omitting many paſſages which they did not underſtand. Theſe errors were transferred, with no ſmall increaſe, into the ſubſequent Latin verſions, and became the cauſe of innumerable miſcon-

[a] Hottinger. Bib. Or. c. 2.

ceptions

ceptions and abſurdities in the Chriſtian ſchools of the Weſt; where the doctrines of Ariſtotle, after having paſſed through the hands of the Alexandrians and Saracens, produced that wonderful maſs of ſubtleties called the ſcholaſtic philoſophy [a].

From theſe premiſes, it is eaſy to infer the true ſtate of philoſophy among the Saracens. In every branch of ſcience, in which Ariſtotle led the way, the Arabian philoſophers followed him as an infallible guide. Logic was diligently cultivated in their ſchools, but always with a ſervile adherence to the Ariſtotelian method [b]. In metaphyſics, though ſome of theſe philoſophers, particularly Averroës, reaſoned with great ſubtlety, they chiefly made uſe of the abſtract conceptions and nice diſtinctions of the Peripatetic philoſophy, for the purpoſe of caſting a veil over the groſs and unphiloſophical dogmas of the Koran. In morals, ſome of the Arabians, after the example of Ariſtotle, taught political and civil precepts of wiſdom in popular ſentences and aphoriſms; whilſt others, upon the metaphyſical ground of the Ariſtotelian doctrine concerning the ſupreme good and the firſt cauſe, framed a myſtical ſyſtem of ethics, which placed the perfection of human nature in the intuitive viſion of God, and an eſſential union with the divine nature. Of the former kind of moral writings are, "A Collection of the Moral Sayings of Wiſe Men," by Ibn Havaſen Cuſiira, and "The Perſian Roſary [c]:" of the latter kind, are the "Myſtic Poems" of Ibn Ahmed Buſiris, and an allegorical piece "On the Love of God," by Omar Ibn Phared [d]. The mathematical ſciences were cultivated with great induſtry by the Arabians, and in Arithmetic, both Particular and Univerſal, their inventions and improvements were valuable; but in Geometry, they were ſo far from adding any thing new to the treaſures which were left by the Greek mathematicians, that they in many particulars corrupted their doctrine. An Arabic verſion of

[a] Patricii Diſcuſſ. Perip. t. i. l. x. p. 143. Huet. de claris Interp. l. ii. p. 198. Renaudot. Ep. in Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 812.

[b] Hottinger. Bib. Or. c. ii. p. 218.

[c] Ib. p. 259.

[d] Ib. p. 263.

Euclid, preſerved at Rome, and publiſhed by order of Pope Sextus V. gives the propoſitions in a form ſo confuſed and mutilated, as to afford an unequivocal proof, that the tranſlator was very imperfectly acquainted with his author's method of reaſoning. A ſimilar want of accuracy has been obſerved in the Arabic verſion of "The Sphærics of Theodoſius," and of Ptolemy's "Doctrine of the Projection of the Sphere[a]." In Medicine, to which the Arabians paid much attention, their chief guides were Hippocrates and Galen; but, by attempting to reconcile the doctrine of theſe writers with the phyſiology of Ariſtotle, they introduced into their medical ſyſtem many inconſiſtent tenets, and many uſeleſs refinements[b]. In the ſcience of Botany, though they made choice of no unſkilful guide, and ſpent much labour in interpreting him, they frequently, for want of underſtanding the ſubject, miſtook his meaning ſo egregiouſly, that in the Arabian tranſlations, a botaniſt would ſcarcely ſuppoſe himſelf reading Dioſcorides: nor were they more ſucceſsful in other branches of natural hiſtory. Their diſcoveries in Chemiſtry, which, it is confeſſed were not inconſiderable, were concealed under the occult myſteries of alchymy. Even in aſtronomy, where they obtained the higheſt reputation, they made few improvements upon the Greek authors whom they followed; as appears from the Arabic verſion of the Almageſt of Ptolemy, and from their account of the number of the fixed ſtars[c]. There is one ſcience, indeed, in which the Arabians muſt be acknowledged to have excelled all other philoſophers, that which treats of the influence of the ſtars and planets upon the affairs of this world; but this ſcience, if Aſtrology can deſerve the name, owes its exiſtence and continuance entirely to ignorance, ſuperſtition, and impoſture; and, therefore, can reflect no honour upon the people by whom it was cultivated.

Upon the whole it appears, that when philoſophy, in order to eſcape the violence of barbariſm, took refuge in Arabia, ſhe met

[a] Friend. Hiſt. Med. p. ii. p. 12.
[b] Ib. p. 14. [c] Ib. p. 11.

with

with no very hoſpitable reception. The Saracens were too much under the dominion of authority and prejudice, to be capable of proſecuting the ſearch after truth with an independent ſpirit. Wanting ſufficient confidence in their own abilities, they choſe rather to put them under the direction of Ariſtotle[a], or any other guide, than to ſpeculate for themſelves with the freedom of true philoſophy: the conſequence was, that, notwithſtanding all their induſtry and ingenuity, they contributed little towards enlarging the field of human knowledge. We do not mean to aſſert, that there were no great men among the Arabians, or that philoſophy owed nothing to their exertions. We freely confeſs, that it was in a great meaſure owing to the light of learning and ſcience, which ſhone in Arabia, that the whole earth was not at this time overwhelmed with intellectual darkneſs. But thus much may be with confidence aſſerted, that the advances which the Arabians made in knowledge was very inconſiderable, compared with what has been done in modern times; and that, in the preſent enlightened ſtate of the world, ſcience can ſuffer no material loſs, if their writings be permitted quietly to repoſe in that oblivion to which time has conſigned them. The Arabians certainly fell far ſhort of the Greeks in general knowledge; and it was only in a very few particulars that they made any additions to the fund of antient wiſdom. Since the original writings of the Greeks are come down to the preſent times, we have little reaſon to regret the want of thoſe remains of Arabian learning, which are ſtill untranſlated

The method we have preſcribed to ourſelves in this work, would now lead us to enter into a diſtinct detail of the ſeveral branches of the Arabian philoſophy; but ſince their tenets, as far as they are diſtinct from the peculiar dogmas of the Koran, are, without variation, thoſe of the Peripatetic ſchool, which have been already explained at large, this part of our taſk is ſuperſeded. We ſhall therefore

[a] Conring. Acad. Sup. 23. p. 257. Lud. Vives de Cauſ. Corrupt. l. v. p. 167. Fabr. Bibl. Gr. v. i. p. 816.

conclude our account of the Saracenic philoſophy, by ſubjoining, in a few words, the theological tenets and moral precepts of the Arabians, after they were enlightened by a free intercourſe with Jewiſh and Chriſtian philoſophers.

According to Al-Gazel, the doctrine of the Arabians concerning God and Spiritual Natures was as follows [a]:

God created all things from nothing, and doth whatever he pleaſeth. In his eſſence he is one, without companion or equal, eternal and immutable. He has no corporeal form, nor is circumſcribed by any limits. He neither exiſts in any thing, nor does any thing exiſt in him. The divine eſſence admits of no multiplicity; his attributes therefore do not ſubſiſt in his eſſence, but are his eſſence itſelf. That God exiſts, is known by the apprehenſion of the intellect in this world, and in the eternal habitation of the holy and bleſſed, by immediate viſion and intuition. Whatever happens in nature, happens according to the will and appointment of God, whoſe decrees are in all things irreſiſtible. The Law, or Word of God, is eternal and uncreated. God has created all things for the manifeſtation of his glory, and will reward his worſhippers, not according to their merit, but according to his own munificence. Angels, the ſervants of the moſt high God, are clothed with ethereal bodies of different forms, and have different offices aſſigned them; and, though neither their names nor diſtinctions are known, they ought to be loved and honoured. The ſouls of men are immortal, and their bodies will be raiſed from the dead. In the interval between death and the reſurrection, ſouls remain in an intermediate ſtate; and after the reſurrection, the good and faithful ſhall be rewarded, and the wicked and unbelieving ſhall be puniſhed: but they who, after having ſuffered puniſhment, ſhall confeſs One God, will, through his favour, be releaſed from their confinement, and placed among the bleſſed [b].

[a] Apud Pococke Spec. p. 220—274. Reland. de Rel. Muham. Compend. Ultraj. 1717. Port. Moſ. p. 230.

[b] Conf. Theophail. Vit. Hai Ebn Yockdan. Ed. Pococke Ox. 1700.

With

With reſpect to morals, Mahomet, notwithſtanding all his pretenſions, did little. Although he laid a good foundation, in the belief of one God, and a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, he was ſo far from raiſing hereupon a ſuperſtructure of rational ethics, that he relaxed the bonds of morality; partly, by repreſenting future happineſs as chiefly conſiſting in corporeal and ſenſual pleaſures; and partly, by giving his followers a code of laws, in which atonement is made for moral defects and irregularities by the obſervance of ſuperſtitious rites and ceremonies. After the introduction of philoſophy among the Arabians, the ethical ſyſtem of Mahomet was, however, materially improved; ſo that it would be unfair to aſcribe to the whole Mahometan world, or even to the Mahometan religion itſelf, as it was in proceſs of time corrected by philoſophy, all the defects and errors of the moral doctrine taught by the Illiterate Prophet.

The fundamental precepts of Iſlamiſm are theſe: Believe in one God, and in Mahomet the prophet of God. Perform the appointed ablutions. Pray to God devoutly at the ſtated ſeaſons, and according to the preſcribed forms. Keep ſtrictly the faſts enjoined by the law, eſpecially the thirty days of the month Ramadan. Let your prayers and faſtings be accompanied with alms-givings. Viſit the holy temple at Mecca [a].

Beſides the precepts of the Koran, the Arabians have always had among them leſſons of moral wiſdom, written in verſe, in the form of aphoriſms. Several collections of theſe ſentences have been made by modern writers, from which it appears, that the Arabians, though they did not treat the doctrine of ethics ſcientifically, were very capable of thinking juſtly, and writing elegantly, on moral ſubjects [b]. One poet, in particular, appeared among them, who wrote a beautiful compendium of Oriental Ethics, under the title

[a] Vid. Lib. Moſtatraf. ap. Pococke Spec. p. 301. Reland. l. c. Sale's Koran.

[b] Erpenii Centur. Proverb. Arab. Galland. les Paroles Remarq. des Orient. Paris, 1694. 12°. Hottinger. Hiſt. Or. l. ii. c. 5.

of

of the PERSIAN ROSARY [a]. This was EDDIN SADI, a Perſian, who, about the middle of the thirteenth century, when the Turks invaded Perſia, withdrew from his own country, and ſettled at Bagdat, for the purpoſe of proſecuting his ſtudies. After experiencing much viciſſitude of fortune, he returned home, and compiled the book juſt mentioned, which he completed in the year one thouſand two hundred and fifty-ſeven. This work has been univerſally read in the Eaſt; and has been tranſlated into Latin, and into ſeveral modern languages. From this Roſary, which is divided into eight chapters, we ſhall cull a few of the choiceſt flowers.

1. Paradiſe will be the reward of thoſe kings who reſtrain their reſentment, and know how to forgive. A king, who inſtitutes unjuſt laws, undermines the foundation of his kingdom. Let him, who neglects to raiſe the fallen, fear, leſt when he himſelf falls, no one will ſtretch out his hand to lift him up. Adminiſter juſtice to your people, for a day of judgment is at hand. The diſhoneſt ſteward's hand will ſhake, when he comes to render an account of his truſt. Be juſt, and fear not. Oppreſs not thy ſubjects, leſt the ſighing of the oppreſſed ſhould aſcend to heaven. If you wiſh to be great, be liberal; for, unleſs you ſow the ſeed, there can be no increaſe. Aſſiſt and relieve the wretched, for misfortunes may happen to yourſelf. Wound no man unneceſſarily; there are thorns enough in the path of human life. If a king take an apple from the garden of a ſubject, his ſervants will ſoon cut down the tree. The flock is not made for the ſhepherd, but the ſhepherd for the flock.

2. Excel in good works, and wear what you pleaſe: innocence and piety do not conſiſt in wearing an old or coarſe garment. Learn virtue from the vicious; and what offends you in their conduct, avoid in your own. If you have received an injury, bear

[a] Ed. Gentii. Amſtel. 1651. fol. Lit. Perſic. cum verſ. Lat. fol. Amſt. 1651. Lat. ver. 12°. 1655. Hottinger. l. c.

it

it patiently: by pardoning the offences of others, you will waſh away your own. Him, who has been every day conferring upon you new favours, pardon, if, in the ſpace of a long life, he ſhould have once done you an injury. Reſpect the memory of the good, that your good name may live for ever.

3. In your adverſity, do not viſit your friend with a ſad countenance; for you will embitter his cup: relate even your misfortunes with a ſmile; for wretchedneſs will never reach the heart of a cheerful man. He who lives upon the fruits of his own labour, eſcapes the contempt of haughty benefactors. Always encounter petulance with gentleneſs, and perverſeneſs with kindneſs: a gentle hand will lead the elephant itſelf by a hair. When once you have offended a man, do not preſume that a hundred benefits will ſecure you from revenge: an arrow may be drawn out of a wound, but an injury is never forgotten. Worſe than the venom of a ſerpent, is the tongue of an enemy, who pretends to be your friend.

4. It is better to be ſilent upon points we underſtand, than to be put to ſhame by being queſtioned upon things of which we are ignorant. A wiſe man will not contend with a fool. It is a certain mark of folly, as well as rudeneſs, to ſpeak whilſt another is ſpeaking. If you are wiſe, you will ſpeak leſs than you know.

5. Although you can repeat every word of the Koran, if you ſuffer yourſelf to be enſlaved by love, you have not yet learned your alphabet. The immature grape is ſour; wait a few days, and it will become ſweet. If you reſiſt temptation, do not aſſure yourſelf that you ſhall eſcape ſlander. The reputation, which has been fifty years in building, may be thrown down by one blaſt of calumny. Liſten not to the tale of friendſhip, from the man who has been capable of forgetting his friend in adverſity.

6. Perſeverance accompliſhes more than precipitation; the patient mule, which travels ſlowly night and day, will in the end go further than an Arabian courſer. If you are old, leave ſports and jeſts to

the young: the ſtream, which has paſſed away, will not return into its channel.

7. Inſtruction is only profitable to thoſe who are capable of receiving it: bring an aſs to Mecca, and it will ſtill return an aſs. If you would be your father's heir, learn his wiſdom: his wealth you may expend in ten days. He who is tinctured with good principles while he is young, when he is grown old will not be deſtitute of virtue. If a man be deſtitute of knowledge, prudence, and virtue, his door-keeper may ſay, No-body is at home. Give advice where you ought; if it be not regarded, the fault is not yours.

8. Two kinds of men labour in vain: they who get riches, and do not enjoy them; and they who learn wiſdom, and do not apply it to the conduct of life. A wiſe man, who is not at the ſame time virtuous, is a blind man carrying a lamp: he gives light to others, whilſt he himſelf remains in darkneſs. If you wiſh to ſleep ſoundly, provide for to-morrow. Truſt no man, even your beſt friend, with a ſecret; you will never find a more faithful guardian of the truſt than yourſelf. Let your misfortunes teach you compaſſion: he knows the condition of the wretched, who has himſelf been wretched. Exceſſive vehemence creates enmity; exceſſive gentleneſs, contempt: be neither ſo ſevere, as to be hated; nor ſo mild, as to be inſulted. He who throws away advice upon a conceited man, himſelf wants an adviſer. In a ſingle hour you may diſcover, whether a man has good ſenſe; but it will require many years to diſcover, whether he has good temper. Three things are unattainable; riches without trouble, ſcience without controverſy, and government without puniſhment. Clemency to the wicked is an injury to the good. If learning were baniſhed from the earth, there would, notwithſtanding, be no one who would think himſelf ignorant.

The whole book from which the preceding ſentences are extracted, whether written from the author's own conceptions, or compiled

piled from other ſources, deſerves to be read as an elegant ſpecimen of Arabian morals *.

* Vidend. Boulainvillier Vie de Mahomet. Erneſt. Gerhard. de Theol. Muhammed. Reland. de Rel. Muham. Renaudot. Epiſt. ad Dacier de exiguo pretio verſ. Arab. in Fab. Bibl. Gr. v. i. p. 812. Friend. Hiſt. Med. p. ii. p. 10. Compend. Theol. Muham. Ultraject. 1717. 8vo. Pfeffer. Theol. Jud. atque Moham. Kruger de Fato Muhamm. Lipſ. 1759.

# BOOK VI.

## OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE ANTIENT CHRISTIANS.

### CHAP. I.

#### OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF CHRIST AND HIS APOSTLES.

IN the preceding books we have traced the hiſtory of Pagan, Jewiſh, and Mahometan philoſophy, from the earlieſt times to the period of literary and philoſophical darkneſs called the Middle Age. We next proceed to mark the progreſs of philoſophy among Chriſtians from the birth of Jeſus Chriſt to the eighth century, when, as will afterwards appear, it ſuffered material alteration and corruption in the Chriſtian ſchools.

Although JESUS CHRIST demands attention and reverence under a much more exalted character than that of a philoſopher, yet it will not be queſtioned by thoſe who are more inclined to regard the real nature of things than to cavil about words, that the Chriſtian religion merits, in the higheſt ſenſe, the appellation of philoſophy. For the weighty truths which it teaches, reſpecting God and man, are adapted to produce in the minds of men the genuine principles

of wiſdom, and to conduct them to true felicity. At the ſame time that it enlightens the underſtanding, it intereſts the heart; exhibiting Divine Wiſdom in her faireſt form, and ſupporting her authority by the moſt powerful ſanctions. The ſchool of Chriſt is free from the errors and abſurdities with which the pureſt ſyſtems of Pagan philoſophy abounded, and teaches every important principle and precept of religion and morals, with a degree of ſimplicity, perſpicuity, and energy, which, in connection with other more direct proofs, affords no inconſiderable evidence of the divine authority of the Chriſtian religion. It muſt, therefore, be the intereſt of every one, who is deſirous of making a right uſe of his reaſon, and attaining true wiſdom, to become a diſciple of Chriſt.

On theſe grounds, doubtleſs, it was, that the Chriſtian fathers ſo frequently ſpoke of Chriſtianity under the title of True and Evangelical Philoſophy [a], and called the profeſſors of the Chriſtian faith, Divine Philoſophers [b]. In this application of the term, they were, however, far from meaning to pay any reſpect to Pagan wiſdom; their intention was, on the contrary, to intimate that the wiſdom, which had been long ſought in the ſchools of heathen philoſophers, was only to be met with in the ſchool of Chriſt.

The founder of the Chriſtian faith was early ranked, both by the enemies and the friends of Chriſtianity, among philoſophers. Lucian claſſes him with Pythagoras, Apollonius Tyanæus, and Alexander. Several of the Platonic philoſophers ſpeak of him as a man animated by a divine dæmon, and ſent from heaven for the inſtruction of mankind. The Jews early accuſed him of practiſing magical arts. Some of the Pagan adverſaries of Chriſtianity even aſſerted that Chriſt was indebted, for his doctrine, to the heathen philoſophers, and particularly to Plato [c]. On the other ſide, among

[a] Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i. fin. p. 357. Socrat. Hiſt. Eccl. l. iv. c. 27. Theodoret. de Cur. Gr. Affect. l. xii.

[b] Clem. Al. l. c. l. vi. p. 642. l. ii. p. 380. Lactant. de Op. Dei. c. i. p. 671.

[c] Lucian. Peregr. t. iv. p. 220. Auguſt. de Civ. Dei, l. xix. c. 23. Origen cont. Celſum, l. vi. p. 279. Aug. Epiſt. 34. Conf. Bibl. Univ. t. x. p. 402. Balt. Def. de SS. Peres, l. iv. c. 11.

the

the Chriſtians, falſe ſtories were early circulated (probably by the Gnoſtics, in order to obtain credit to their fanciful tenets) concerning the ſupernatural wiſdom of Chriſt in his childhood, many of which are to be found in a ſuppoſititious book[a] entitled, "The Goſpel of the Infancy;" and other fabulous reports of a ſimilar nature obtained too much credit in the early ages of the church. But if, without regarding either the calumnies of infidels, or the tales of ſuperſtitious believers, we adhere to the ſimple account given of Jeſus Chriſt by the Evangeliſts, we ſhall find no difficulty in admitting, that he was appointed by God to teach men a kind of wiſdom far ſuperior to the ſubtleties of ſpeculative philoſophy, and to confirm them in the belief and expectation of a future ſtate; and conſequently, that, whatever reſpect he might have claimed as a philoſopher, he is entitled to much higher regard, as the Meſſenger of Divine Truth, and the Author of Eternal Salvation.

The APOSTLES of Jeſus Chriſt, who were appointed by him to teach the goſpel to all nations, like their maſter, relied more upon the divine authority which attended their embaſſy, than upon any human abilities or attainments. "They ſpoke, not with the enticing words of man's wiſdom, but with the demonſtration of the ſpirit, and with power[b]." So far were they from affecting human learning, that they frequently expreſſed contempt for the philoſophy of the age; becauſe they ſaw, that philoſophers mingled with the truth many falſe opinions and vain fables, and involved themſelves in endleſs controverſies, moſt of which were, in fact, a mere "ſtrife of words." The apoſtle Paul, writing to the Chriſtians at Coloſs, ſays[c], "Beware leſt any man ſpoil you through philoſophy and vain deceit, after the traditions of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Chriſt." This apoſtle was not indeed unfur-

[a] Fabric. Cod. ap. N. T. p. iii. p. 424. t. i. p. 168. Conf. Iren. adv. Hæreſ. l. i. c. 17.

[b] 1. Cor. ii. 6.

[c] Col. ii. 8. Conf. Eph. iv. 6. Acts xvii. 18.

niſhed

niſhed with learning, having ſtudied Jewiſh wiſdom under Gamaliel, and having, as appears from ſeveral paſſages in his epiſtles, and from ſome incidents in his life, acquired, probably at Tarſus, his native place, a competent knowledge of Greek literature. But he diſclaimed all confidence in theſe attainments, and relied for ſucceſs upon the intrinſic excellence of the Chriſtian doctrine, and the divine power by which it was ſupported. And, with reſpect to the reſt of the apoſtles, they were, unqueſtionably, men deſtitute of the advantages of a learned education; the author of our holy religion purpoſely chooſing his miniſters out of the claſs of the vulgar and illiterate, that his cauſe might the more evidently appear to depend upon its own purity and truth, without the aid of human wiſdom. There is, then, no ſufficient reaſon for ranking the apoſtles of Chriſt, as ſome Chriſtian writers have done[a], in the claſs of philoſophers.*

[a] Horn. Hiſt. Phil. l. v. c. 3. See Bp. Horſley's Sermon on 1. Cor. xii. 4.

* Vidend. Jonſ. Scr. Hiſt. Ph. l. iii. c. 4. Lamius de Erud. Apoſt. c. 16. Miſcell. Lipſ. Obſ. 96. t. v. Miſcell. Berolin. p. iii. n. 11. Suidas, t. ii. p. 97. Heuman. Act. Phil. v. ii. p. 56. Elſwich Diſſ. de Philoſ. viris ſac. temere affict. Sandii Interp. Paradox. p. 151. Clerici in Joan. Ev. c. 1.

CHAP.

# CHAP. II.

## OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE CHRISTIAN FATHERS, CONSIDERED IN GENERAL.

AFTER the example of the apoſtles, their immediate followers, who are diſtinguiſhed by the name of APOSTOLIC MEN, were more deſirous to teach the divine doctrine which they had received from Jeſus Chriſt in ſimplicity and truth, than to render themſelves illuſtrious by any diſplay of human learning. They had no other deſign, than to ſpread the knowledge of Chriſt and his goſpel in the world; and they executed this deſign with ſimplicity, fidelity, and magnanimity, without the aid of rhetorical embelliſhments, or philoſophical refinement. Their genuine epiſtles, particularly thoſe of Clemens Romanus, Ignatius, and Polycarp, bear many marks of that ſincerity and zeal, which ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed the writings of the apoſtles. But ſome pieces are aſcribed to the Apoſtolic Men, which carry with them many internal proofs of forgery. To this claſs belong "The ſecond Epiſtle of Clemens Romanus;" "The Apoſtolic Canons;" "The Apoſtolic Conſtitutions;" "The Recognitions of Clement;" "The Clementines;" "The Larger Epiſtles of Ignatius;" "The Epiſtle of Barnabas;" and "The Shepherd of Hermas." The Clementines, and Recognitions of Clement, were probably written in the third century, by ſome Jewiſh Chriſtian of Alexandria, who made Clemens ſpeak the language of an Alexandrian philoſopher, in hopes of defeating the philoſophers with their own weapons. But this practice of corrupting the ſimplicity of the apoſtolic doctrine commenced much earlier than the third century. The firſt witneſſes of Chriſtianity had ſcarcely left the world, when the Shepherd of Hermas appeared; a work too ſtrongly marked with the character of philoſophical fanaticiſm

faſtaticiſm to be received as the genuine production of an apoſtolic man. The writer of this work certainly borrowed from the Platonic ſchools, or from the Jewiſh Cabbaliſts, his doctrines of a good or bad angel attending every man, and producing all his virtuous or vicious inclinations; and of a peculiar angel appointed to preſide over each animal [a].

The fathers of the Chriſtian church ſoon departed from the ſimplicity of the apoſtolic age, and corrupted the purity of the Chriſtian faith. This is chiefly to be aſcribed to two cauſes: firſt, the practice, which at that time ſo generally prevailed, of clothing the doctrines of religion in an allegorical dreſs; and ſecondly, the habit of ſubtle ſpeculation, which the more learned converts from Paganiſm brought with them from the ſchools of philoſophy.

The practice of allegorical interpretation, which the Jews had learned from the Egyptians, and which, before the time of Chriſt was common among them, the early converts to Chriſtianity brought out of the Jewiſh into the Chriſtian church. Some traces of this method of interpretation we find in the New Teſtament, particularly in St. Paul's argument againſt the Jewiſh advocates for the perpetual and univerſal obligation of the Moſaic Ritual, drawn from the hiſtory of Abraham, in the epiſtle to the Galatians [b]; and in the typical application of the ceremonial appointments of Moſes to the Chriſtian inſtitution, in the epiſtle to the Hebrews. But a leſs ſober and judicious uſe was made of this kind of language by the Chriſtian fathers. This was more eſpecially the caſe with thoſe Gentile converts who had been educated in the Alexandrian ſchools, where, by the help of allegory, the ſeveral ſyſtems of philoſophy were mixed and confounded; and with thoſe Jewiſh Chriſtians, who, by the ſame means, had been inſtructed in the Cabbaliſtic doctrines, which, before this time, had ſprung up in Egypt, and paſſed thence into Judea. Several of thoſe ſects of

[a] L. i. Mand. 6. v. iv. c. 2. Hieron. in Habac. l. i. ad c. i. 14. Conf. Plut. de Tranq. Anim. t. ii. p. 263. Theodor. de Cur. Gr. Affect. S. 3. Cenſorin. de Die Nat. c. 3. Philo de Anim. c. 3. Cabbal. denud. t. i. p. 3. p. 121.

[b] C. iv. v. 22.

Chriſtians,

Chriſtians, who were called Heretics, particularly the Valentinian Gnoſtics, made uſe of allegorical language to diſguiſe the unnatural alliance which they had introduced between the fanciful dogmas of the Oriental philoſophy, and the ſimple doctrine of Chriſt. The orthodox fathers of the church, too, defended themſelves with the ſame armour, both againſt heretics and infidels; applying, with more ingenuity than judgment, the ſymbolical method of interpretation to the ſacred ſcriptures. In the ſame manner in which Philo and other Alexandrian Jews had corrupted the Jewiſh church, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, and other diſciples of the Alexandrian ſchool, in the ſecond century, introduced error and corruption into the church of Chriſt [a].

The light of Chriſtianity having, by this time, been ſpread through a great part of the Roman empire, many learned men, who had ſtudied and profeſſed philoſophy, tired of the fruitleſs diſputes which had ſo long been carried on among the Grecian ſects, and diſguſted with the infamous and fraudulent practices of many who called themſelves philoſophers, paſſed over to another maſter, from whom, on account of thoſe characters of divinity which they ſaw ſtamped upon his doctrine, they aſſured themſelves of receiving that ſatisfaction, which they had in vain ſought in the ſchools of Pagan wiſdom. Comparing the obſcurity and barrenneſs of the ſpeculations in which they had been engaged with the perſpicuity and utility of the doctrine taught by Jeſus Chriſt, they plainly ſaw, that darkneſs was not further from light, than the vanity of gentile philoſophy from the truth of the Chriſtian religion.

It evidently appears from Juſtin Martyr's dialogue with Trypho the Jew [b], that this compariſon of gentile philoſophy with Chriſtian wiſdom was one of the principal conſiderations which induced him, and other philoſophers, to become converts to Chriſtianity. Accordingly we find, that when theſe learned men undertook the defence of Chriſtianity againſt the gentile philoſophers, who ſupported the falling cauſe of Paganiſm by ſophiſtry, impoſture, and violence, they chiefly

[a] Huet. Origen. l. ii. c. 2. Whitby on the Interpretation of Scripture, Lond. 1714.
[b] P. 217, &c.

employed themſelves in expoſing the futility and abſurdity of the Pagan religion and philoſophy, and in diſplaying the ſuperiority of the Chriſtian doctrine above that which had been taught in the moſt celebrated Grecian ſchools. This is the main drift of thoſe apologies for Chriſtianity, which were written by Juſtin Martyr, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, Hermias, Clemens Alexandrinus, Hippolitus, Origen, Euſebius, and other Greeks; and by Tertullian, Minucius Felix, Cyprian, Arnobius, Lactantius, Julius Firmicus, and other Latin fathers: writings to which the cauſe of Chriſtianity was at that time much indebted, and which, even in the preſent day, if read with a due attention to the ſtate of philoſophy and religion at the period in which they were written, will amply repay the labour of a diligent peruſal.

Rejecting with contempt the whole apparatus of Pagan ſuperſtition, the Chriſtian fathers naturally transferred the averſion which they conceived againſt this antient monument of human folly, to thoſe ſyſtems of philoſophy which they ſaw employed by the learned in its ſupport. Juſtin Martyr[a] expoſes the abſurdities of the poetical theology of the Pagans, and undertakes to prove, that their philoſophical doctrine concerning divine natures was not leſs abſurd. All the early fathers of the Chriſtian church labour to overturn the principles upon which the ſeveral Grecian ſects were founded, and to ſhow that they were inconſiſtent with each other, and with truth and reaſon. Such was their zeal in this argument, that they did not ſpare even Plato himſelf, whom, nevertheleſs, they acknowledged to have thought more judiciouſly and profoundly upon divine ſubjects than any other philoſopher[b].

It was a circumſtance which greatly increaſed the averſion of the Chriſtian fathers to Pagan ſyſtems, that they ſaw innumerable hereſies ſpringing up in the church, which aroſe from the Oriental philoſophy, as it was taught in Egypt, in conjunction with Pytha-

[a] Cohort. ad Græcos

[b] Tertull. adv. Nationes, l. ii. Lactant. Inſt. Div. l. iii. c. 2. Cyprian. Epiſt. 55. Aug. De Civ. D. l. viii. Theodor. Therap. l. v.

goric

goric and Platonic dogmas[a]. The dreams of the Orientaliſts concerning the divine nature were multiplied without end by the Chriſtian Gnoſtics, particularly by Valentine, the founder of a ſect which aroſe in the ſecond century, and ſpread through Egypt, Syria, and Aſia Minor[b]. This fanatic conceived the divine nature to be a vaſt abyſs, in the *pleroma* or fulneſs of which exiſted, as emanations from the firſt fountain of being, Æons of different orders and degrees. The ſource of Æons Valentine called *Bython*. To this he united a principal, which he called *Ennoia*, or *Sige:* from the union of theſe he ſuppoſed to be produced *Nous* and *Aletheia*, and from theſe, in ſucceſſion, *Logos*, *Anthropos*, and *Eccleſia*; among the remote deſcendants of whom was Jeſus Chriſt, and below him the *Demiurgus*, or creator of the world, who held the middle place between God and the material world. This fanciful ſyſtem (ſimilar to that of the Jewiſh Cabbala, and doubtleſs derived from the ſame ſource, the Oriental doctrine of emanation[c]) was highly diſpleaſing to thoſe Chriſtian fathers who were diſpoſed to think more ſoberly and reverently concerning the divine nature. When they ſaw the doctrine of Chriſt corrupted by ſuch abſurd fictions, they were naturally led to inveigh againſt that falſe philoſophy, from which they ſuppoſed them to have originated.

Notwithſtanding the proofs with which the writings of the Chriſtian fathers abound, of their enmity to Pagan philoſophy, conſidered as a ſyſtem of doctrines oppoſed to the Chriſtian faith, it is, however, certain that many among them were well acquainted with the dogmas of the Grecian ſects, and, after their converſion, endeavoured

[a] Iren. adv. Her. l. ii. c. 14. Tertull. Præſcr. c. 7. de Anim. c. 17. Pſeudo-Orig. Philoſophum. l. i. p. 5.

[b] Iren. l. iii. c. 3. Tertull. contr. Valent. Juſtin. M. Dial. cum. Tryph. p. 349.

[c] The Valentinian hereſy is ſuppoſed by Irenæus * and other Chriſtian fathers, and by ſeveral modern writers, through their inattention to Oriental learning, to have been borrowed from the Grecian philoſophy; but the contrary is evident from the ſimilarity of this hereſy to the Cabbaliſtic ſyſtem, which has been ſhewn to be of Oriental origin; and from the teſtimony of Theodotus, whoſe account of the Valentinian and other Gnoſtic hereſies † is entitled, *An Epitome of the Doctrine called Oriental in the time of Valentinian.*

* Hæreſ. l. ii. c. 14. † Apud. Op. Clem. Alex. et Fabr. Bibl. Gr. vol. v. p. 105.

to render their knowledge of philoſophy ſubſervient to the Chriſtian cauſe. Having been in their youth inſtructed in this kind of learning, they now borrowed, from the Pagan ſchools, weapons in defence of Chriſtianity. They examined in detail the tenets of antient philoſophers, that, where they found them erroneous, they might expoſe their futility, and hence diſplay the ſuperior excellence of the Chriſtian religion; and that where they appeared conſonant to truth, they might make uſe of them, in their catechetical inſtructions, to prepare the minds of their pupils for the reception of the doctrines of divine revelation. This latter uſe of philoſophy was frequent in the Chriſtian ſchools of Alexandria, conducted by Clemens, Pantænus, Origen, and others. Theſe Chriſtian philoſophers did not ſcruple to avail themſelves of all the helps, which their learning afforded them, in the exerciſe of the arts of logic and rhetoric. They induſtriouſly enriched their writings with the moral doctrines and precepts of the antients, as far as they would coaleſce with the Chriſtian inſtitutes. Without addicting themſelves to any ſect of heathen philoſophers, they ſelected from each whatever they judged to be conſiſtent with the doctrine of their divine maſter, and capable of forwarding the great end of their office as teachers of Chriſtianity. In fine, from the time that the ſimplicity of the apoſtolic age was forſaken, the Chriſtian fathers ſtudied the writings of the antients, firſt, to furniſh themſelves with weapons againſt their adverſaries; next, to ſupport the Chriſtian doctrine, by maintaining its conſonancy to reaſon, and its ſuperiority to the moſt perfect ſyſtems of Pagan wiſdom; and laſtly, to adorn themſelves with the embelliſhments of erudition and eloquence [a]. Baſil wrote a diſtinct treatiſe, upon the benefits which young perſons might receive from reading the writings of heathens [b]. His pupil, Gregory Thaumaturgus, in his panegyric on Origen, inſiſts largely upon the ſame topic; highly commending him for having, after the example of his preceptor Clemens Alexandrinus, induſtriouſly inſtructed his pupils in philoſophy. And there can be no doubt, that Greek learning, of every kind, was at a very early period admitted

[a] Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i. p. 278. Hieron. Ep. 84. ad Magn.
[b] Conf. Origen. Philocal. c. 13.

into the Chriſtian ſchools; not, however, without repeated cautions to young perſons, to diſtinguiſh carefully between the true and the falſe, the uſeful and the pernicious, in the writings of the antients, and always to keep human learning in due ſubordination to divine Wiſdom [a].

The fathers of the Chriſtian church are then, neither, on the one hand, to be conſidered as by profeſſion philoſophers, nor, on the other, to be denied the credit of any acquaintance with philoſophy. Their great object was to apply philoſophy to the illuſtration, confirmation, and defence of divine revelation. We are not, therefore, to ſearch in their writings for philoſophical tenets, raiſed upon rational principles, and ſupported by logical arguments; nor ſhall we find among them, ſtrictly ſpeaking, any philoſophical ſectarians, ſuch as Speuſippus and Xenocrates were among the antient, or Plotinus and Porphyry among the modern, Platoniſts. But, though they were not properly philoſophers, it muſt not be inferred, that they gave no preference to any particular ſect. Whilſt they were averſe to the Grecian philoſophy in general, as inimical to the Chriſtian cauſe, and inveighed againſt every Pagan ſyſtem, as containing many things contrary to the true doctrine of Chriſt, they were willing to acknowledge, that every ſect taught ſome principles not inconſiſtent with this doctrine, and were moſt inclined to favour thoſe ſects which taught tenets moſt conſonant to it.

Throughout the various ſyſtems of philoſophy, the Chriſtian fathers ſaw many truths diſperſed, which they ſuppoſed to be beyond the reach of human reaſon, and which, therefore, they believed to have been borrowed from the Hebrew ſcriptures, or to have been rays of heavenly wiſdom originally proceeding from the pure fountain of divine revelation. Theſe relics of ſacred truth, which they conceived to be ſcattered through the various ſects of philoſophy, they were exceedingly deſirous to collect, and to incorporate with the doctrine of Chriſtianity. Hence the high encomiums, which we frequently meet with in their writings, upon this kind of Eclectic philoſophy. Clemens Alexandrinus ſays [b], "I do not call that philo-

[a] Greg. Naz. Carm. 1. p. 33.

[b] Strom. l. i. p. 288.

ſophy,

ſophy, which either the Stoics, the Platoniſts, the Epicureans, or the Peripatetics, ſingly teach; but whatever dogmas are found in each ſect to be true, and conducive to the knowledge and practice of piety and juſtice, theſe, collected into one ſyſtem, I call philoſophy." Juſtin Martyr[a], Gregory Thaumaturgus[b], and Lactantius[c], expreſs the ſame ſentiment. We are not, however, to confound the Eclectic philoſophy of the Chriſtian fathers with that of the Ammonian ſchool; ſince the former were directed in their ſelection by a notion peculiar to themſelves, that whatever was valuable in Pagan philoſophy was the remnant of ſome former revelation from the λόγος, or had been purloined from the Hebrews or Chriſtians, and might therefore be fairly claimed as the property of the Chriſtian church.

By comparing the preceding obſervations, we may eaſily account for the different, and apparently contradictory, language which the Chriſtian fathers held concerning the gentile philoſophy: ſome of them, particularly Clemens Alexandrinus and Auguſtine, ſpeaking of heathen wiſdom as lawful ſpoil, which may be uſefully employed in the ſervice of the church, and of certain philoſophers, as being, in their notions of the divine nature, almoſt Chriſtians; whilſt others repreſent heathen philoſophy as ſo pernicious and miſchievous in its nature, that it could only be the work of the devil. In order to reconcile theſe ſeeming inconſiſtencies, it is only neceſſary to obſerve, that wherever the Chriſtian fathers ſpoke in commendation of philoſophy, they meant to limit their approbation to certain truths, which they conceived to have been originally communicated by divine revelation; but that, when they inveighed againſt it, their cenſure fell upon thoſe ſyſtematic maſſes of error, which they aſcribed to human invention.

The virulence with which the ſupporters of Pagan ſuperſtition aſſaulted Chriſtianity, ſometimes led its advocates, in return, to load the gentile philoſophy with invectives, which, though they may be in part excuſed, cannot be juſtified. Their contempt and indignation did not, however, fall indiſcriminately upon every ſect; they eſtimat-

[a] Dial. cum Tryph. p. 218. [b] In Orig. p. 10. [c] Inſt. l. vii. c. 7.

ed

ed the merit of each by its ſuppoſed affinity to revelation, in the purity of its doctrine concerning God and divine things. Hence their ſevereſt cenſures were pointed againſt the Peripatetic and Epicurean ſects. The doctrines of the Peripatetics concerning Divine Providence, and the Eternity of the World, chiefly excited their averſion againſt this ſect; but, beſides this, they were much diſpleaſed with Ariſtotle, for having furniſhed heretics and infidels with the weapons of ſophiſtry. The ſyſtem of Epicurus, which excluded the Deity from the government of the world, and admitted no expectation of a future ſtate, ſo directly contradicted the fundamental principles of the Chriſtian religion, that it is not ſurpriſing that it ſhould have awakened great indignation in the friends of Chriſtianity, eſpecially as they miſapprehended the nature of his moral doctrine, and credited the calumnies, which had long before this time been circulated, concerning his perſonal character.

There were not wanting, however, among the Chriſtian fathers, advocates for different ſects of Grecian philoſophy. After the eſtabliſhment of the Ammonian ſect, when Origen and his followers, with many others, favoured the Eclectic method of philoſophiſing, which had been followed in the Alexandrian ſchools, they eaſily perſuaded themſelves, that as a coalition had in theſe ſchools been effected between Plato and Ariſtotle, it would not be difficult to accompliſh a ſimilar coalition between Jeſus Chriſt and Ariſtotle. Others reaſoned in the ſame manner with reſpect to the doctrines of Stoiciſm. The Epicurean was almoſt the only ſect, which met with no patrons among the Chriſtian fathers.

But the ſect, which, for the reaſons already aſſigned, obtained moſt favour in the Chriſtian ſchool, was the Platonic. None of the Chriſtian fathers, indeed, entertained ſuch an opinion of the perfection of the Platonic ſyſtem, as to ſubſcribe implicitly to its principles and tenets; but they imagined, that they found in the writings of Plato many divine truths, which he had received, either directly or indirectly, from the Hebrews, and which they had therefore a right to transfer from the Academy to the Church. Clemens Alexandrinus, Euſebius, and Auguſtine, were ſo ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed with this notion,

tion, that they fancied a wonderful ſimilarity between the theology of Plato and that of Moſes. Clemens[a] ſpeaks of Plato as the philoſopher of the Hebrews, whoſe doctrine concerning Gods, and Virtue, and a Future State, agrees with that of the ſcriptures: with Numenius, he calls Plato the Athenian Moſes; and he even aſſerts, that Plato, in his Theætetus, deſcribes the Chriſtian life. Euſebius, in his *Preparatio Evangelica*[b], "Evangelical Preparation," quotes many paſſages from the Dialogues of Plato, to ſhew how nearly his ſentiments and language approach to thoſe of the ſacred writings. Auguſtine, in ſome parts of his works, prefers Plato to every other heathen writer; and contends, that, in many particulars, eſpecially thoſe which relate to God, he was a Chriſtian philoſopher. He afterwards, in a diſtinct chapter, inquires whence Plato derived that knowledge, by which he ſo nearly approximated to the Chriſtian doctrine. Having in a former work given it as his opinion, that Plato, in his journey into Egypt, had either converſed with the prophet Jeremiah, or read the Hebrew ſcriptures, he now retracts this opinion, becauſe he finds, upon further examination, that Plato was born near a hundred years after Jeremiah was in Egypt, and that the Greek verſion of the Jewiſh law was made under the Ptolemies, about ſixty years after Plato's death; and ſubſtitutes, in its ſtead, an unſupported conjecture, that Plato received his information concerning the Hebrew ſcriptures, by converſing with ſome learned interpreter of the law.

This opinion concerning the divine origin of Plato's theology was entertained on grounds equally precarious with the conjectures of Auguſtine, by the general body of the Chriſtian fathers. They thought, that Plato, during his reſidence in Egypt, could not fail to become acquainted with the Jewiſh law, of which they believed, but without any ſufficient authority, that a Greek verſion had been made prior to that of the Septuagint under Ptolemy Philadelphus. They conceived, that Pythagoras, in his Oriental journey, muſt have had frequent opportunities of converſing with the Jewiſh prophets,

[a] Strom. l. i. p. 315. [b] L. ii.

and

and that through his ſchools the doctrine of Moſes muſt have paſſed to Plato. They were confirmed in this opinion, by obſerving the doctrine, which was at this time received among the Jews, with the Platoniſm of the Alexandrian ſchools. For, from the age of Ariſtobulus, the Jews had, as we have ſeen, admitted Ægyptian, Oriental, and Platonic dogmas into an intimate alliance with the ſimple doctrine of their ſacred books; and, in order to give credit and authority to the innovation, had pretended that Moſes was the original author of this philoſophy. This was maintained by all the learned Egyptian Jews, particularly by Philo; and from theſe, the notion would naturally paſs over to the Chriſtians, by many of whom, doubtleſs, it was entertained before their converſion to Chriſtianity.

After what has been already ſuggeſted, in preceding parts of this work, to ſhew the improbability of the opinion, that Pythagoras or Plato were inſtructed by the Hebrews, and to account for the pains which Philo and other platoniſing Jews took to give their notions the ſanction of a divine origin, it is unneceſſary here to enlarge upon the ſubject. We ſhall only remark, that, in forming this opinion, there were two points in which the fathers were greatly deceived: firſt, in ſuppoſing that the Jews freely communicated their doctrines to their neighbours, when it appears from their whole hiſtory, that they ſtudiouſly ſeparated themſelves, in all religious concerns, from the heathens; ſecondly, in conceiving that the Platoniſm which was at that time profeſſed was the genuine doctrine of Plato[a].

There can be no doubt, that a ſtrong predilection for Platonic tenets prevailed among thoſe Alexandrian philoſophers, who became converts to the Chriſtian faith. Theſe philoſophers, who, whilſt they corrupted the ſyſtem, had been accuſtomed to entertain the higheſt reverence for the name, of Plato, eaſily credited the report, that the doctrine of Plato concerning the divine nature had been derived from revelation, and hence thought themſelves juſtified in attempting a coalition between Plato and Jeſus Chriſt. A union of Platonic and Chriſtian doctrines was certainly attempted in the

[a] Juſt. M. Cohort. ad Græc. Clem. Adm. ad Gent. p. 477. Stromat. l. i. p. 305. l. iv. p. 477. l. v. p. 560. Conf. Lamius de Trinit. l. ii. ii.

ſecond century, by Juſtin Martyr, Athenagoras, and Clemens Alexandrinus, in whoſe writings we frequently meet with Platonic ſentiments and language; and it is not improbable, that this corruption took its riſe ſtill earlier. In oppoſing the Gnoſtic hereſies, thoſe Chriſtian teachers who had been inſtructed in the Alexandrian doctrines, adopted from them whatever they thought conſonant to Chriſtian truth, and favourable to their cauſe. From the time that Ammonius Sacca, in order to recommend his Eclectic ſyſtem to the attention of Chriſtians, accommodated his language to the opinions which were then received among them, the miſchief rapidly increaſed. Origen, and other Chriſtians who ſtudied in his ſchool, were ſo far duped by this artifice, as to imagine that they diſcovered, in the ſyſtem of the Platoniſts, traces of a pure doctrine concerning the Divine Nature, which, on the ground above-mentioned, they judged themſelves at liberty to incorporate into the Chriſtian faith. Entering upon the office of Chriſtian teachers under the bias of a ſtrong partiality for Plato and his doctrine, they tinctured the minds of their diſciples with the ſame prejudice, and thus diſſeminated Platonic notions, as Chriſtian truths; doubtleſs, little aware how far this practice would corrupt the purity of the Chriſtian faith, and how much confuſion and diſſention it would occaſion in the Chriſtian church.

Having ſaid thus much concerning the general character of the philoſophy of the Chriſtian fathers, it remains that we offer a few remarks concerning their merit in the diſtinct branches of philoſophy; dialectics, phyſics, and morals.

It will be readily acknowledged, that the early teachers of the Chriſtian church were honeſt and zealous advocates for the cauſe of Chriſt; and that many of their apologies diſcover an extenſive acquaintance with antient philoſophy and learning, and ſerve to caſt much light upon the philoſophical and theological hiſtory of preceding times. But it muſt, at the ſame time, be candidly confeſſed, that in the heat of controverſy, they not only fell into various miſtakes, but made uſe of unſatisfactory methods of reaſoning, which betray imbecility of judgment, or inattention to the principles and rules of good writing. Correctneſs and ſtrength of argument are excellencies

cies ſeldom to be met with in the writings of the fathers. On the contrary, their works furniſh innumerable examples of feeble reaſoning, of interpretations of ſcripture which it is impoſſible to reconcile with good ſenſe, and of a careleſs admiſſion of ſpurious writings as genuine authorities. Photius, who was a writer of ſound judgment, complains that Irenæus obſcured the doctrines of religion by illegitimate reaſoning [a]. And this charge is applicable to many other of the Chriſtian fathers. Lactantius affords a curious ſpecimen of futile reaſoning, when, in order to demonſtrate the abſurdity of worſhipping idols, he ſays [b]; "When men take an oath, they look up to heaven: they do not ſeek God under their feet; becauſe whatever lies below them muſt neceſſarily be inferior to them; but they ſeek him on high, becauſe nothing can be greater than man except what is above him; but God is greater than man; he is therefore above, and not beneath him, and to be ſought, not in the lower but the higher regions; whence it is evident, that images formed of ſtones dug out of the earth cannot be proper objects of worſhip." The puerility of this method of arguing is ſufficiently obvious without any comment. Much falſe reaſoning of the ſame kind may be found in the writings of Arnobius, Jerom, and others.

Several cauſes may be aſſigned for the defects, which every accurate obſerver muſt remark, in the method of reaſoning adopted by theſe writers. Their injudicious zeal induced them to graſp at every ſhadow of argument againſt their opponents; and their want of ſkill in the art of reaſoning led them often to miſtake ſhadows for realities. Their fondneſs for allegory dazzled and confounded their underſtandings, ſo that they were unable to diſtinguiſh between fanciful reſemblances and ſolid arguments. They had not learned to diſtinguiſh accurately between the light of revelation, and that of reaſon; and therefore ſuppoſed, that their reverence for the former obliged them to depreciate and vilify the latter. Ambroſe, a learned man but a bad logician, adviſed [c], that, in diſputes where faith is

[a] Cod. 120. p. 161. [b] Inſtit. div. l. ii. c. 19.
[c] De Fide, l. i. c. 5.

concerned, reaſon ſhould be laid aſide. Baſil[a] called reaſoning, *The devil's work*; and refuted the heretic Eumonus by pleading, that his arguments were drawn from the categories of Ariſtotle, and that the wiſdom of this world was deceitful. Others, who admitted the lawfulneſs of uſing the weapons of Ariſtotelian logic in defence of Chriſtianity, contended that Chriſtians were poſſeſſed of a better logic, conſiſting in the demonſtration of the ſpirit; and that they who poſſeſſed this, might defend their cauſe without the arms of human reaſon. Whilſt the fathers thought reaſon of ſo little value, it is no wonder that their reaſonings were frequently injudicious and inaccurate[b].

It muſt be here mentioned, as another proof at leaſt of their want of judgment, that the Chriſtian fathers gave eaſy credit to falſe tales, and received, without careful examination, ſuppoſititious writings, which they obtruded upon others, and to which they referred as ſufficient authorities[c]. Nor is it poſſible to exculpate them from the charge of having made uſe of, and even juſtified, diſhoneſt arts and pious frauds, after the example of their adverſaries. Add to this, that the ſtyle in which their works are written is, for the moſt part, tumid and puerile. In ſearch of the dazzling ornaments of falſe eloquence, they frequently loſt themſelves in the clouds of obſcurity. Innumerable paſſages occur in their popular writings, particularly in the Homilies of Chryſoſtom, which are more adapted to captivate the wondering attention of the ignorant populace, than to impreſs a judicious reader with an idea of the writer's good ſenſe and accuracy. Gregory Nazianzen complains, that, in his time, ſimple and natural eloquence was loſt, and that a thirſt after novelty had led writers into lamentable confuſion and obſcurity[d].

With reſpect to Phyſics, little was to be expected on this ſubject from writers who were ſo deeply engaged in theological labours. The truth is, that the errors into which many of the antients had

[a] Contr. Eumon. p. 17. [b] Orig. adv. Celſ. l. i. c. 5.

[c] Fabric. Obſerv. ad Cod. Apocr. Vet. et Nov. Teſt.

[d] Phot. Cod. 170. Hieron. Ep. 34. ad Nep. Greg. Naz. Enchir. Athanas. Conf. Dallæum de Uſu Patrum, l. i. Cleric. Art. Crit. t. i. p. ii. § 1. c. 17. Petav. ad Epiph. Hær. 59. p. 244.

fallen,

fallen, through their ill-conducted inquiries into nature, gave the Chriſtian teachers a diſtaſte for ſpeculations of this kind. They thought it a mere waſte of time to ſearch after the immediate cauſes of natural appearances, when they might be employed in ſtudying the doctrines and duties of religion. "It is not," ſays Euſebius [a], "through ignorance of thoſe ſubjects which are ſo much admired, but through a conviction of their futility, that we almoſt entirely neglect them, in order to apply our minds to more uſeful labours." This contempt of phyſical inquiries, which was common among the fathers, will account for the egregious miſtakes which are found in the commentaries upon thoſe parts of ſcripture, where ſubjects of natural hiſtory or philoſophy are occaſionally introduced. Coſmes, an Egyptian monk, wrote a work [b], entitled "Chriſtian Topography," in which he maintained, that the form of the earth is plane, and not ſpherical, and upon this ſuppoſition attempted an explanation of the celeſtial *phænomena*. The author of *The Phyſiology*, falſely aſcribed to Epiphanius, and inſerted in his works [c], treats of animals with moſt ridiculous ignorance and puerility. Even Ambroſe, in many reſpects a learned writer, trifles egregiouſly upon theſe ſubjects. In explaining that part of the Moſaic hiſtory of the creation, which ſpeaks of *waters above the firmament*, he refutes every objection by having recourſe to the miraculous power of God [d], and thus makes the thing to be proved the medium of proof. The engagements of his epiſcopal office might be ſome excuſe for his ignorance of phyſical ſubjects, eſpecially in an age when ignorance of this kind was ſo prevalent; but nothing can excuſe his attempting to explain what he did not underſtand.

ETHICS was a branch of philoſophy, in which the fathers of the Chriſtian church were more immediately concerned, as their office required them to inſtruct the people in good morals; but their attention to this ſubject was, by no means, equal to its importance.

[a] Prep. Ev. l. xv. c. i. 61. Conf. Lactant. Inſt. Div. l. iii. c. 2.
[b] B. Montfaucon. Collect. Nov. Patr. Script. Gr. t. ii. p. 123. Phot. Cod. 36.
[c] Tom. ii. Op. p. 189. [d] Amb. l. ii. c. 3. t. iii. p. 17.

They

They were too buſily occupied in diſputes with infidels and heretics, to have much leiſure to attend to the ſimple duties of morality. Although in the writings of all the fathers, moral topics are occaſionally touched upon, Ambroſe was, if not the firſt, yet certainly among the firſt, who wrote a compendium of moral doctrine: it was formed upon the model of Cicero's book *De Officiis*. After the third century, the fathers treated more largely upon theſe ſubjects, as may be ſeen in their Homilies, but in a manner which rendered their moral writings of little value.

Among the cauſes which promoted the corruption of their moral doctrine, we may reckon the practice, which they borrowed from the Alexandrian Jews, of affixing an allegorical meaning to the words of ſcripture. This method of interpretation, as Le Clerc juſtly remarks, enabled them to put any conſtruction upon particular texts which ſuited their preſent purpoſe. What abſurd interpretations they gave of the Old Teſtament (with the Hebrew original of which, by the way, ſcarcely any of them, except Jerom and Origen, were acquainted, as ſufficiently appears from their implicit reliance on the Septuagint verſion) may be eaſily ſeen by conſulting their works[a]. Indeed it was not to be expected that they ſhould ſucceed better, when they undertook to draw moral doctrine from the ſacred ſcriptures, without ſtrictly adhering to the rules of ſound criticiſm, and without being accurately acquainted with the general principles of morals.

To what an abſurd extreme of rigour the fathers carried their ideas of morality, may be ſeen in their doctrines concerning the ſexual paſſion. They commonly held a ſecond marriage to be unlawful; and Chryſoſtom maintained, that it was a ſpecies of fornication; and that whilſt this indulgence was permitted by God, fornication became lawful[b]. With reſpect to matrimony, they admitted three degrees of merit: the loweſt, matrimonial fidelity; the ſecond,

[a] See examples of this in Barbeyrac de la Morale des Peres, c. ii. § 3.
[b] Chryſoſt. Hom. 32. in Matt. xix.

matrimonial abſtinence; the third, perfect celibacy, Clemens Alexandrinus [a] repreſents it as a meretricious practice for a woman to look at herſelf in a mirror; "becauſe," ſays he, "by making an image of herſelf, ſhe violates the commandment, which prohibits the making of the likeneſs of any thing in heaven above, or on earth beneath." As a further example to the ſame purpoſe may be mentioned, the doctrines of the unlawfulneſs of putting out money to intereſt, of uſing muſical inſtruments in churches, and of taking any kind of oath [b].

Another principal cauſe of the corruption of the Chriſtian doctrine of morality was, that it was very early tinctured with the enthuſiaſtic ſpirit of the Alexandrian philoſophy. Many of the Chriſtian fathers were infected with the practical, as well as the ſpeculative, errors of this ſchool. To this ſource we are to trace back the numerous adulterations of the ſimple morality of the New Teſtament, which are to be found in "The Shepherd of Hermas," and in the writings of Juſtin Martyr, Irenæus, Athenagoras, and Tertullian. This corruption chiefly diſcovered itſelf in a peculiar ſpecies of fanaticiſm, conſiſting in a certain myſtical notion of perfection, which originated from a principle common to Platoniſts, Orientaliſts, and Gnoſtics; that the ſoul of man is impriſoned and debaſed in its corporeal habitation, and in proportion as it becomes diſengaged from the incumbrance, and purged from the dregs of matter, it is prepared for its return to the divine nature, the fountain from which it proceeded [c]. The early Chriſtians appear to have been led into this ſyſtem, and into all the unnatural auſterities which ſprung from it, by obſerving the extraordinary ſanctity of the Therapeutic ſect among the Jews [d], and of many aſcetic Platoniſts who, in this reſpect, followed the example of the Egyptian Pythagoreans. Emulous of the fame which both Jews and Heathens had obtained by their voluntary mortifications, and, perhaps too, inſpired with an enthuſiaſtic notion, that they ſhould by this means

[a] Pædag. l. iii. c. 2. l. ii. c. 10.
[b] Conf. Barbeyrac, c. 6, 9, 10, 15.
[c] Clem. Alex. Strom. l. vi. p. 412.
[d] Philo de Vit. Contempl.

approach

approach nearer to God, and be better prepared for heaven, many Chriſtians, even ſo early as the ſecond century, retired into ſolitary places, where they devoted themſelves to abſtinence, contemplation, and prayer[a]. It is impoſſible to enumerate the erroneous opinions, and abſurd practices, which this falſe idea of perfection introduced into the Chriſtian church, or to ſay how groſsly it corrupted the Chriſtian ſyſtem of morals.

The clear reſult of theſe general obſervations on the circumſtances, opinions, and writings of the Chriſtian fathers, is, that they contributed little towards the improvement of true and ſound philoſophy. Whatever abilities or learning they poſſeſſed (and in ſeveral inſtances theſe were not inconſiderable) their peculiar ſituation, as well as the general ſtate of philoſophy, prevented them from making any important advances in ſcience. Through ſeveral centuries, they partook of the ſpirit of the Alexandrian ſchool, and the Eclectic method of philoſophiſing platoniſed Chriſtianity. And when, in proceſs of time, the philoſophers themſelves began to forſake Plato, and follow Ariſtotle, the Chriſtian fathers preferred the Stagyrite as the more accurate philoſopher. In this preference they were confirmed by the example of the Saracens: and hence aroſe that pernicious corruption, both of theology and philoſophy, the Scholastic System. At the ſame time, the adulterated Platoniſm of Alexandria continued among the Greek Chriſtians, and produced The Mystic Theology. Thus the church was at once diſturbed by two monſtrous productions in philoſophy, of which we ſhall treat in the ſequel.*

[a] Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. ii. c. 16. Conf. Paſt. Herm. et Apol. Athenag.

* Vidend. Moſhem. Diſſ. de Cauſſa ſuppoſit. lib. inter Chriſt. Sec. 1. et 11. Huet. Dem. Ev. Prop. iv. Origenian. l. ii. c. 1. § 4. Baptiſta Criſpus de caute legendo Platone, Rom. 1594. fol. Petav. Dogm. Theol. t. ii. l. 1. c. 8. Balt. Defenſe des S. Peres accuſ. de Platoniſme. Bull's Defence of the Nicene Creed. Sand. de Trinit. Sandii Nucleus Hiſt. Eccl. Le Clerc. Bibl. Univ. t. x. Bibl. Choiſie, t. xii. Epiſtola ſub. nom. Liberii. Baſnage Hiſt. des Juifs, l. iv. p. 79. Fabr. Bibl. Gr. v. iii. p. 39. 176. Buddæi Iſag. in Hiſt. Theol. l. ii. c. 3. Dupin. Bibl. des Auct. Eccl. t. i. p. 203. Blount's Cenſ. cel. Auct. p. 213. Blondell. de Sybillis, l. i. c. 26. Moſhem. Diſſ. de turbata per Platon. rec. Eccl. Dallæus de Uſu Patrum. Souverain. Platoniſme devoillé.

CHAP.

# CHAP. III.

## OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE CHRISTIAN FATHERS IN PARTICULAR.

FROM the beginning of the ſecond to the ſeventh century, which may be conſidered as the commencement of the Middle Age, many learned men aroſe in the Chriſtian church, who ſtudied and applied philoſophy in the manner explained in the preceding chapter. A diſtinct but brief account of the principal of theſe, as far as reſpects the ſubject of this work, we now proceed to lay before the reader, referring him for other particulars to eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians.

The Chriſtian fathers may be divided into two claſſes; thoſe who flouriſhed before, and thoſe who flouriſhed after, the inſtitution of the Eclectic ſect: and this diſtinction is of conſiderable conſequence in the preſent inquiry. The firſt claſs commences with Juſtin Martyr; the ſecond, with Origen.

The Apoſtolic Fathers, who had derived their knowledge of Chriſtianity, and their habits of thinking, from the Evangeliſts and Apoſtles, were more deſirous of imitating their ſimplicity of ſentiment and expreſſion, than of excelling in ſubtle ſpeculation. Hence we find in their genuine writings but few traces of the Grecian or Alexandrian philoſophy. But when men, who had been educated in the Pagan ſchools, became converts to the Chriſtian faith, they brought with them their philoſophical ideas and language, and aſſociated them with the doctrine of Chriſtianity.

Among theſe Chriſtian philoſophers, the firſt, and one of the moſt celebrated, was JUSTIN, who, on account of the teſtimony which he afterwards bore to the Chriſtian cauſe, is uſually diſtin-

guiſhed by the title of "The Martyr." He was born at Neapolis, or Sichem, in Paleſtine, about the beginning of the ſecond century. His father, whoſe name was Priſcus, was a Gentile Greek, and ſent him to Alexandria to be inſtructed in Grecian learning. In his youth, as he himſelf relates, he ſtudied, firſt the Stoic, and afterwards the Peripatetic philoſophy, under different maſters. Not, however, finding in either of theſe ſchools the ſatisfaction he wiſhed concerning the divine nature, and having been refuſed admiſſion to the Pythagorean ſchool for want of the neceſſary preparatory inſtruction and diſcipline, he determined to addict himſelf to the ſtudy of the doctrine of Plato, who, for his ſublime notions concerning God and religion, had long obtained the name of The Divine Philoſopher. Under the direction of an able and judicious Platoniſt of Alexandria, he proſecuted this ſtudy with great delight, "finding," as he ſays, "that the contemplation of Incorporeal Ideas added wings to his mind, ſo that he hoped ſoon to aſcend to the true wiſdom [a]."

That he might proceed without interruption in this favourite purſuit, Juſtin withdrew to a place of retirement near the ſea. He had not been long in this place, when, in one of his ſolitary walks, he was accoſted by an old man of venerable aſpect, whom ſome ſuppoſe to have been Polycarp; a ſuppoſition which Juſtin himſelf favours, by calling himſelf a diſciple of the apoſtles, which ſeems to imply that he had been inſtructed by ſome apoſtolic man [b]. Whoever he was, this old man, in his converſation with Juſtin, diſcovered no ſlight acquaintance with the Platonic philoſophy; for he made uſe of the Platonic principles and language, to which he found Juſtin attached, in order to conduct him to the knowledge of a more pure and perfect ſyſtem. The diſcourſe of this reverend preceptor inſpired Juſtin with an earneſt deſire of peruſing the writings of the prophets and apoſtles; and when he had read them, he confeſſed, that the goſpel of Chriſt was the only certain and uſeful philoſophy. About the year one hundred and thirty-three, he embraced the Chriſtian faith; ſtill, however, retaining the habit of a philoſopher.

[a] Dialog. cum Tryphone.

[b] Epiſt. ad Diognet. p. 501. Conf. Euſeb. Hiſt. Ec. l. iv. c. 3. et Phot. Cod. 234.

Juſtin,

Juſtin, after his converſion, retained a ſtrong attachment to the Platonic ſyſtem, and applied his knowledge of this ſyſtem to the explanation and defence of the Chriſtian doctrine. Perceiving, or imagining, in many particulars, an agreement between Platoniſm and Chriſtianity [a], he concluded, that whatever was valuable in the former had either been communicated to Plato, by inſpiration, from the Logos, or firſt emanation of the divine nature, or had been tranſmitted by tradition from Moſes [b] and the Hebrew prophets, and might therefore be juſtly claimed as belonging to divine revelation, and incorporated into the Chriſtian creed. All good doctrine, according to him, proceeds from the Logos, and, on that account, wherever it is found, of right belongs to Chriſtians. "Next to God," ſays he, "we revere and love the Logos of the underived and ineffable Deity, who for our ſake became man, that partaking of our infirmities he might heal our diſeaſes. All writers, through the ſeed of the Logos ſown within them, are able obſcurely to diſcern thoſe things which have a real exiſtence." And in another place [c], "We are inſtructed that Chriſt is the firſt-begotten ſon of God, and have already ſhewn, that he is the Logos, of which the whole human race partakes, and that whoever lives according to the Logos are Chriſtians, even though [for their neglect of pagan divinities] they have been reckoned atheiſts: as, among the Greeks, Socrates, Heraclitus, and the like;

[a] Apol. ii. p. 50. 78.

[b] Though Juſtin repeatedly aſſerts the doctrine of Plato concerning the Logos to have been derived from Moſes, there is no proof that this was in truth the caſe. It is therefore probable that Juſtin, from an undue fondneſs for his former maſter, endeavoured, in order to ſupport his aſſertion, to find the Logos in the Old Teſtament. His proofs, that the Logos, an emanation from the divine nature, was the creator of the world, reſt upon fanciful interpretations of ſcripture, inconſiſtent with good ſenſe and ſound criticiſm, as any one may be convinced who will be at the pains to examine his explanations of Gen. i. 26. xviii. 1, &c. xxviii. 11—19. Exod. iii. 1—6. Prov. viii. The truth ſeems to have been, that Juſtin, being of an enthuſiaſtic turn, imagined Chriſt to have been the Logos, the firſt of thoſe emanations of the divine nature of which Plato ſpoke; and that he fancied his own mind to have been, in a ſupernatural manner, enlightened *, to diſcover him as the Logos in the writings of Moſes and Solomon. See this opinion ably ſupported in LINDSEY's Second Addreſs to the Students of Oxford and Cambridge, ch. ii.

[c] Apol. ii. p. 83.

* Dial. cum Tryphone, p. 154, 155.

and among barbarians, Abraham, Ananias, Azarias, Miſael, Elias, and many others."

From theſe and other paſſages[a] in the writings of Juſtin, it appears, that he underſtood by the term Logos, not the reaſoning faculty of the human mind, but, after Plato, the emaning Reaſon of the Divine Nature; that he conceived this Divine Reaſon to have inſpired the Hebrew prophets, and to have been the Chriſt, who appeared in fleſh; that he ſuppoſed it to have been participated not only by the Hebrew patriarchs, but by the more excellent Pagan philoſophers; and conſequently, that he looked upon every tenet in the writings of the heathens, which he could reconcile with the doctrine of Chriſt, as a portion of divine wiſdom which Chriſtians might juſtly appropriate to themſelves. Having learned from Plato and his followers, in the ſchools of Alexandria, that the knowledge of God is alone to be gained by the contemplation of Ideas, which have their primary ſeat in the Divine Logos; and that the human mind, in conſequence of its nature as proceeding from the ſoul of the world, is capable of contemplating thoſe divine Ideas, by means of which it may aſcend to the knowledge of God, Juſtin was neceſſarily led to conclude, that man can only arrive at divine ſcience through the medium of the Logos. Hence, he referred all Chriſtian knowledge to the perception of the Divine Reaſon inhabiting in man; and thus laid the foundation of an error, ſtill retained in ſome Chriſtian ſects, that Chriſt, or the Word, is a ſubſtantial ray of divine

[a] In his dialogue with Trypho, Juſtin ſays *, "I will bring you another proof from the ſcriptures, that in the beginning, before all creatures, God produced from himſelf a Rational Power (ὁ θεὸς γεγέννηκε δύναμίν τινα ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ λογικήν) which is called by the holy ſpirit the glory of God, ſometimes wiſdom, ſometimes an angel, ſometimes God, ſometimes Lord and Logos.—He has this name (Logos) from his being ſubſervient to his father's counſels, and from being produced by his father's will, as we experience in ourſelves." See the paſſage at large, with remarks, in PRIESTLEY's *Hiſtory of Early Opinions concerning Jeſus Chriſt* †; a valuable work, in which it is proved at large, that the notions of the firſt Chriſtian fathers concerning the Divine Nature originated in the Platonic ſchools, and that theſe notions gradually produced the doctrine of the Trinity, which, from the time of the Council of Nice, was embraced as a fundamental article of faith in the Chriſtian church.

* Dial. p. 266. † Vol. i. p. 56.

light

light internally communicated to man. Juſtin alſo borrowed from Plato his notion of angels employed in the government of the elements, the earth, and the heavens, and many other tenets not to be found in the ſcriptures [a].

On the whole, it cannot be doubted, that Juſtin Martyr mixed Platonic notions and language with the ſimple doctrine of Chriſtianity, and wrote concerning God and divine things like a Chriſtian Platoniſt. He muſt, nevertheleſs, be acknowledged to have been a faithful and zealous advocate for Chriſtianity; for, in conſequence of an attack which he made upon the Cynic philoſophy, Creſcens the Cynic, who with the reſt of the philoſophers enjoyed the patronage of the Emperor Aurelius Antoninus, raiſed a perſecution againſt him and his brethren, in which this excellent man fell a martyr in the cauſe of Chriſt. This happened in the year one hundred and ſixty-three.

TATIAN, by birth a Syrian, a Sophiſt by profeſſion [b], who flouriſhed about the year one hundred and ſeventy, after his converſion from heatheniſm to Chriſtianity, became a diſciple of Juſtin Martyr, and accompanied him to Rome, where he partook with his maſter the hatred and perſecution of Creſcens [c]. After the death of Juſtin, excelling more in the powers of imagination than of judgment, he gave the reins to the former, and framed a new ſyſtem of fanciful opinions, called, The Hereſy of the Encratitæ [d]. His apology for Chriſtianity, entitled, *Oratio ad Græcos*, "An Addreſs to the Greeks," the only genuine work of this father which remains, every where breathes the ſpirit of the Oriental philoſophy. Tatian teaches, that God, after having from eternity remained at reſt in the plenitude of his own light, that he might manifeſt himſelf, ſent forth from his ſimple nature, by an act of his will, the Logos, through whom he gave exiſtence to the univerſe, the eſſence of which had eternally ſubſiſted in himſelf. "The Logos," he ſays, "through the will

[a] Apol. i. p. 44. Epiſt. ad Diognet. p. 498. [b] Orat. p. 170. 173. ed. Paris.
[c] Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. iv. c. 29. Hieron. de S. E. c. 29.
[d] Epiphan. Hæreſ. xlvi. 1. t. i. p. 390. Theodoret. Hær. Fab. l. i. c. 10. Philaſtr. de Hær. c. 48.

of

of God, ſprang from his ſimple nature:" Θελήματι δὲ τῆς ἁπλότητος αὐτοῦ προπηδᾷ λόγος. This firſt emanation, which, after the Alexandrian Platoniſts, he calls the Logos, and which, like the Adam Kadmon of the Cabbaliſts, is the firſt medium through which all things flow from God, he repreſents as proceeding, without being ſeparated from the divine nature. Matter is conceived by Tatian to have been the production of the Logos, ſent forth (προεξελημένη) from his boſom. And the mind of man is, according to him, λόγος ἐκ τῆς λογικῆς δυνάμεως, reaſon produced from a rational power, or an eſſential emanation from the divine Logos. He diſtinguiſhes between the rational mind and the animal ſoul, as the Alexandrian philoſophers between νοῦς and ψύχη, and the Cabbaliſts between Zelem and Nepheſh. The world he ſuppoſed to be animated by a ſubordinate ſpirit, of which all the parts of viſible nature partake: and he taught that dæmons, cloathed in material vehicles, inhabit the aerial regions; and that above the ſtars, Æons, or higher emanations from the divine nature, dwell in eternal light [a]. In fine, the ſentiments and language of Tatian upon theſe ſubjects perfectly agree with thoſe of the Egyptian and the Cabbaliſtic philoſophy, whence it may be preſumed, that he derived them, in a great meaſure, from theſe ſources.

After Plato, this Chriſtian father maintained the imperfection of matter as the cauſe of evil, and the conſequent merit of riſing above all corporeal appetites and paſſions; and it was, probably, owing to this notion, that, with other fathers, he held the ſuperior merit of the ſtate of celibacy above that of marriage; and that he adopted, as Jerom relates, the Gnoſtic opinion, that Chriſt had no real body. The tenor of Tatian's Apology concurs with what is known of his hiſtory, to prove, that he was a Platonic Chriſtian. Little regard is therefore due to the account which is given of his opinions by Epiphanius, who was unacquainted with the manner in which Chriſtian hereſies ſprung from the Oriental philoſophy, the common ſource, as we have ſeen, of the Egyptian, Cabbaliſtic, and Gnoſtic ſyſtems.

[a] Orat. ad Græc. p. 138—159. Clem. Al. Str. l. i. p. 320. l. iii. p. 335. Excerpt. Theodot. Cl. Al. p. 806. Orig. contr. Celſ. l. i. p. 16. De Orat. § 13. Euſeb. Hiſt. Ec. l. iv. c. 11. 16. 29. Hieron. de S. E. c. 29.

Theophilus

THEOPHILUS OF ANTIOCH, born of Gentile parents, and in his youth well inſtructed in human learning and Pagan philoſophy, after his converſion became an able advocate for Chriſtianity. He was appointed biſhop of Antioch in the year one hundred and ſixty-eight. Having long enjoyed an intimate friendſhip with Autolychus, a learned Pagan, he was exceedingly deſirous of converting him to the Chriſtian faith, and for this purpoſe wrote an Apology for Chriſtianity, in which he expoſed, with much ability, the ſuperſtitions and abſurdities of Paganiſm[a]. Several things in this apology diſcover the writer's predilection for the Platonic ſyſtem, and his inclination to adapt it to the Chriſtian doctrine. Particularly, in ſpeaking of the Logos, as proceeding from the Divine Nature, and as the agent in the divine operations, he makes uſe of Platonic ideas and language; doubtleſs, in hopes of reconciling his friend Autolychus, who was converſant with the writings of philoſophers, to the Chriſtian ſyſtem. His doctrine is, that God had always within himſelf his Logos, or wiſdom, which he produced by ſending forth from his boſom before the univerſe was created; and that this Logos was the miniſter, by whom he made all things, and who afterwards deſcended upon the prophets.

We may alſo rank among the Platoniſing fathers, ATHENAGORAS, the author of "An Apology for Chriſtians," and of "A Treatiſe on the Reſurrection of the Body." It appears from his writings, that he was a native of Athens, and that he paſſed his youth among the philoſophers of his time. He flouriſhed towards the cloſe of the ſecond century. After he became a convert to Chriſtianity, he retained the name and habit of a philoſopher, probably in expectation of gaining greater credit to the Chriſtian doctrine among the unconverted heathen. In his apology, he judiciouſly explains the notions of the Stoics and Peripatetics concerning God and divine things, and expoſes, with great accuracy and ſtrength of reaſoning, their reſpective errors. He frequently ſupports his arguments by the authority of Plato, and diſcovers much partiality for his ſyſtem. In what he advances concerning God and the Logos, or divine rea-

[a] Apol. ed. Wolf. l. ii. § 14, &c. Ed. Oxon. 1700.

ſon,

ſon, he evidently mixes the dogmas of Paganiſm with the doctrines of Chriſtianity [a].

According to Athenagoras, God is underived, indiviſible, and diſtinct from matter; there are middle natures between God and matter; from the beginning, God, the eternal mind, being from eternity rational, had the Logos within himſelf: the Son of God is the Reaſon of the Father in idea and energy; for, ſince the Father and Son are one, by him and through him all things are made: the Logos was produced, that the ideas of all things might ſubſiſt, and they are contained in his ſpirit.

On the imperfect and untractable nature of matter; on angels, dæmons, and other natures compounded of matter and ſpirit; and on other philoſophical topics, Athenagoras reaſons with all the ſubtlety of the Grecian ſchools; ſo that, in every page, you ſee him to be by profeſſion a philoſopher. One cannot peruſe his writings, without admiring in them an happy union of Attic elegance and philoſophical penetration. In moral philoſophy, he adopted the common auſterities, particularly with reſpect to marriage.

The ſecond century probably produced the learned work, entitled, "HERMIAS's Ridicule of the Gentile Philoſophers [b]." The tenor as well as the title of the work renders it probable, that it was written by ſome philoſopher, who had been converted to Chriſtianity. It contains no inelegant compendium of the Greek philoſophy. The author of the piece is unknown.

Another writer of great diſtinction in this early period of the Chriſtian church is IRENÆUS, probably a native of Smyrna. He was a diſciple of Polycarp and other apoſtolic fathers, and was well read, not only in ſacred learning, but in antient philoſophy. Viſiting the Weſtern churches, he became firſt preſbyter, and afterwards, in the year one hundred and ſeventy-ſeven, biſhop of Lyons [c]. He employed his learning and induſtry in refuting the Gnoſtic hereſies,

[a] Apol. Athen. Ed. Par. p. 5—30. Phot. Cod. 234.
[b] Eaſil. 1553. 8vo. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. v. p. 88. Oxon. 1700. ad. Calc. Tatiani.
[c] Euſeb. Hiſt. Ec. l. v. p. 170.

which

which had, even in the firſt age of the church, ariſen from the union of the dogmas of the Oriental, Egyptian, and Platonic philoſophy with the doctrine of Chriſt. It is, however, to be regretted, that this learned and zealous advocate for Chriſtianity, having been leſs converſant with the Oriental than the Greek philoſophy, did not perceive the true origin of the hereſies which he undertook to refute. Upon a compariſon of his writings with the Platonic ſyſtem at that time taught in Alexandria, it will alſo be acknowledged, that his repreſentation of Chriſtian doctrines is ſtrongly tinctured with Platoniſm. He ſpeaks of the ſon as the miniſter and inſtrument of the father in the creation of the world, and ſays, "that God had no need of the miniſtry of angels in forming the world, when he had his ſon, and his image, miniſtering to him." This doctrine he advances in refutation of the Gnoſtic notion, that the *Demiurgus*, or creator of the world, was a divine Emanation far inferior to the Logos[a]. In ſeveral other particulars, Irenæus borrowed the ideas and language of the Alexandrian Platoniſts. He attributed a ſubtle corporeal form to angels and to the human ſoul, and held that the latter, after death, retains the figure of a man[b]. The hope of immortality he derived, not from the nature of the human ſoul, but from the will of God. He conceived man to conſiſt of three parts, body, ſoul, and ſpirit[c]. His moral doctrine was by no means free from ſuperſtition.

About the beginning of the third century flouriſhed TERTULLIAN, a native of Carthage. He appears to have been a convert from Heatheniſm to Chriſtianity. In his writings may be diſcovered many traces of an acquaintance with antient juriſprudence. Tertullian was intimately converſant with the ſeveral ſects of Grecian philoſophy, and, with Irenæus, ſuppoſed the hereſies of the times to have been derived from this fountain. Seduced by a lively imagination, which appears in all his writings, and by his zeal againſt the Gnoſtic doctrine of Æons, which he aſcribed to the

[a] Iren. Heræſ. l. iii. c. 8. n. 3. l. iv. c. 7. n. 4. c. 38. n. 3. l. ii. c. 30. n. 9. c. 25. n. 8. Tertull. in Val. c. 5. Hieron. Ep. 83. Epiph. Hær. 31. c. 33.

[b] Heræſ. l. ii. c. 34. p. 168. l. ii. c. 19. n. 7. [c] L. v. c. 7. l. ii. c. 19. n. 6.

Platonic notion of Immaterial Forms, or Ideas, he baniſhed all pure intelligence from his ſyſtem, and maintained, that all intelligent beings, not excepting even God himſelf, though not viſible, are material. "Who can deny," ſays he, "that God, though a ſpirit, is a body? for ſpirit is a body of a peculiar kind." Even thoſe beings which are inviſible to us, have, with God, a body and form of their own, by which they are viſible to God alone, ſince what proceeds from his ſubſtance cannot be unſubſtantial [a]." Tertullian inveighs with great bitterneſs againſt the ſeveral ſects of the Greek philoſophy, and calls philoſophers the patriarchs of the heretics [b]. Nevertheleſs, in refuting them, he frequently makes uſe of Platonic notions and language. Concerning the Son of God, he ſays, that there was a time when he did not exiſt. In argumentation Tertullian is weak, futile, and ſophiſtical. On moral ſubjects, he held many abſurd opinions; particularly with reſpect to marriage, war, and the power of magiſtrates. With ſeveral other Chriſtian fathers, he wore the philoſopher's cloak; a dreſs which ſeems indeed to have been commonly worn by thoſe, who took upon them the character of Chriſtian philoſophers, or devoted themſelves to an aſcetic life [c], as we find Tertullian did, after he became a Montaniſt.

None of the fathers of this period merit higher diſtinction, for erudition in general, or for the knowledge of philoſophy in particular, than CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS; nor was any one among them led further aſtray, by philoſophical ſubtlety, from the ſimplicity of the Chriſtian faith. This Chriſtian father, who flouriſhed between the years one hundred and ninety-two and two hundred and ſeventeen, early devoted himſelf to ſtudy, in the ſchools of Alexandria, probably his native city, and had many preceptors [d]. As he himſelf relates, "One of theſe was an Ionian; a ſecond was from *Magna Græcia*; a third, from Cælo-ſyria; a fourth, an Egyptian; others came from the EAST, of whom one was an Aſſyrian, and another a Hebrew:" a paſſage, which, by the way

[a] Adverſ. Praxeam c. 7.
[b] De Præſcript. c. vii. p. 232. Adv. Hermog. c. viii. p. 269.
[c] Salmaſ. de Pallio. [d] Strom. l. i. p. 274. Euſeb. Hiſt. Ecc. l. v. c. 2.

clearly.

clearly proves, that thoſe who ſtudied at Alexandria did not confine themſelves to Greek philoſophy and literature, but engaged in the ſtudy of Oriental learning. His Hebrew preceptor, whom he calls the Sicilian bee, by whom ſincere and incorruptible truth had been collected from the prophets and apoſtles, was unqueſtionably Pantænus, a Jew by birth, but of Sicilian extraction, who united Grecian with ſacred learning, and was attached to the Stoic philoſophy[a]. Clement ſo far adopted the ideas of this preceptor, as to eſpouſe the moral doctrine of the Stoics. In other reſpects, he followed the Eclectic method of philoſophiſing. It does not however appear, that he was a follower of Ammonius, the father of the Eclectic ſect. It is more probable, that before Potamo, or rather Ammonius, gave this method the form and name of a ſect, Clement, like many other of his fellow-citizens and contemporaries, ſelected for himſelf, from the ſeveral ſects, ſuch tenets as beſt agreed with his own judgment. Whilſt the Pagan philoſophers pillaged the Chriſtian ſtores to enrich the Eclectic ſyſtem, this Chriſtian father, on the contrary, transferred the Platonic, Stoic, and Oriental dogmas to the Chriſtian creed, as relics of antient tradition originating in divine revelation[b]. He expreſsly aſſerts, that philoſophy was communicated to the Greeks from heaven, as their proper teſtament or covenant; and that it was to them, what the law of Moſes was to the Hebrews. In hopes of recommending Chriſtianity to his catechumens (for, after Pantænus, he had the charge of the Chriſtian catechetical ſchool in Alexandria[c]) Clement made a large collection of antient wiſdom, under the name of *Stromata*; aſſigning this reaſon for the undertaking, that much truth is mixed with the dogmas of philoſophers, or rather covered and concealed in their writings, like the kernel within its ſhell[d]. This work is of great value, as it contains many quotations, and relates many facts not elſewhere preſerved. But, though the object of his labours was laudable, it muſt be confeſſed, that his inclination to blend heathen tenets with Chriſtian doctrines rendered his writings in

[a] Valeſ. ad Euſeb. l. v. c. 10, 11. Chron. Ann. t. ii. an. 185. Phot. Cod. 118. Hieron. Ep. 84. [b] Strom. l. i. p. 313.
[c] Phot. l. c. [d] Strom. l. i. p. 278, 279. l. i. c. 3. p. 83. l. iii. p. 443.

many reſpects injurious to the Chriſtian cauſe. His vaſt reading encumbered his judgment; and his injudicious zeal ſometimes led him into credulity, if not into diſhoneſty. He admitted the authority of doubtful, and even of ſpurious writings. He quotes as authentic the work entitled, "The Preaching of Peter and Paul[a]," which Jerom acknowledges to be ſpurious. In like manner, he admits the doubtful authority of Ariſtobulus, Ariſtæus, and others, and on this ground maintains the inſpiration of the Septuagint verſion of the Hebrew ſcriptures.

The erroneous explanations which Clement gives of the tenets of the Grecian ſects betray both prejudice and precipitation. As one example of this, out of many others which might be ſelected from his writings, we ſhall mention the manner in which he ſupports the aſſertion, that Plato agrees with Moſes in his account of the production of the world. "Plato affirms," ſays he, "that the world was originally produced (γεγονέναι) from ſome principle, and ſpeaks of God as the former and father of the univerſe; herein declaring, that the world is not only begotten, but begotten as a ſon from a father[b]:" a repreſentation equally inconſiſtent with the Moſaic doctrine of creation, and with Plato's notion of the formation of the world from pre-exiſtent matter.

We frequently find Clement adopting Platonic and Stoic tenets as Chriſtian doctrines, and thus ſowing the ſeeds of error in the Chriſtian church. He ſpeaks, for example, of the Chriſtian doctrine, reſpecting the government of the paſſions, as coincident with the Stoic doctrine of apathy, and makes the perfect Chriſtian a character exactly ſimilar to the wiſe man of the Stoics. He even falls ſo far into the rant of the Porch, as to adopt their abſurd language, concerning the poſſibility of attaining abſolute independence and perfection[c].

Among the doctrines of Clement are theſe[d]: that the Logos is

[a] Strom. l. vi. p. 636. Conf. Fabr. Cod. ap. N. T. p. 797. Hieron. de Scr. Eccl. c. i. p. 19. [b] Strom. l. v. p. 592. Conf. p. 593—5. [c] L. vi. p. 649.
[d] Strom. l. v. p. 592, 3. Admon. ad Gent. p. 62. Strom. l. v. p. 553. l. vii. p. 702. Pædag. l. iii. c. 2. p. 222. l. i. c. 6. Strom. l. vi. p. 648. l. i. p. 272. l. vii. p. 718.

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the image of the father, and man the image of the Logos; that the Logos proceeded from God for the purpoſe of creation; that the world is produced from God, as a ſon from a father; that there are two worlds, the ſenſible and the intelligible; that angels are corporeal; that the Greeks received their wiſdom from the inferior angels; that man has two ſouls, the rational and the irrational; that the perfection of human nature conſiſts in the contemplation of Ideas; and that the ſtars [a] are animated by a rational ſoul: poſitions which approach nearer to the Platonic, or the Gnoſtic ſyſtems, than to the ſimple doctrine of Chriſtianity. Clement alſo aſſerts, that Plato received his doctrine of Ideas from Moſes, and intimates, that the Egyptians borrowed their doctrine of Tranſmigration from the Hebrews [b]. From theſe particulars, the philoſophical ſpirit and character of Clement of Alexandria may be eaſily inferred. What fruit it produced will appear in the hiſtory of his pupil Origen.

The Chriſtian fathers, in the period we have hitherto conſidered, formed different ideas of antient philoſophy, and applied its dogmas differently, according to their reſpective talents and modes of education. But in the third century, when Ammonius, following the idea of Potamo, framed the Eclectic ſyſtem, and had a numerous train of diſciples, a new order of Chriſtian preceptors aroſe, who addicted themſelves to this new ſect, ſo far as to teach Chriſtianity after the manner of the Ammonian ſchool [c]. The moſt celebrated of this claſs of Chriſtian fathers was Origen, who had many followers, and whoſe tenets had an extenſive and laſting influence upon the ſtate of opinions in the Chriſtian church.

ORIGEN [d], called alſo, on account of his invincible perſeverance and patience, Adamantius [e], was born at Alexandria, in the year one hundred and eighty-four, or one hundred and eighty-five. From his childhood he enjoyed the benefit of a liberal education. He became an early catechumen in the Chriſtian ſchool of Alexandria under Clement, by whom he was introduced to

[a] In Eclogis. Phot. Cod. 109. [b] Strom. l. v. p. 553. l. vi. p. 633.
[c] Hieroc. apud Phot. Cod. 214.
[d] Huet. Origeniana. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. v. p. 237. Suidas.
[e] Epiph. Hær. 64. c. 73.

an acquaintance with philoſophy, and impreſſed with a ſtrong perſuaſion of its utility as preparatory to the ſtudy of Chriſtian truth [a]. Thus prepared, he paſſed over, with great avidity, from the initiatory inſtructions of Clement, to the philoſophical ſchool of Ammonius [b], which was frequented both by Pagans and Chriſtians. This philoſopher, as we have already ſeen, was a man of a wild imagination and fanatical ſpirit, who, deſpiſing the ſimplicity of the Chriſtian doctrine, revolted to Paganiſm, and from the dogmas of the Oriental and the Grecian philoſophy framed a new ſyſtem. In order to gloſs over his apoſtacy from Chriſtianity, he was particularly deſirous of admitting Chriſtian doctrines into his crude and inconſiſtent chaos of opinions, and claimed to himſelf the merit of reconciling philoſophy with revelation. Under ſuch a maſter, it may be eaſily conceived, that Origen would become well acquainted with the writings of the Greek philoſophers; and this is expreſsly atteſted by Euſebius. At the ſame time, by the aid of ready ability and great induſtry, he made himſelf maſter of all the learning of the times [c].

With theſe qualifications, Origen, about the eighteenth year of his age, opened a ſchool in Alexandria for the inſtruction of youth in grammatical and philoſophical learning. The circumſtance, which led him to take upon him this charge ſo early, reflects too much honour upon his memory to be omitted. His father Leonidas having ſuffered martyrdom, all his property was confiſcated, and Origen's mother, with ſix children, was left without any other ſupport than the bounty of certain Alexandrian matrons. In theſe circumſtances, Origen undertook the inſtruction of youth, to furniſh his mother and her family with the means of ſubſiſtence, and his filial piety was amply rewarded; for his ſchool ſoon became ſo famous, that it was crowded with young men both of Chriſtian and Pagan families, and he acquired a conſiderable portion of wealth [d].

After the death of Clement, when Origen took upon him the charge of the Chriſtian catechetical ſchool, he cloſely followed the ſteps of his predeceſſor; taking great pains to inſtruct his pupils in

[a] Euſeb. Hiſt. Ec. l. vi. c. 3. 6. [b] Ib. c. 19.
[c] Suidas in Origen. Hieron. de Scr. Eccl. c. 54. Euſeb. l. c. l. vi. c. 2. 20.
[d] Euſeb. l. c. c. 2, 3.

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the tenets of the ſeveral ſects of philoſophy, as the moſt probable means of convincing them of the ſuperior excellence of Chriſtianity. At the ſame time he inculcated upon them, by precept, authority, and example, an auſtere and rigid ſyſtem of morals[a]. The ſeverity of his own manners may be inferred from ſeveral circumſtances mentioned by Euſebius; particularly, that he wore no ſhoes, nor more than one coat; and that he prevented all ſexual deſires by voluntary emaſculation; an unuſual kind of ſelf-denial, to which he was probably led by an injudicious explanation of certain Chriſtian precepts.

Having in this manner raiſed an eminent ſchool, in which the Alexandrian philoſophy was employed to illuſtrate and eſtabliſh the doctrine of Chriſtianity, Origen found little difficulty in ſpreading his tenets beyond Alexandria, through Paleſtine, Syria, and other countries which he viſited, partly to negociate certain eccleſiaſtical affairs, and partly to eſcape the violence of Demetrius, biſhop of Alexandria. In the courſe of his journey he paſſed through Greece, and made ſome ſtay at Athens, where he attended the ſchools of the philoſophers, who at this time enjoyed the patronage of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius. At laſt he ſettled at Cæſarea, where he taught both ſacred and profane learning to a numerous train of diſciples, among whom was Porphyry[b]. Origen died in the year two hundred and fifty-three.

By the help of lively talents, a ready elocution, and great induſtry, Origen was one of the moſt popular preceptors of the age; and was therefore able, not only to diſſeminate his opinions far abroad during his life, but to tranſmit them to ſucceeding times. It will therefore be neceſſary to take ſome notice of the ſources, and the leading heads, of his doctrine.

The allegorical method of explaining the writings and traditions of the antients, long practiſed in Egypt, having been adopted by the Jews who had been educated in the Alexandrian ſchools, and particularly by Philo, theſe examples were followed by Origen; and thus a

[a] Euſeb. l. c. Epiph. Hær. 64. c. 2. 61. c. 1. Greg. Thaumaturg. Pareg. p. 10, &c. Ed. Hoeſh.

[b] Euſeb. l. c. c. 3. 18—20. Hieron. de Scr. Ec. c. 54.

fanciful method of interpreting the ſcriptures was encouraged, which opened a wide door to error and deluſion. As the Alexandrian philoſophers had, by this expedient, been able to accommodate the Pagan mythology to their reſpective ſyſtems; and as Ammonius had employed it to reconcile the ſuppoſed truths of revelation with his new modelled Platoniſm; ſo Origen hoped, by the ſame method, to eſtabliſh a union between Heathen philoſophy and Chriſtian doctrine. His fundamental canon of criticiſm was, that wherever the literal ſenſe of ſcripture was not obvious, or not clearly conſiſtent with his tenets, the words were to be underſtood in a ſpiritual and myſtical ſenſe: a rule by which he could eaſily incorporate any fancies, either original or borrowed, with the Chriſtian creed.

The principal tenets of Origen are theſe: The Deity is limited in his operations by the imperfect nature of matter. The divine nature is the fountain of matter, and is itſelf, though free from groſs corporeality, in ſome ſenſe, material. God, angels, and the ſouls of men, are of one and the ſame ſubſtance. There are in the divine nature three ὑποστάσεις, ſubſiſtences. The ſon, proceeding from the father like a ſolar ray, differs from, and is inferior to him: he is the firſt emanation from God, dependent upon him, and his miniſter in creation. Minds are of various orders, and, according to the uſe or abuſe of liberty, they are placed in various regions of the world, which was made for this purpoſe. Angels are clothed with a ſubtle corporeal vehicle. Evil ſpirits are degraded by being confined to a groſſer body; and in theſe they are purged from their guilt, till they are prepared to aſcend to a higher order. Every man is attended both by a good and a bad angel. Human ſouls were formed by God before the bodies, into which they are ſent as into a priſon, for the puniſhment of their ſins: they paſs from one body to another. The heavenly bodies are animated by ſouls, which have preſerved their purity; and theſe ſouls are capable of predicting future events. All things are in perpetual rotation, receding from, and at laſt returning to, the divine fountain: whence an eternal ſucceſſion of worlds, and the final reſtoration of the ſouls of bad men, and of devils, after certain

tain purgations, to happineſs[a]. The ſouls of the good are continually advancing in perfection, and riſing to a higher ſtate: matter itſelf will be hereafter refined into a better ſubſtance; and, after the great revolution of ages, all things will return to their ſource, and God will be all in all[b].

Theſe tenets, which approach nearer to the doctrine of Ammonius or Plotinus than to that of Chriſt, may be ultimately traced up to that Emanative ſyſtem, which gave riſe to Gnoſticiſm, and to the Jewiſh Cabbala. It is much to be regretted that Origen, who had, unqueſtionably, talents and merit ſuperior to moſt of his contemporaries, ſhould have ſuffered himſelf to be ſo far miſled by the authority of Clement, and the example of the apoſtate Ammonius, and by a fondneſs for allegory, as thus to attempt to unite the dreams of a myſtical ſyſtem of philoſophy with the ſimple doctrine of Chriſtianity. The fatal effects of this unnatural combination were widely extended, and long experienced.

Whilſt the Alexandrian philoſophy had many patrons in the Chriſtian church, the ſyſtems of other ſects were not without their admirers. The Stoic doctrine found an advocate, as has already been ſaid, in Pantænus. The Peripatetic philoſophy, though it contradicted the Chriſtian ſyſtem, particularly in its dogmas concerning the eternity of the world, and concerning divine providence, was ſtudied, firſt by the heretical, and afterwards by the orthodox ſects, in order to furniſh themſelves with logical armour in defence of their reſpective opinions.

ANATOLIUS[c] of Alexandria, whoſe extenſive acquaintance with philoſophy and literature qualified him for the undertaking, at the requeſt of the Alexandrians, who lamented the failure of the Peripatetic ſchool, attempted with reſpect to the doctrine of Ariſtotle, what Plotinus had executed with reſpect to that of Plato. Making the tenets of the Peripatetic ſect the baſis of his ſyſtem, he in-

[a] Contra Celſum. In Joan. t. ii. p. 49—70. De Principiis, l. i. ii. iv. Phot. Cod. 117. 234. 235. Hieron. Ep. 59. Epiph. Hæreſ. 64. c. 17. Huet. Origeniana.

[b] Philocal. c. i. Princ. l. i. c. 6. 12. l. iii. c. 6. l. ii. c. 3. Phot. 234. Huet. Orig. [c] Euſeb. Hiſt. Ecc. l. vii. c. 32. Hieron. de Scr. Ec. c. 73.

corporated with them other doctrines, both Pagan and Chriſtian, and thus formed a new ſchool, in which Ariſtotle was the chief maſter. But, none of his commentaries upon Ariſtotle being extant, the particular manner in which he philoſophiſed is unknown. After reſiding many years in Alexandria, Anatolius (on what occaſion is uncertain) went into Syria: he afterwards became biſhop of Laodicea, about the year two hundred and ſeventy. This Chriſtian father was well ſkilled in mathematical learning, and wrote a work called "The Paſchal Canon," of which a Latin verſion remains, and "Inſtitutes of Arithmetic," extracts from which are preſerved in a collection, entitled, *Theologumena Arithmetica*. Some fragments of his philoſophical writings are collected by Fabricius [*]; whence it appears, that, after the example of Pythagoras, Plato, and Ariſtotle, he made mathematical learning ſubſervient to philoſophy.

The aſpect, which philoſophy had aſſumed among the Chriſtian fathers in the third century, it retained in the fourth. Many learned men, who were well acquainted with Greek literature and philoſophy, after the example of their predeceſſors, employed their ability and learning in oppoſing Pagan ſuperſtition, and contending for the Chriſtian faith: and in this important ſervice they laboured with great ſucceſs. Still, however, the prejudice in favour of the Platonic doctrine, as either immediately or ultimately derived from the divine Logos, and therefore a part of revelation, remained among them, and continued to fix and perpetuate the errors which it had introduced. Among the names which diſtinguiſh this period, the principal are Arnobius, Lactantius, Euſebius Pamphilus, Didymus of Alexandria, and Auguſtine.

Arnobius, an African by birth, and a rhetorician by profeſſion, from a warm patron of gentile ſuperſtition became a zealous defender of the Chriſtian faith; but his zeal far ſurpaſſed his judgment. He depreciates human reaſon, and maintains the uncertainty of all human knowledge: he reſts the belief of the exiſtence of God upon no rational argument, but upon an innate principle. With the Platoniſts, he imputes the diſorders of nature to the imperfec-

[*] Fab. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 274. v. v. p. 277.

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tion of matter. In fine, it is in vain to ſearch for accurate reaſoning in the writings of this father, whoſe education, talents, and principles, led him to excel in eloquence rather than philoſophy[a].

LACTANTIUS, a pupil of Arnobius, and probably an African by birth, is juſtly celebrated for ſeveral elegant treatiſes. His principal object was to expoſe the errors and contradictions of Pagan writers on the ſubjects of theology and morals, and hereby to eſtabliſh the credit and authority of the Chriſtian religion[b]: and his works are written with much purity and elegance of ſtyle, and diſcover great erudition. Several material defects muſt, however, be remarked in this writer. He frequently quotes and commends ſpurious writings as if they were genuine, and makes uſe of ſophiſtical and puerile reaſonings[c]. Of his puerilities, a ſpecimen has been given in the preceding chapter; and others may be ſeen in what he has advanced concerning the pre-exiſtence of ſouls, the Millenium, the coming of Elias, and many other topics in theology. Lactantius ſometimes falls into egregious miſtakes, through his deficiency in phyſical knowledge. Speaking of the human body, he ſays, "Of many of its parts none can explain the power or uſe but the Maker: who, for example, can explain the uſe of the kidneys, the ſpleen, the liver, the bile, or the heart[d]?" What inexcuſable ignorance in a writer of no inconſiderable erudition! Upon the ſubject of morals, Lactantius has occaſionally ſaid excellent things[e]; but they are mixed with others, injudicious, trifling, or extravagant. He maintains that war is in all caſes unlawful, becauſe it is a violation of the commandment, Thou ſhalt not kill[f]. He cenſures navigation and foreign merchandiſe, condemns all kinds of uſury, and falls into other abſurdities on moral

[a] Arnob. de Chriſt. Rel. Ed. Canter. Conf. l. i. c. 8. 9. 20. 27. 39. l. ii. c. 2. 9. 11, 12. [b] Inſtit. Divin. Ed. Lugd. 1567.

[c] Ib. l. i. c. 5. [d] De Opif. Dei, c. 14.

[e] As a proof that Lactantius, notwithſtanding all his defects, was capable of thinking juſtly and liberally, we ſhall refer the reader to an excellent paſſage, in which he ſtrenuouſly aſſerts the right of private judgment in religion, and calls upon all men to employ their underſtandings in a free enquiry after truth. Vid. Inſtit. l. ii. c. 7. For a further account of the writings and opinions of Lactantius, ſee Lardner's Credibility, part ii. c. 69. [f] Inſt. l. v. c. 20.

topics. We muſt not, however, diſmiſs Lactantius without mentioning, to his credit, that he acknowledges[a], that when Pythagoras and Plato viſited barbarous nations in order to inform themſelves concerning their ſacred doctrines and rites, they did not become acquainted with the Hebrews; an obſervation which, had it been earlier admitted, might have prevented many miſtakes in the hiſtory of philoſophy. Lactantius flouriſhed at the beginning of the fourth century.

Eusebius Pamphilus of Cæſarea, born about the year two hundred and ſeventy, is a writer, who deſerves to be mentioned with particular reſpect. This learned biſhop, entertaining the common notion, that the antient philoſophers had received many truths either immediately, or by tradition, from divine revelation, whilſt in other particulars their writings were full of abſurdities, contradictions, and falſehoods, undertook to raiſe upon this ground a defence of the divine original of Chriſtianity. This great deſign he completed in two valuable works, his *Preparatio et Demonſtratio Evangelica*, "Evangelical Preparation and Demonſtration," both which have happily eſcaped the ravages of time. In providing materials for this work, Euſebius induſtriouſly extracted from antient writings of every kind whatever was ſuitable to his deſign; whence theſe pieces contain many fragments of books which have long ſince been loſt. Had this celebrated writer been more free from prejudice; had he taken more care not to be impoſed upon by ſpurious authorities; had he more clearly underſtood, from the leading principles of each ſect, its peculiar language; had he diſtinguiſhed the pure doctrine of Plato from that of the later Platoniſts; had he more accurately marked the points of difference between the tenets of the Sectarian philoſophers and the doctrine of Chriſt, his works would have been much more valuable. With their preſent defects, they ſhould be read with caution; and particularly with a conſtant recollection of the partiality which Euſebius, with other Chriſtian fathers of this and the preceding centuries, entertained for the Platonic doctrine, on the ground

[a] L. iv. c. 2.

already

already explained. Euſebius has alſo rendered great ſervice, both to the Chriſtian and the philoſophical world, in his "Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory," his "Chronicon," his "Refutation of Hierocles," and other works.

DIDYMUS of Alexandria, a catechetical preceptor, though blind from his infancy, gained ſuch an extenſive and intimate acquaintance with philoſophy, mathematics, and Greek literature, that he was eſteemed a prodigy of learning. He was a pupil of Origen, and wrote in defence of his maſter; but his writings are loſt. He flouriſhed at the cloſe of the fourth century.

CHALCIDIUS[a], the commentator upon the Timæus of Plato, has been ranked by many writers among the Chriſtian fathers; but it is doubtful whether he was a convert to Chriſtianity.

About the beginning of the fifth century flouriſhed AUGUSTINE, who was born at Tagaſte in Africa, in the year three hundred and fifty-four. After a courſe of grammatical ſtudy, he was introduced to the knowledge of philoſophy at Carthage. In early youth he was more addicted to pleaſure than to learning; but when he became converſant with the writings of Cicero, they improved his taſte, and inſpired him, as he himſelf confeſſes, with an ardent thirſt after wiſdom. Not meeting with the ſatisfaction he wiſhed from the Greek and Roman writers, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the ſcriptures; but he was ſoon offended with the ſimplicity of their ſtyle, and threw them aſide to return to his favourite orator. At the age of twenty years, he became acquainted with the works of Ariſtotle; and the abſtract notions of the divine nature which he collected from this philoſopher, led him to adopt the Manichæan doctrine of two independent principles, the one good, the other evil; thinking the latter a neceſſary ſubſtitute for Ariſtotle's principle of privation. At this time he ſo far receded from the Chriſtian faith, as to be of opinion that Jeſus Chriſt was nothing more than a man of unparalleled wiſdom. By a vigorous exertion of his faculties in the ſtudy of philoſophy, he at length diſcovered the futility of

[a] Conf. Moſheim de turbata per recent. Plat. Eccl. § 30. Beauſobre Hiſt. Manich. p. 1. p. 479. Cave Hiſt. Lit. Script. Eccl. p. 125.

the

the Manichæan ſyſtem, and abandoned it. To eſcape the ſolicitations of Fauſtus, a leader of the Manichæans, he withdrew to Rome, where he undertook the profeſſion of rhetoric. Still, however, he retained ſo much of his former ſyſtem, as to aſcribe his evil propenſities to a diſtinct nature within him, and to conceive of the Deity as in ſome ſenſe corporeal. In order to extricate himſelf from theſe errors, he now determined to take refuge in Academic uncertainty, and abandoning philoſophical and theological ſpeculations, gave himſelf up entirely to the ſtudy of eloquence. His ſceptical turn having created him many adverſaries at Rome, he removed, by the advice of Symmachus, to Milan, where he opened a rhetorical ſchool[a].

At Milan, Auguſtine, in the midſt of his perplexing doubts, met with Ambroſe, a Chriſtian teacher of great probity and eloquence. By him he was inſtructed, more accurately than he had before been, in the doctrines of Chriſtianity, and brought back to the acknowledgment of the Chriſtian faith. The way was prepared for his converſion by the peruſal of the writings of ſome later Platoniſts, which he found adapted to raiſe his conceptions above material objects to the contemplation of the divine nature as a pure mind, the fountain of all intelligence. Finding this doctrine fully confirmed, and other important truths clearly taught, in the holy ſcriptures, Auguſtine from that time devoted himſelf to the ſervice of Chriſt, and returned to Africa, where he roſe to great diſtinction in the church[b]. The particulars of his life, from this period, more properly belong to eccleſiaſtical than to philoſophical hiſtory. He died in the year four hundred and thirty.

Although Auguſtine, after his eſtabliſhment in the Chriſtian faith, treated philoſophy in general with contempt, he had, nevertheleſs, a ſtrong attachment to the Platonic ſyſtem, as accommodated to the ſyſtem of emanation by the later Platoniſts[c]. This appears in many

[a] Confeſſion, l. i. c. 9. n. 14. c. 13. n. 20, 21. l. ii. c. 3. n. 3. 5. 8. l. iii. c. 3. n. 6. c. 4. n. 8. c. 5. n. 9. c. 6. c. 7. n. 12. l. iv. c. 16. n. 28. l. vii. c. 5. 19. l. iv. c. 2. n. 3. c. 3. n. 4. c. 15. n. 24. l. v. c. 3. n. 3. c. 5. 13.

[b] Conf. l. v. c. 14. De Utilit. Cred. c. 8. Conf. l. vii.

[c] Contra Acad. l. ii. c. 2. n. 4, 5. Conf. l. vii. c. 20, 21.

of

of his Chriſtian tracts, particularly in the eighth book of his moſt learned and elegant work *De Civitate Dei*, which treats of natural theology according to the doctrine of Plato. This partiality is, without queſtion, to be aſcribed to the cauſe, which has been repeatedly aſſigned for the ſame predilection in other Chriſtian fathers, the prevailing opinion, that the truths which are found in Plato, on account of the ſource whence they were derived, are to be received as the dictates of divine wiſdom. This opinion, however, he afterwards ſaw reaſon to retract[a].

On the whole, it will not be denied by thoſe who are acquainted with the writings of Auguſtine, that he was a great man, and an able defender of the Chriſtian cauſe; but at the ſame time it muſt be acknowledged, that he laboured under the common prejudices of the times, and that theſe frequently betrayed him into abſurd opinions, unſatisfactory reaſonings, and fanciful interpretations of ſcripture. A ſyſtem of logic appears in the works of Auguſtine, which was afterwards commonly uſed in the ſchools through the Middle Age: it is more properly Stoic than Platonic[b].

Among the more eminent Chriſtian Platoniſts of the fifth century was SYNESIUS[c], an African biſhop. He is chiefly celebrated for his eloquence, an elegant ſpecimen of which remains in his *Dion*, a treatiſe on the manner in which he inſtructed himſelf. He ſtudied philoſophy and mathematics at Alexandria, at the time when its ſchools were adorned with the female philoſopher Hypatia, and the eminent mathematicians, Theon, Pappus, and Hero. Under his female preceptor, upon whom he laviſhes the higheſt praiſes, he became acquainted with Alexandrian Platoniſm. At an early age, he acquired ſuch diſtinction among his fellow-citizens, that he was ſent upon an embaſſy to the Emperor Arcadius. Upon his return, through the influence of Theophilus, biſhop of Alexandria, he was engaged to take upon him the profeſſion of Chriſtianity; but his love of retirement and ſtudy long prevented him from accepting any eccleſiaſtical office. At laſt, however, he reluctantly complied with

[a] Retractat. l. i. c. 1. [b] Biblioth. Lat. Fabr. t. iii. p. 519.
[c] Evagrius, l. i. c. 15. Niceph. l. xiv. c. 15. Phot. Cod. 26. Suidas.

the intreaties of Theophilus, and took upon himſelf the epiſcopal charge of the city of Ptolemais. Syneſius held opinions not perfectly conſiſtent with the popular creed, as he himſelf candidly confeſſes in a letter to his brother: he rejected, particularly, the doctrine of the reſurrection of the body. In his *Hymns* he adapts the Triad, or rather Quaternion, of the ſchools to the received Chriſtian doctrine of the Trinity[a]. If the language of theſe myſtical odes be compared with that of the Gnoſtics and Cabbaliſts, with the theology of Proclus, and the Zoroaſtrean Oracles, it will be eaſily ſeen, that Syneſius was a more worthy diſciple of Hypatia than of Jeſus Chriſt[b].

About this period flouriſhed Dionysius, a writer falſely called The Areopagite[c], who has been ranked, without any ſufficient evidence, among the Apoſtolic men. If the writings which bear this name be fairly compared with thoſe of Proclus and Plotinus, little doubt will remain, that this pretended Dionyſius did not write earlier than the fifth century; for his works abound with the myſtical trifles of the Plotinian ſchool. Yet this fanatic found means to paſs his productions upon the Chriſtian world as of the Apoſtolic age, and hereby greatly contributed to foſter an enthuſiaſtic ſpirit both in the Eaſtern and the Weſtern churches.

The Chriſtian philoſophers hitherto noticed chiefly flouriſhed in the Eaſtern countries. In the Weſtern world, the irruptions of

[a] We ſubjoin the following ſpecimen for the amuſement of the learned reader:

Ἁπλότητας ἁγίστητα·
Ἑνώσασα καὶ τελέσα
Ὑπερκοσμίοις λοχείαις
Ὅθεν αὐτὴ προβοῤῥησα
Διὰ πρωτόσπορον εἶδος
Μονὰς ἄῤῥητα χυθεῖσα
Τρικόρυμβον ἄρχων ἀλλαι
Ὑπερκόσμιος δὲ παγὰ
Στέφεται καλλει παίδων
Ἀπο κέντρε τε βυθοιτω,
Περὶ κέντρον τε ῥυέντωι. Hymn i. v. 22, &c.

[b] Hymn iii. v. vi. Conf. Epiſtol. Syneſ. [c] Suidas.

barbarous

barbarous nations almoſt extinguiſhed the remains of learning and ſcience: whence, through ſeveral ſucceeding centuries, we meet with few names which deſerve a place in the hiſtory of philoſophy. Some ſtars, however, of conſiderable luſtre, if not of the firſt magnitude, appeared to diſſipate the darkneſs of this period.

The firſt of theſe, in order of time, is CLAUDIANUS MAMERTUS[a], a learned preſbyter of Vienna, who flouriſhed about the year four hundred and ſixty. He is celebrated for his eloquence, and his general knowledge; and particularly, for his acquaintance with the dialectics of Ariſtotle, which were made uſe of by the orthodox fathers, as weapons both offenſive and defenſive, againſt heretics. He wrote a treatiſe "On the State of the Soul[b]."

At the beginning of the ſixth century appeared a writer of great erudition and diſtinguiſhed genius, ANICIUS MANLIUS TORQUATUS SEVERINUS BOETHIUS. He was born of a noble family at Rome, and was early ſent to Athens to learn the Greek tongue, and to ſtudy philoſophy. In the ſchool of Proclus, he became acquainted with the Eclectic ſyſtem; and from the commendations which he beſtows upon Porphyry, as the beſt interpreter of Ariſtotle, he ſeems to have united the Platonic with the Ariſtotelian doctrine. He tranſlated the treatiſes of Ariſtotle and Porphyry on categories, and illuſtrated them with notes. But his moſt valuable work is his book, *De Conſolatione Philoſophiæ*, "On the Conſolation of Philoſophy;" in which, after the Eclectic manner, he has blended, for the purpoſe of his work, the tenets of Plato, Zeno, and Ariſtotle, but without any notice of the ſources of conſolation which are peculiar to the Chriſtian ſyſtem. In the elegant verſes interſperſed with this work, the intelligent reader will diſcover many traces of the Platonic philoſophy, as it was then taught by Syrian, Proclus, and Marinus. Boëthius wrote two treatiſes, *De Arithmetica*, "On Arithmetic;" five books, *De Unitate et Uno*, "On Unity and One;" *Inſtitutio Muſica*, "Inſtitutes of Muſic," and other pieces[c]. He had

[a] Sidon. Ep. i. Alan. Encyclop. p. 341.
[b] Ed. Barthii Cygn. 1655.
[c] Fabr. Bib. Lat. t. i. p. 642. t. iii. p. 292.

formed a design of translating all the works of Plato and Aristotle into Latin, but was prevented from executing his purpose by a premature death. Having with great freedom censured the conduct of Theodoric, he was banished into Persia, and, after a short interval, beheaded. It was during his exile that he wrote, for the relief of his own mind, his Treatise on Consolation; which discovers an extent of learning, and purity of taste, worthy of a better age. Boethius died about the year five hundred and twenty-six.

Towards the close of the fifth century flourished ÆNEAS GAZA, a Pagan by birth, by profession a Sophist, a disciple of Hierocles, and, after his conversion, a Christian philosopher. His dialogue, entitled *Theophrastus*, in which he maintains the immortality of the soul, and the resurrection of the body, has rescued his name from oblivion. In this poem, although he professedly writes against the Platonists, the doctrines of Platonism and Christianity are confounded[a].

In the sixth century, ZECHARIAS, surnamed the Scholastic, acquired some distinction among Christian philosophers. He was educated at Alexandria, and at length, for his learning and piety, was placed at the head of the church of Mitylene, in Lesbos. Gaza wrote a treatise against the Manichæans, "On the doctrine of Two Principles in Nature;" and a Dialogue against the Eternity of the World[b]. Another Christian philosopher, who wrote upon the same subject, against the disciples of Proclus, was JOANNES PHILOPONUS, a grammarian of Alexandria. He was more inclined to the Peripatetic than the Platonic system, and wrote commentaries upon Aristotle. Philoponus was protected by Amrum, the Saracen commander, in the year six hundred and forty, when he was probably about eighty years of age; for he was patriarch of Constantinople under the emperor Justin II[c].

The last name, which we shall add to this series of Christian fathers, who might be ranked among philosophers, is that of NEMESIUS,

[a] Fab. Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 427. v. vii. p. 99. v. xiii. p. 458, 508.
[b] Cave Hist. Lit. Scr. Ecc. p. 227. Fabr. Syllab. Script. de Vir. Ch. R. p. 107.
[c] Fab. l. c. p. 108. et Bib. Gr. v. vii. p. 358. v. ix. p. 363. Phot. Cod. 215. 55. 75.

SIUS [a], whoſe age is uncertain, but is ſuppoſed by his editor [b] to have flouriſhed about the cloſe of the fourth century. He was the author of a treatiſe "On the Nature of Man," which is one of the moſt elegant ſpecimens, now extant, of the philoſophy which prevailed among the antient Chriſtians. The writer relates and examines the opinions of the Greek philoſophers on the ſubject of his diſſertation with great perſpicuity of thought, and correctneſs of language. But the treatiſe is chiefly curious, as it diſcovers a degree of acquaintance with phyſiology, not to be paralleled in any other writers of this period. He treats clearly concerning the uſe of the bile, the ſpleen, the kidneys, and other glands of the human body, and ſeems to have had ſome idea of the circulation of the blood. In fine, though, on account of the uncertainty of his date, Nemeſius is mentioned laſt in the preſent ſeries, he merits a place of no inconſiderable diſtinction among the antient Chriſtian philoſophers.*

[a] Fabr. Syll. c. 2. § 30.
[b] Pref. Edit. Oxon. • Conf. Friend's Hiſt. Phyſic.

* Videnda. Cave's Lives of the Fathers, and Eccl. Antiq. Tenzel. Exerc. Select. p. i. p. 179, 210. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. v. p. 56, 81, 88. Fabric. Syllog. Script. de Ver. Chriſt. Rel. Longuerve de Tatiano ap. Orat. Ittig. de Hæreſiarch. ævi. ap. c. 12. Petav. Dogm. Theol. l. i. c. 3. Huet. Orig. l. ii. c. 2, 9. Ittig. ſelect. cap. Hiſt. Ecc. ſ. ii. c. 3. Huet. de Fab. Rom. p. 53. Maſſuet. Diſſ. ad Irenæum. Whiſton's Prim. Chriſt. p. iv. art. 7. Deyling. de Iren. Teſt. Ver. § 42. Vinc. Lirin. Commonit. c. 24. Pamelii Vit. Tertulliani. Barbeyrac de la Morale des Peres, c. 6, 8. Dupin. Bibl. Scr. Ecc. t. i p. 104. Le Clerc. Bibl. Un. t. x. p. 175, 193. R. Montacutius Orig. Eccl. l. ii. p. 52. Clerici Ep. Crit. i. p. 18. Otium Vindal. Mel. i. Gaudentii Diſſ. de Compar. Dogm. Orig. cum Dogm. Platonis, Flor. 1639. De la Rue Præf. Op. Orig. Cudworth's Intell. Syſtem. c. v. ſ. iii. § 34. Journal de Scavans, 1734. May, Art. 4. Le Clerc, Ep. vii. Hiſtoire de Boëte, Par. 1715. 12°. Tillemont Mem. Eccl. t. xii. de Syneſio. Boyſen. Diſſ. de Phil. Syneſii. Lardner's Account of the Chriſtian Fathers in his Credibility of the Goſpel Hiſtory, Part ii. paſſim.

# BOOK VII.

## OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE CHRISTIANS IN THE MIDDLE AGE.

### CHAP. I.

#### OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE GREEK CHRISTIANS, FROM THE SEVENTH CENTURY TO THE TAKING OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE TURKS.

HAVING related the philoſophical hiſtory of the Antient Chriſtians, that is, of thoſe who lived in the firſt ſix centuries of the Chriſtian æra, our plan requires that we proceed to inquire into the ſtate of philoſophy in the period of darkneſs called the MIDDLE AGE, which laſted from the beginning of the ſeventh century till the revival of letters in the fourteenth.

About the beginning of this period, under the Chriſtian emperors, the Sectarian philoſophy, together with Pagan ſuperſtition, was nearly extinct: and, in conſequence of the irruption of the Northern Barbarians, almoſt the whole Weſtern world was overwhelmed with intellectual darkneſs. This part of the hiſtory of philoſophy reſembles a barren wilderneſs, where the traveller is fatigued with beholding dreary waſtes, in which he meets with ſcarcely

ſcarcely a ſingle object to relieve his eye, or amuſe his fancy. Yet, in order to preſerve the connection of facts, and account for the ſtate of philoſophy after the revival of letters, it will be neceſſary to trace with attention the great changes through which philoſophy paſſed during this period. The order we ſhall obſerve will be, firſt to repreſent the ſtate of philoſophy in the Eaſt to the taking of Conſtantinople, when the Eaſtern world ceaſed to philoſophiſe, and the Greek philoſophers paſſed over into the Weſt; ſecondly, to relate its condition in the Weſtern world from the ſeventh to the twelfth century; and laſtly, to ſubjoin the hiſtory of the Scholaſtic Philoſophy, which flouriſhed from that time to the revival of letters.

The fate of the Platonic ſchool having been already related, it is only neceſſary to remind the reader, that although the Pagan philoſophers, who, in conſequence of Juſtinian's interdict, had taken refuge in Perſia under Choſroës, returned about the middle of the ſixth century into the Roman Empire[a], the Eclectic ſect, as ſuch, did not long ſurvive. Still, however, the ſpirit, and many of the tenets of this ſchool, remained among the clergy of the Chriſtian church, the generality of whom tenaciouſly adhered to opinions which, inconſiſtent as they were with the pure doctrine of Chriſtianity, had been embraced and propagated by the Chriſtian fathers. The followers of Origen, whoſe tenets were chiefly borrowed from the Alexandrian philoſophy and theology, were particularly attached to this ſyſtem. Of theſe the greater part were Monks, who were induced, by a ſuperſtitious zeal for the rigorous diſcipline which he eſtabliſhed, to profeſs his doctrine in the face of perſecution. The enthuſiaſtic ſpirit, which was foſtered by the writings of Origen, and by thoſe of the ſuppoſed Dionyſius already mentioned, eſtabliſhed in the monaſteries a myſtical kind of theology, which was from this time embraced both in the Eaſtern and Weſtern world.

[a] Procopius in Anecdotis.

From

From the commencement of the ſame period, the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, which had for ſeveral paſt centuries languiſhed, began to revive and flouriſh. In the early ages of the Chriſtian church, the tenets of Ariſtotle being underſtood to militate ſtrongly againſt the doctrines of Chriſtianity, the Chriſtian fathers had in general been exceedingly adverſe to the Peripatetic ſect. But, when the orthodox clergy ſaw the ingenious and ſucceſsful uſe which many heretics made of the art of logic, they began by degrees to endure, and at length to admire and ſtudy, the dialectics of Ariſtotle, which were now tranſlated into the Syriac language by Chriſtians living under the Saracens. In the numerous conteſts, which were at this time conducted with ſo much acrimony among the ſeveral ſects of Chriſtians, each had recourſe to theſe artificial methods of diſputing. At a time when men were daily loſing ſight of common ſenſe and ſimple truth, every champion for a ſyſtem, whether orthodox or heretical, imagined that he rendered eminent ſervice to the church, when he covered its ſuppoſed doctrines with the formidable redoubt of definitions and ſyllogiſms. Thus the Ariſtotelian philoſophy gradually roſe into repute, till at length it ſo far triumphed over Platoniſm, that, whilſt we only meet with a few individuals among the Greek Chriſtians who were acquainted with the Platonic philoſophy, great numbers ſtudied and taught the Peripatetic. The more celebrated of theſe we ſhall diſtinctly mention.

The firſt who, after Philoponus, diſtinguiſhed himſelf among the Greek Chriſtians as an admirer, and as far as was not wholly inconſiſtent with his Chriſtian profeſſion, a follower of Ariſtotle, was JOANNES DAMASCENUS. He flouriſhed at the beginning of the eighth century. In early life he filled a high ſtation in the court of the Saracen caliph; but afterwards retired to the monaſtery of St. Sabas, that he might be at leiſure to proſecute his ſtudies. With due allowance for the age in which he lived, he was a great maſter of mathematical and philoſophical learning. The Arabians were much indebted to this Chriſtian philoſopher for their deliverance from barbariſm. Among his writings are an explanation of dialectics, under the

the title of Capita Philoſophica, "Heads of Philoſophy;" "Diſſertations on the Three Parts of the Soul, the Four Virtues, and the Five Faculties;" "Sacred Parallels;" and "An Accurate Delineation of the Orthodox Faith[a]." This latter work is, perhaps, the firſt attempt which was made to apply the language and arrangements of the Peripatetic philoſophy to theology, and to form what has ſince been called, *A Body of Divinity*. Hence ſome have conſidered Joannes Damaſcenus as the father of the Scholaſtics. It is certain, that his example was afterwards followed by a long train of Chriſtian writers. To him therefore ought, in ſome meaſure, to be aſcribed the miſchiefs which aroſe from the alliance which he introduced between Jeſus Chriſt and Ariſtotle.

Under the Eaſtern emperors, philoſophy and learning, in the eighth century ſeemed ready to expire. Beſides the general torpor which appears to have at this time overſpread the minds of men, the harraſſing incurſion of the Arabians into the empire, and the ſpirit of barbariſm which poſſeſſed the reigning princes, may be mentioned as cauſes of the general decay of knowledge. Zonaras relates a wonderful inſtance of ferocity in the emperor Leo the Iſaurian[b]: that his librarian, and twelve other learned men, who lived in a royal college, and were ſupported at the public expence, having ventured, in a conſultation upon ſome affair of ſtate, to give their opinion in oppoſition to that of the emperor, the monſter ordered the building where they ſlept to be ſet on fire, and the whole fraternity periſhed in the flames. If this ſtory, through the known inaccuracy and partiality of the writer, be ſomewhat doubtful, it is, however, certain, that this prince abeliſhed many ſchools which had ſubſiſted from the time of Conſtantine, and perſecuted, with great ſeverity, many learned men who were deemed heretics.

Succeeding emperors, however, probably excited by the example of the Saracen caliphs, formed a deſign of re calling philoſophy, and

[a] Op. Ed. á M. Le Quien. Par. 1712. 2 vol. fol. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 777.
[b] Ann. t. iii. p. 123.

reviving learning; and, by the help of a few able and induſtrious ſcholars, perhaps effected as much as the times would permit. Michael and Bardas, in particular, diſcovered an inclination to become patrons of letters: they inſtituted ſchools of various kinds, and appointed teachers with liberal ſalaries [a].

The emperor Conſtantine Porphyrogenetes, by the encouragement which he gave to able preceptors, promoted the ſtudy of arithmetic, geometry, aſtronomy, and philoſophy. This emperor was himſelf, in the ninth century, the pupil of an eminent ſcholar, MICHAEL PSELLUS, whom, however, he afterwards ſuffered to be accuſed before him of apoſtacy from the Chriſtian faith. Pſellus, to wipe off this calumny, ſubmitted, at an advanced age, to receive inſtruction in the Chriſtian myſteries; after which he wrote many treatiſes, which are often erroneouſly aſcribed to the younger Pſellus. Among theſe is a dialogue "On the Operations of Dæmons," which breathes ſo much the ſpirit of the Platonic ſchools as to render it highly improbable that it was written by a Peripatetic in the eleventh century [b].

This Pſellus had a diſciple named LEO, who, for his ſingular attainments in philoſophical learning, was called, The Philoſopher. He became an eminent preceptor in rhetoric, arithmetic, philoſophy, and other ſciences; firſt in the iſland of Andros, and afterwards at Conſtantinople. To increaſe his learning, he viſited the libraries of many diſtant monaſteries. One of his pupils being taken priſoner by the Saracens [c], aſtoniſhed his victors by ſolving a problem which had perplexed the Saracen philoſophers. Upon this, the caliph Al-Mamon, inquiring by whom he had been inſtructed, ſent a meſſenger to his preceptor, to invite him to his court; but Leo, not thinking it ſafe to receive the letter, ordered it to be delivered to the emperor Theophilus, through the hands of his ſecretary. The emperor immediately rewarded Leo, and appointed him to the

[a] Zonar. t. iii. p. 129.
[b] Leo Allatius de Pſellis, p. 2.
[c] Zonaras, t. iii. p. 129. Scyliza Curopalates in Chronico.

charge of a public ſchool. After the death of Theophilus, Leo was diſmiſſed from his office, becauſe he was an enemy to the worſhipping of images; but was afterwards reſtored to his honours by Barda, and appointed head of the profeſſors of learning and ſcience in Conſtantinople. Under the auſpices of this Leo, who is not to be confounded with the ſixth emperor of that name, literature revived[a].

In this period, however, the chief place is unqueſtionably due to Photius, the learned patriarch of Conſtantinople, whoſe merit was equal to his fame. He excelled in grammatical learning, poetry, and eloquence, and was well acquainted with philoſophy, medicine, and all the ſcience of the age. A valuable proof of his erudi- remains in his *Bibliotheca*, or "Literary Memoirs," containing extracts from various authors, with original remarks, which abundantly prove the writer's extenſive learning, and critical penetration.

This work is a valuable treaſure, to which we are indebted for our knowledge of many writings, particularly in philoſophy, which would otherwiſe have been entirely loſt. A man, furniſhed with ſuch various learning, and endued with ſuch ſuperior talents, in an age of almoſt univerſal ignorance, muſt have been deemed a prodigy of wiſdom. It is not therefore ſurpriſing, that he was advanced to the ſenatorial rank in the ſtate, and to the higheſt dignity in the church. By the authority of Barda, Ignatius was depoſed (whether juſtly or unjuſtly we ſhall not enquire) from the patriarchal ſee of Conſtantinople, and Photius was appointed in his room. In the next reign, this great man was, chiefly in conſequence of theological diſputes, diſmiſſed from his ſtation, and ſuffered ſevere perſecutions; of which he eſteemed it not the leaſt, that, being deprived of his library, he was denied the conſolation of reading. He was afterwards reſtored to the emperor's favour, and his patriarchal honours, and was entruſted with the education of the young princes. Through the jealouſy of the clergy, and the intrigues of the

[a] Allatius, l. c. p. v. Hanckius de Byzant. Scrip. p. i. c. 26.

court,

court, Photius was, however, again in his old age depoſed and baniſhed.

LEO THE SIXTH, the ſon of the emperor Baſil, who himſelf aſſumed the purple in the year eight hundred and eighty-nine, acquired ſo much learning and wiſdom under his illuſtrious preceptor, as to obtain a place among the philoſophers of the age. In the language of eulogy, it was ſaid, Ὁ δὲ φιλοσοφώτ]ατος ἐν Βασιλεῦσι Λέων, Among princes, Leo was the greateſt philoſopher. But after all, it is difficult to ſay, how far this emperor is indebted to his real merit, and how far to clerical adulation, for his fame. In the remains of his writings [c], he appears in no other light, than that of a ſkilful aſtrologer.

Beſides theſe principal reſtorers and patrons of learning and philoſophy among the Greek Chriſtians in the Middle Age, ſeveral other learned men came forth from the ſchool of Leo the philoſopher, whoſe names, in this dark period, muſt not be wholly omitted. Theſe were NICETAS DAVID, a Paphlagonian, who at the cloſe of the ninth century wrote a life of Saint Ignatius; MICHAEL of Epheſus, known among the Greek interpreters of Ariſtotle; MAGENTINUS of Mitylene, who wrote a Commentary on Ariſtotle's Analytics; EUSTRATIUS, who explained the dialectics and morals of Ariſtotle; NICEPHORUS, a rigid monk of the thirteenth century, who was the preceptor of Theodore Laſcar, and wrote an Epitome of the Ariſtotelian Logic and Phyſics [d]; GEORGIUS PACHYMERUS, a native of Nice, who lived in the thirteenth century, from whoſe manuſcripts has been edited a compendium of Ariſtotelian philoſophy [e]; THEODORE METACHITA [f], a Conſtantinopolitan of the

[a] Hanck. de Byz. Script. l. c. § 7. Nicetas in Vit. Ignatii. Fab. Bib. Gr. v. ix. p. 463. Phot. Ep. 97. 174.

[b] Hanck. l. c. c. 23. Allat. p. 5. Zonar. t. iii. p. 141.

[c] Fab. Bib. Gr. v. vi. p. 364, 431.

[d] Ed. Aug. Vindel. 1606.

[e] Ed. Oxon. 1666. 8vo.

[f] Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. ix. p. 215. 218.

fourteenth century, known among Ariſtotle's commentators; NICEPHORAS GREGORAS, who wrote ſeveral philoſophical works; GEORGIUS CYPRIUS, celebrated for his acquaintance with Greek learning; and GEORGIUS LAPITHA, who is mentioned as a logician and an aſtronomer [a].

To this liſt muſt be ſubjoined, as entitled to peculiar diſtinction, MICHAEL PSELLUS the Younger, a learned Chriſtian of the eleventh century, whoſe genius and induſtry raiſed him above the level of his age. He was by birth a Conſtantinopolitan, of conſular rank, and flouriſhed under the emperor Conſtantinus Monomachus. The female hiſtorian, Anna Comnena [b], ſpeaks of him as one who had been more indebted for his attainments to his own excellent talents than to the inſtructions of his preceptors; and adds that, having made himſelf maſter of all the wiſdom of the Greeks and the Chaldeans, he was juſtly eſteemed the moſt learned man of the age. Thus furniſhed, he became the chief inſtructor of the Conſtantinopolitan youth. He was at the ſame time the companion and the preceptor of the emperor, who was ſo captivated by the ſtudies and amuſements in which Pſellus engaged him, that, according to Zonaras, he neglected the concerns of the empire. The Byzantine hiſtorians complain, that the emperor, deluded by the head of the philoſophers (the title with which Pſellus was honoured) loſt the world [c]. Towards the cloſe of his life, Pſellus met with a powerful and ſucceſsful rival in John of Italy, who, through the favour of Botaniatas Nicephorus, the ſucceſſor of Michael, was inveſted with the honours which Pſellus had enjoyed. Pſellus retired into a monaſtery, and ſoon afterwards died. The time of his death is uncertain. His works, which have been much celebrated, are, "Commentaries upon Ariſtotle's Logic and Phyſics;" "A Com-

[a] Hank. l. c. Allat. de Pſellis. Fab. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 116. 130—152. v. ix. p. 365. v. vi. p. 300, 385, 466, 635. v. x. p. 666. Ann. Comnen. Alexiad. p. 453.
[b] Alex. l. v.
[c] Zonar. t. iii. p. 127. Hank. l. c. p. 483.

pendium

pendium of Queſtions and Anſwers;" and "An Explanation of the Chaldean Oracles." The two latter works prove him to have been converſant, not only with Grecian, but with Oriental philoſophy.

After the time of Pſellus, the Greek empire declining, learning and philoſophy were much neglected. There were, however, about the time when Conſtantinople was taken (which happened in the year one thouſand four hundred and fifty-one) ſeveral learned men among the Greek Chriſtians, who merit a place in the annals of philoſophy: but the confuſion which at this time prevailed in the Eaſt, obliged them to quit their monaſteries, and to ſeek for refuge in a more hoſpitable region. This circumſtance occaſioned the return of Grecian learning and philoſophy into Europe; for, after the Greek empire was deſtroyed by the Turks, the friends of literature and ſcience, deſpairing of meeting with protection and encouragement among barbarians, fled into Italy, and there, as we ſhall afterwards ſee, purchaſed an immortal name by the Revival of Letters.*

* Vidend. Aſſeman. Bibl. Orient. Vatican. t. i. Hottinger. Bibl. Orient. c. iii. p. 291. et Hiſt. Eccl. Sec. viii. Hank. de Byzant. Script.

CHAP.

## CHAP. II.

### OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE WESTERN CHRISTIANS, FROM THE SEVENTH TO THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

FROM the Chriſtian philoſophers of the Eaſt, during the Middle Age, we now paſs to thoſe of the Weſt.

Upon a general ſurvey of the facts which have been already collected, and are hereafter to be adduced, with reſpect to the ſtate of philoſophy in this obſcure period, there is one circumſtance, which will appear too evident to be diſputed, and which will deſerve particular attention; namely, that both the Scholaſtic and the Myſtic theology, which ſprung up in this period, owed their riſe and increaſe to the mixture of the dogmas of Pagan philoſophy with the doctrines of Chriſtianity. Although theſe two ſyſtems of theology differ in their leading characters; the former attempting to derive the confirmation of divine truth from philoſophy; the latter calling in its aid to ſupport the ſpirit of fanaticiſm; the true origin of both will be found to have been, an injudicious application of the Peripatetic and Platonic philoſophy to the illuſtration of theology. The ſeeds of the Scholaſtic theology were ſown, when the dialectics of Ariſtotle were firſt introduced into the controverſies of the church; and the Myſtical theology took its riſe, when the enthuſiaſtic notion of union with God, and other fanatical principles, taught by the Alexandrian philoſophers, were embraced among Chriſtians; and was eſtabliſhed, when the ſpurious writings of the pretended Dionyſius obtained credit and authority in the Chriſtian world. From the Peripatetic ſchool, Chriſtians learned to perplex the truth by ſubtle diſputations; and from that of the later Platoniſts, they received a powerful bias towards enthuſiaſm. Hence, with the profeſſed deſign of exploring truth, they enveloped it in a cloud

cloud of obſcure notions and ſubtle diſtinctions; and, under the pretence of producing ſublime piety, enfeebled and enſlaved the human mind by the extravagancies of myſticiſm: in both ways, oppoſing the true ſpirit, and obſtructing the natural operation of chriſtianity.

From the time of Boethius, whoſe learning gleamed through the darkneſs which then overſpread the Weſtern regions, ignorance ſo generally prevailed, that, at the beginning of the ſeventh century, a ſcholar, or philoſopher, even of moderate attainments, was, in this part of the world, rarely to be found. This is, doubtleſs, in a great meaſure, to be aſcribed to the barbariſm of the Northern conquerors, and to that depravity of manners, which had long prevailed in the nations whom they conquered. But the evil was greatly increaſed by the hoſtility, which the emperor Juſtinian exerciſed againſt the whole race of philoſophers. His inveterate averſion to thoſe who ſtill continued to profeſs the Pagan religion, induced him to ſhut up the ſchools of philoſophy which ſtill remained at Athens, and to deprive the profeſſors of the ſalaries which former princes had appointed. Whilſt ſome of the chief ſupplies of learning were thus cut off, the general prevalence of barbarous manners rendered it unſafe to travel in ſearch of knowledge. The intercourſe between the Eaſtern and Weſtern countries becoming on this account leſs frequent, the Greek language fell into neglect in the Weſt; ſo that, in a ſhort time, ſcarcely any one in this part of the world was capable of reading the antient Greek authors, and thoſe who were deſirous of reading the works of Ariſtotle or Plato, were obliged to content themſelves with imperfect Latin tranſlations. The political ſpirit of the times, too, was exceedingly unfavourable to learning. At a period, when the natural ardour of the human mind is damped by tyranny, it is ſcarcely poſſible that it ſhould exert itſelf with vigour in the purſuits of ſcience. Add to this, that the Barbarian princes, who took more delight in arms than letters, were little inclined to afford encouragement and patronage to philoſophers.

These were great evils. But a ſtill more fruitful ſource of ignorance and barbariſm remains to be mentioned, namely, the general prevalence of a ſuperſtitious and bigotted contempt of philoſophy. The miſchiefs which ſprang from this ſource were ſo extenſive and laſting, that we muſt give it a diſtinct conſideration, and endeavour to account for its exiſtence.

About the beginning of the ſecond century, aſtrologers, Chaldeans, and other diviners, diſgraced the profeſſion of philoſophy by aſſuming the title of mathematicians. By this name they were commonly known, and this ſignification of the term was in general uſe for ſeveral centuries. In the Juſtinian code we find a chapter under this title[a], *De Maleficis et Mathematicis*, "On Sorcerers and Mathematicians;" and one book of the *Theodoſian Code* preſcribes the baniſhment of mathematicians out of Rome, and all the Roman cities, and the burning of their books. Impoſtors, who paſſed under this appellation, rendered themſelves exceedingly obnoxious to princes and ſtateſmen by the influence which their arts gave them over the minds of the vulgar; and it was thought neceſſary, for the ſafety of the ſtate, to ſubject them to rigorous penalties[b]. This averſion to mathematicians, or diviners, paſſed the more eaſily from the Pagans to the Chriſtians, as it was a general perſuaſion among the latter, that a diſpoſition to pry into futurity was culpable, and even impious. Hence, not only were books written againſt the practice of divination, but biſhops from their councils and ſynods iſſued ſtatutes and canons againſt thoſe who followed the arts of divination, or magic; and, in their popular diſcourſes, diſſuaded the people from hearkening to them. The thirty-ſixth canon of the council of Laodicea orders them to be baniſhed[c]. Gregory, biſhop of Rome, whoſe negative merit ob-

[a] L. x. Tit. 18. Conf. Noctes Attic. l. i. c. 9. Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. iv. § ult. l. v. § 2. Euſeb. Prep. l. vi. c. 1. Suet. Tib. c. 14. 36.

[b] Fabrottus ad. t. 10. l. 16. Cod. Theod. de Pagan. p. 37. Jul. Firmic. Math. l. i. c. 7.

[c] In Photii Nomocan. Tit. ix. c. 25.

tained

tained him the ſurname of Great, adopted this decree [a]. And thus far, perhaps, the conduct of the clergy, as guardians of religion, might admit of ſome apology; but this ignorant bigot proceeded much further. Inflamed with blind zeal againſt every thing that was Pagan, Gregory gave orders that the library of the Palatine Apollo, a valuable collection of books formed by the Roman emperors, and kept in the temple of Apollo adjoining to the palace, ſhould be committed to the flames [b]. This order, ſo diſgraceful to the epiſcopal chair, and of ſuch irreparable injury to poſterity, was iſſued under the notion of confining the attention of the clergy to the ſacred ſcriptures. This ſtory, which we relate on reſpectable authority, is the more credible, as it perfectly agrees with the ſpirit of this ignorant pontiff, who deſpiſed all profane learning as unworthy of a Chriſtian. Of this we have a curious proof in his letter to a teacher of grammar, reproving him for polluting, with hymns to Jupiter, that tongue, which ought to be employed in celebrating the praiſes of Chriſt, and exhorting him to deſiſt from the vain purſuit of human learning [c]. It is eaſy to perceive, that the authority of this renowned prelate, whoſe ſingular ſanctity procured him a degree of veneration among the vulgar little ſhort of idolatry, would not fail to create a general prejudice againſt learning of every kind. And no one, who reflects how eaſily the ignorant vulgar are led wherever their teachers pleaſe, will be ſurpriſed, that, from this time, men regarded as PROFANE every ſtudy which was not ſanctified by the authority of the church; and thought that they made an acceptable offering to the Lord, when they conſigned to the flames the valuable remains of Greek and Roman literature.

What reparation did this zealous guardian of the purity of Chriſtian doctrine make, for the depredations which he committed upon antient learning? Did he provide precepts of wiſdom more

[a] Sariſberiens. Policrat. l. i. c. 9.
[b] Ib. l. ii. c. 26. l. viii. c. 19.
[c] Ib. l. ii. c. 29. l. ix. Ep. 48.

conſonant to ſacred truth, or more ſuitable to Chriſtian piety? This his vanity prompted him to undertake; and this his ignorant and ſervile followers, for ſeveral centuries, imagined that he had accompliſhed. From a bigotted contempt of heathen morality, he thought it neceſſary to furniſh the church with a pure ſyſtem of Chriſtian ethics, and drew up his celebrated Book of Morals. And ſuch was the opinion which was entertained of his piety and learning, and ſuch the reverence which was paid to his authority, that the work was received with univerſal admiration. About forty years after his death, in the pontificate of Theodore, whilſt a council was ſitting at Toledo, the king of Spain ſent a biſhop to Rome, to requeſt from the pontiff a copy of Pope Gregory's Morals. The pope detained the meſſenger three days, pretending that the book could not be found; the biſhop paſſed the third night in prayer in the church of Peter and Paul, and in the morning reported, that about the middle of the night, he had had a viſion of thoſe heavenly apoſtles, who informed him of the place in which this ſacred book lay concealed. The book was accordingly found, and delivered to him by the hands of the pontiff[a]. This biſhop, whoſe name was Taio, afterwards collected from theſe writings of Gregory, four books of ſentences, which at this day ſleep in libraries, without much injury to the learned world; and the ſame taſk was repeated by three different eccleſiaſtics in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. So long did the Morals of Gregory retain their credit and authority in the church. Notwithſtanding all this, no one who now examines this famous production will heſitate to pronounce the book a confuſed maſs of ſuperſtitious trifles, and myſtical abſurdities; ſuch as might have been expected from a writer, who, in the dedication of his work, expreſsly diſclaims all attention to ſtyle, and even to grammar, judging it unworthy of a Chriſtian biſhop "to reſtrict the words of celeſtial wiſdom by the rules of Donatus."

[a] Anon. in app. ad. Conc. Tolet. vii.

In

In the midſt of all the diſcouragements, which were at this period caſt in the way of letters by thoſe from whom it ought to have received ſupport and patronage, there were, however, a few who ventured to converſe with authors that treated on ſubjects of human learning and philoſophy. Theſe authors, who were called Secular Writers, and may be conſidered as the claſſics of the Middle Age, were MARCIANUS CAPELLA, of Madaura in Africa, who, in the fifth century, wrote *Novem Librorum Satyra*, a work which, without perſpicuity or elegance, treats of grammar, dialectics, geometry, rhetoric, arithmetic, aſtrology, and muſic;—BOETHIUS, the author of the book *De Conſolatione*, concerning whom it is difficult to ſay, whether he owed his authority more to his knowledge of the Grecian language, or to the intimate friendſhip which is ſaid to have ſubſiſted between him and Saint Bernard;—AURELIUS CASSIODORUS, who wrote a treatiſe on the ſeven branches of learning, eagerly read by the *learned men* of theſe times;—MACROBIUS, a writer already noticed, whoſe erudition and perſpicuity made him exceedingly valuable to theſe ſchools;—FIRMICUS MATERNUS, whoſe treatiſe *De Matheſi*, or *Aſtrologia Apotcleſmatica*, was much valued;—and CHALCIDIUS, whoſe Commentary upon the Timæus of Plato afforded great ſcope for the profound ſpeculations of the philoſophers of the Middle Age [a].

With ſuch guides, it was impoſſible for thoſe who, in this period of blind ſuperſtition, dared to turn their eyes towards profane literature and ſcience, to make any conſiderable proficiency in knowledge. Many of the writers, whom we have mentioned as the claſſical authors of this age, do not profeſſedly deliver precepts of liberal arts, or elements of philoſophical ſcience, but interſperſe them with ſubjects of a different kind; while others are employed in recondite ſpeculations, the reſult of the moſt profound ſtudy of philoſophy. In order to underſtand, and profit by either of theſe claſſes of pre-

[a] Fabr. Bib. Lat. tom. i. p. 638. 644. 651. tom. iii. p. 185. 209. 218. t. iii. p. 97. 145. Sariſb. Policrat. l. ii. c. 19. l. viii. c. 10. Trithem. de S. E. c. 201. Caſſiod. Op. Ed. Rothomag. 1676. Metalog. l. iv. c. 9. p. 890.

ceptors, it is evident that the pupil muſt have acquired a much larger ſhare of preparatory knowledge, than could be commonly attained at a period, when genius was neglected, and the antients were almoſt unknown.

Beſides the profane, or ſecular, writers above-mentioned, the ſcholars of this age choſe for their oracle and guide the pious and learned Saint Auguſtine [a], who was ſo great a maſter of the dialectic art, that in a diſpute which he held with Ambroſe, he obliged that Saint to have recourſe to his prayers, that he might not be caught in the web of Auguſtine's ſophiſtry [b]. A ſummary of the precepts of logic, and an explanation of the Categories, introduced into the ſchools under the name of Auguſtine, were eſteemed invaluable treaſures of philoſophical learning, and were uſed as the chief text books in public lectures [c]; till at length the ſagacity of the Benedictine Monks, who edited the works of Auguſtine, ſaw reaſon to reject them as ſpurious, becauſe the dialectics which he wrote were, as he himſelf atteſts, written upon Pythagoric and Platonic principles, whereas the pupil's manual taught the dialectics of the Stoics; and becauſe the book of Categories aſſerted the exiſtence of antipodes, which Auguſtine had denied [d]. Yet theſe ſpurious books obtained, and for ſome centuries preſerved, the higheſt credit in the ſchools.

If the poverty of theſe ſources of inſtruction be compared with other unfavourable circumſtances of the times, it will not be thought ſurpriſing, that the ſeventh century afforded no writers of diſtinction; though, doubtleſs, there were, even at this period, men who in leſs diſadvantageous ſituations would have riſen to eminence in philoſophy. This would, probably, have been the caſe with ISIDORE, archbiſhop of Seville, who attained that dignity in five hundred and ninety-five, and died in ſix hundred and thirty-ſix. He appears to have been a man of conſiderable reading, and his writings are valuable for the numerous extracts they contain from Latin books which are now loſt. His principal works are, his *Origines*, "Derivations,"

[a] Barbeyrac de Phil. Mor. Patr. Præf. p. 39.
[b] Amb. Serm. 92.
[c] Launoius de Scholis cel. c. 59. art. 1. p. 178. Id. de Fort. Ariſt. c. 5. p. 197.
[d] De Civit. Dei, l. xvi. c. 9.

which

which is not merely an etymological work, but treats on many miſcellaneous topics in mathematics and phyſics; and his book "On the Nature of Things," which contains many fragments of Nigidius, Varro, Suetonius, and others. The works of Iſidore were of great uſe in the ſubſequent ages, in which the antients were little read.

In the Eighth Century, learning and philoſophy, which had as we have ſeen nearly expired in the Eaſt, were in the Weſt ſo far from reviving, that they ſeemed in danger of being entirely loſt. Of the ſtate of knowledge at this period ſome judgment may be formed, from the eighth canon of the council of Toledo, which required that every clergyman ſhould be able to read and chaunt the pſaltery, and to perform the ceremony of baptiſm. The beſt ſinger was at this time reckoned the moſt accompliſhed prieſt. In the reign of Charlemagne, a violent diſpute aroſe between the ſingers at Rome, and thoſe in France, concerning the merit of their reſpective performances, which was brought before the emperor, and decided in favour of the Romans, who had been inſtructed by Pope Gregory. The Roman ſingers valued themſelves ſo highly upon this circumſtance, that in the courſe of this controverſy they did not ſcruple to call their Gallic brethren ignorant ruſtics and brutes[a]. The attention which was at this time univerſally paid to muſic, contributed greatly towards eſtabliſhing the dominion of barbariſm; for whilſt the eccleſiaſtics were chiefly occupied in this purſuit, learning and philoſophy, through the whole Weſtern world, were forgotten. Ignorance and indolence, cheriſhed by this paſſion for muſic, prevailed to ſuch a degree, that thoſe who were ambitious to obtain ſome reputation as philoſophers, looked no further than that part of philoſophy which treats of muſic, and waſted their time in writing books upon the art of chaunting and ſinging[b].

The credit of affording an aſylum to philoſophy and learning, at a time when they ſeem to have been baniſhed from courts and cities, is commonly given to monaſtic inſtitutions. And the monks of St. Benedict, in particular, have obtained much praiſe as the firſt patrons of

[a] Launois de Schol. cel. c. i. p. 3.

[b] Fabric. Bibliogr. Antiq. c. xi. p. 368. Id. Bib. Lat. Med. t. i. p. 644.

letters.

letters. But the world is leſs indebted to this order than is commonly ſuppoſed. Benedict himſelf was an enemy to learning. Though his education had introduced him to the knowledge of letters, he voluntarily relinquiſhed all profane literature, and deſirous to pleaſe God alone, devoted himſelf to a monaſtic life, *ſcienter neſcius, et ſapienter indoctus*, knowingly ignorant, and wiſely unlearned [a]. The candidates for admiſſion into this order were indeed required to receive preparatory inſtructions, and for this purpoſe ſchools were erected; but it does not appear, that any proviſion was made in theſe ſchools for ſtudy of any kind, either ſecular or ſacred; the candidates ſeem to have been wholly employed, either in manual labour, or in ſuch religious exerciſes as were judged neceſſary to form them to habits of piety and ſanctity. And the caſe was the ſame with reſpect to other celebrated monaſtic inſtitutions [b]. The truth, therefore, ſeems to be, that there was no direct eſtabliſhment in theſe ſocieties for the encouragement and propagation of learning; but that a long courſe of leiſure and retirement naturally led the Monks to ſeek relief from the fatigue of abſolute inaction in ſpeculation and ſtudy; and that in this manner monaſteries gradually became ſeats of learning. This good end was probably promoted by Caſſiodorus, who about this time wrote *Inſtitutiones Divinæ & Humanæ*, "Lectures on ſubjects of divine and human learning," for the uſe of his own Monks.

At this period, when the Lombards, and other barbarians, had eſtabliſhed the empire of ignorance in Italy, and the Saracens had, by the terror of their arms, diſperſed the ſmall remains of learning in Spain and France, philoſophy, now ſo diſguiſed as ſcarcely to be known, and the Muſes, with their lyres now almoſt unſtrung, could find no other ſecure retreat, than in the iſlands of Great Britain and Ireland [c]. Several ſchools of learning were at this time eſtabliſhed in

[a] Anton. Summa Hiſtor. Tit. xv. c. 13. Conring. Acad. Ant. Diſſ. iii. Id. Suppl. 30.

[b] Baillet. Vit. nov. SS. Baſnage Hiſt. Eccl. l. xxi. c. 4. t. iv. p. 1621. Holſten. Cod. Regul. Rom. 1661. G. Naud. Conject. Cauſ. Kempenſ. p. 155.

[c] Sulgeri vet. Biog. apud Cambden.

Ireland, to which the Engliſh ſent their children for education; and from theſe nurſeries many ſcholars returned to England, and obtained great reputation. It is probable, that the Britiſh youth were ſent to the Iriſh ſchools to ſtudy philoſophy; for Eric ſays[a], "What ſhall I ſay of Ireland, who, deſpiſing the dangers of the ſea, is migrating to our coaſts with almoſt her whole train of philoſophers?" England ſeems to have been much indebted to Ireland for the learned men, whoſe names diſtinguiſhed this period of her hiſtory.

One of the moſt celebrated ſcholars of this age was THEODORE CILIX, of Tarſus, a Monk, who about the middle of the ſeventh century was created archbiſhop of Canterbury by Pope Vitalian. He brought into England a large collection of Greek and Latin books, and being himſelf a tolerable proficient in the metrical art, in aſtronomy, in eccleſiaſtical calculations, and in muſic, he inſtructed others in theſe branches of learning. His ſucceſſors, Berechtwald, Tobias biſhop of Rocheſter, Aldhelm of Sherborne, and others, made ſome efforts towards the advancement of knowledge[b]. But this feeble light could do little towards the diſperſion of the Cimmerian darkneſs which had overſpread the world. Notwithſtanding their laudable exertions, Bede, one of the greateſt lights of the eighth century, ſpeaks of it as a fact not to be obſerved without tears, that the church was continually becoming weaker and more corrupt[c].

The VENERABLE BEDE[d] was born in ſix hundred and ſeventy-two, or ſix hundred and ſeventy-three, at Jarrow, in Durham, acquired the elements of learning in the monaſtery of Saint Peter, and was ordained a prieſt by John of Beverley, biſhop of Horgulſtad, or Hexham. Though the fame of his learning obtained him an invitation from Pope Sergius, he choſe to remain in his monaſtery, and proſecute his ſtudies. He wrote many books, of which the moſt valua-

[a] In Vit. S. Germani. Conf. Alcuin in Vit. Willibrord.

[b] H. Spelman. ad A. C. 668. t. i. p. 152. Cave. p. 387. Oudin. de Scr. Ec. t. i. p. 1655. Bedæ Hiſt. Ang. l. iv. c. 1. 2. Conring. l. c. p. 285.

[c] Expoſ. Alleg. in Sam. l. iv. c. 2. Bedæ Hiſt. Cont. l. i. c. 8.

[d] Bed. Op. t. iii. p. 151.

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ble is his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. Bede had great merit, not only in the diligence with which he ſtudied both ſacred and profane literature, in an age ſo unfavourable to learning, but in the pains which he took to diſſeminate knowledge. He was converſant with the writings of the antients, and drew from theſe pure fountains his knowledge of mathematics, phyſics, and philoſophy. His erudition ſo far exceeded that of the generality of his contemporaries, that they ſet no bounds to their admiration. His writings became the chief guide of youth in their academical ſtudies, and furniſhed popular diſcourſes, which, under the authority of the biſhops, were read by the clergy to the people. On theſe accounts he obtained the appellation of the Venerable Bede[a]. And it cannot be doubted that his induſtry was indefatigable, and that, conſidering the diſadvantages under which he laboured, his attainments were great; but, either he wanted that ſtrength of judgment, without which a great philoſopher can never be formed, or the errors and prejudices of his age were obſtacles in his way, which he had not vigour of mind ſufficient to overcome. His philoſophical works are, for the moſt part, compilations from former writers, which contributed little towards the improvement of ſcience, and which, in the preſent advanced ſtate of knowledge, will ſcarcely repay the trouble of peruſal. Bede died about the year ſeven hundred and thirty-five.

Another Engliſhman of great diſtinction at this period was Alcuin, a pupil of Egbert archbiſhop of York. Under his preceptor, who was an eminent patron of learning, and himſelf a learned man, he acquired the knowledge not only of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, but of mathematical and philoſophical ſcience. After the Venerable Bede, he became an eminent teacher both of languages and ſciences in the univerſity of Cambridge. Charlemagne, hearing of his fame, invited him, in the year ſeven hundred and ninety-three, to his court, and admitted him to his confidence. It was, probably, through the advice and direction of this learned man, that Charlemagne founded many ſchools in France, Germany, and Italy.

[a] Oudin. de S. E. t. i. p. 1672. Fab. Bib. Lat. Med. t. i. p. 496. Bal. Script. Ang. Cent. i. p. 84. Fuller. Præf. ad Res Angl. ap. Blount. Cenſ. p. 340.

After

After acquiring juſt fame for the ſervices he had rendered to learning, he died, at an advanced age, in the year eight hundred and four[a].

But neither the learning of Alcuin, nor the authority of Bede, nor the power of Charlemagne, could ſubdue the ferocity and barbariſm of the times. Even in the moſt celebrated ſchools of this age, the field of inſtruction was confined and barren. In philoſophy, nothing was ſtudied but mathematics and logic; and the latter was taught in a trifling and uſeleſs manner, from the book before-mentioned, attributed to Auguſtine. Neither preceptor nor pupil was at this time to be found, who deſired, or dared to attempt, greater things. The circle of inſtruction, or the Liberal Arts, as the term was then underſtood, conſiſted of two branches, the *trivium*, and the *quadrivium*; the *trivium* included Grammar, Rhetoric, and Dialectics; the *quadrivium*, comprehended Muſic, Arithmetic, Geometry, and Aſtronomy. The reſpective objects of theſe ſeven liberal arts are, after the manner of the times, thus quaintly expreſſed in two memorable verſes.

GRAMM. *loquitur*, DIA. *vera docet*, RHET. *verba colorat*;
MUS. *canit*, AR. *numerat*, GEO. *ponderat*, AST. *colit aſtra*.

Theſe ſeven heads were ſuppoſed to include univerſal knowledge. He who was maſter of theſe was thought to have no need of a preceptor to explain any books, or to ſolve any queſtions which lay within the compaſs of human reaſon; the knowledge of the *trivium* having furniſhed him with the key to all language, and that of the *quadrivium* having opened to him the ſecret laws of nature[b].

At a period, where few were inſtructed in the *trivium*, and very few ſtudied the *quadrivium*, to be maſter of both was ſufficient to complete the character of a philoſopher. When phyſics were al-

[a] Pagi ad A. C. 796. n. 22. Mabillon, Sec. iv. Bened. p. 1. Laun. l. c. p. 15. 31. Conring. Ant: Ac. Diſſ. iii. p. 75. Alcuin. Op. Par. 1612. Bal. Cent. i. p. 110. Fabr. Bib. Lat. Med. t. i. p. 134.

[b] J. Sariſber. Metalog. l. i. c. 12.

moſt entirely neglected; when morals were only taught in wretched compilations, after the model of Pope Gregory's *Moralia*; and when Caſſiodorus, Capella, Iſidore, and Auguſtine, ſupplied the place of the antients, how wretched muſt have been the ſtate of knowledge! eſpecially when it is added, that the liberal arts were only taught in monaſteries, and ſcarcely ever ſtudied by any but the clergy, who were thought ſufficiently learned, if, beſides an acquaintance with church muſic, they were tolerable maſters of the *trivium*. Beyond the precincts of the cloiſters and ſchools, the name of learning was ſcarcely known; military exploits were the buſineſs, and groſs luxury the amuſement, of the nobles; the inferior laity were ſunk in extreme indolence, and never dreamed of requiring a reaſon for their religious belief or prejudices; and the clergy and monks had no deſire to awaken that ſpirit of enquiry, which is ſo hoſtile to ſuperſtition and ſpiritual tyranny.

Through the ninth century, notwithſtanding the efforts which were made for the revival of learning, about its commencement under the auſpices of Charlemagne, ignorance and barbariſm were ſtill predominant. Nothing contributed more to that general contempt and neglect of learning, which ſo ſtrongly characteriſes this period, than the ſhameful depravity of the clergy, of the enormity of whoſe vices the ſynodical ſtatutes and canons, as well as the hiſtory of theſe times, afford abundant proofs. Though many ſchools were erected, and though ſome of theſe produced men whoſe names deſerve a place in the hiſtory of literature and philoſophy, the united efforts of the few, who[a] at this period wiſhed well to the cauſe of learning, were unable to counteract the powerful operation of that indolent and licentious ſpirit, which prevailed among the Eccleſiaſtics.

In England indeed, ALFRED[a], for his ſuperior wiſdom and merit juſtly ſtiled The Great, did every thing which, at ſuch a period, it was poſſible for example and authority to effect, towards reviving

[a] Leland. c. 115. Life of Alf. Ed. Lond. 1574. Conf. Cambden, Cave, Oudin. Fabr. Bib. Lat. Med. t. i. p. 69. Brian Twyn. Apol. Ant. Oxon. T. Caius Vind. Ant. Ox.

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the love of learning and philoſophy. In the midſt of all the cares of his buſy and troubleſome reign, he is ſaid to have devoted eight hours of every day to ſtudy and devotion. By this perſevering application, he made ſuch proficiency in the knowledge of grammar, rhetoric, philoſophy, hiſtory, mathematics, and poetry, that he had, among his contemporaries, in point of learning, few equals, and no ſuperiors. His writings, among which was a Saxon tranſlation of Boëthius *De Conſolatione*, are a ſufficient proof of his learning. At the ſame time that he encouraged letters by his example, he made uſe of every means in his power to baniſh barbariſm from his kingdom. He invited learned men from all countries to reſide in Britain, and made ample proviſion for their ſupport in the capacity of public profeſſors. He founded the univerſity of Oxford, ſo celebrated in Academical Hiſtory from that time to the preſent day; and inſtituted Profeſſorſhips in Grammar, Rhetoric, Philoſophy, and Theology. In the execution of this laudable deſign, he was much aſſiſted by Neot, a monk. Ingulf, abbot of Croyland, ſpeaking of Alfred, ſays[a], "he was ſo aſſiduous in ſacred reading, that he always carried in his boſom a pſalter, or ſome other edifying book; and he invited learned foreigners to his palace, to aſſiſt him in his ſtudies, and afterwards beſtowed upon them eccleſiaſtical honours. Grimbald, who was famous for his knowledge of the ſcriptures, and his ſkill in church muſic, he ſent for from France, and appointed him abbot of the new monaſtery which he had erected at Wincheſter. Joannes Scotus, an eminent philoſopher, he appointed abbot of the monaſtery of Atheling; and other men of diſtinguiſhed learning he advanced to the higher ſtations in the church[b]." But theſe meritorious efforts for the reſtoration of ſcience and learning were ſoon rendered abortive by the incurſions of the Danes, and the ſubſequent cruelties of Harold, which overwhelmed the whole country, not excepting the ſchools, in confuſion and calamity. From this time, to the Norman conqueſt in the eleventh century, knowledge in England was at

[a] Hiſt. Croyland. ap. Oudin. l. c. p. 312.

[b] Conf. Polydor. Virgil. de Invent. Rer. c. 71.

ſo low an ebb, that, according to William of Malmſbury[a], both ſacred and profane learning were become obſolete, and the clergy were ſcarcely able to ſtammer out the words of the ſacrament; and he who underſtood grammar was admired by the reſt as a prodigy of learning.

We muſt not omit to mention, among the learned men of this century, RABANUS MAURUS[b], pupil of Alcuin, and afterwards a preceptor in the monaſtery of Fulda, in Heſſe. It was his cuſtom, and that of his colleagues, not only to inſtruct their pupils in theology, but in every kind of literature and ſcience; for "theſe learned men thought, that no one could underſtand the ſcriptures, who was unacquainted with human learning[c]." Rabanus acquired ſo high a reputation for knowledge and piety through all Germany and France, that many of the nobility entruſted him with the education of their ſons. In the year eight hundred and forty-ſeven, he was advanced to the ſee of Mentz[d].

But the firſt place among the ſcholars of this age is certainly due to JOANNES SCOTUS, ſurnamed ERIGENA. He is ſaid by ſome writers to have been a native of the town of Aire in Scotland, and by others to have been born in Herefordſhire. For his profound knowledge of philoſophy he obtained, among the writers of the Middle Age, the appellation of Scotus the Wiſe. Having early acquired (by what means is not certainly known) an uncommon ſtock of erudition, he penetrated further than any of his contemporaries into the myſteries of the Grecian, and eſpecially the Alexandrian, philoſophy. The fame of his learning reached Charles the Bald, who invited him into France, admitted him to his intimacy, and gave him the direction of the univerſity of Paris. But a circumſtance ſoon afterwards aroſe, which brought upon him much obloquy and perſecution. The Greek emperor, Michael the Stammerer, had, in the year eight hundred and twenty-four, ſent over, as a

[a] L. iii. Conf. Matt. Weſtmonaſt. Chron. Ann. 839.
[b] Laun. c. 8. Pagi Crit. Antib. ad. A. 814. n. 28. Mabill. Sec. iv. Ben. p. 1.
[c] Trithem. Chron. Hirs. An. 813.
[d] Trithem. de S. E. c. 247.

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preſent of ineſtimable value to the Weſtern emperor, Lewis the Mild, the treatiſes of the ſuppoſed Dionyſius the Areopagite, which had long been held in great veneration among the Greek Chriſtians. This book, Charles the Bald, who could not read Greek, was earneſtly deſirous of peruſing in a Latin tranſlation. This deſire was doubtleſs increaſed by the opinion which at this time univerſally prevailed, though without any proof, that Dionyſius the Areopagite, or St. Denys, was the firſt Chriſtian teacher, or apoſtle, in France. At the requeſt of the emperor, Joannes Scotus undertook the taſk of tranſlating the books of this Dionyſius, "On the Celeſtial Monarchy;" "On the Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy;" "On Divine Names;" and "On "Myſtic Theology." Theſe books were received with great eagerneſs by the Weſtern churches. The tranſlation, however, being made without the Pope's licence, and containing many things contrary to the received faith of the church of Rome, the pope, Nicholas the Firſt, was highly diſpleaſed, and wrote a threatening letter to the emperor, requiring that Scotus ſhould be baniſhed from the univerſity of Paris, and ſent to Rome. The emperor had too much reſpect for Scotus to obey the pope's order; but Scotus thought it adviſeable, for his ſafety, to retire from Paris, and after the death of the emperor is ſaid to have returned into England[a].

It was the tranſlation of this book which revived the knowledge of Alexandrian Platoniſm in the Weſt, and laid the foundation of the myſtical ſyſtem of theology which afterwards ſo generally prevailed. Thus philoſophical enthuſiaſm, born in the Eaſt, nouriſhed by Plato, educated in Alexandria, matured in Aſia, and adopted into the Greek church, found its way, under the pretext and authority of an apoſtolic name, into the Weſtern church, and there produced innumerable miſchiefs.

Erigena was expert in metaphyſical ſubtleties, and applied them to the elucidation of theological tenets. He wrote a book "On the

[a] Fordun. l. iv. c. 19. Chron. Scot. Ed. Galæi. Conrig. Ant. Ac. Supp. 31. G. Malmſbur. de Geſt. Reg. Ang. l. ii. c. 4. S. Dunelm. Recapit. ad A. C. 882. Mat. Weſtm. Flor. Hiſt. ad. A. 883. Roger Hoveden. Ann. ad 883. Maibillon. l. c.

Nature

Nature of Things," which Gale disturbed in its quiet repose, and published under the title of *Joanni Scoti Erigenæ de Divisione Naturæ Libri quinque, diu desiderati*[a], "Five books of J. Sc. Erigena, long wished for, on the Division of Nature." At the entrance of the work, he divides nature into that which creates and is not created; that which is created and creates; that which is created and does not create; and that which neither creates nor is created. If the reader wishes for any further specimen of the singularity of Joannes Scotus, let him attend to the following argument for the eternity of the world[b]. "Nothing can be an accident with respect to God; consequently, it was not an accident with respect to him to frame the world: therefore God did not exist before he created the world; for if he had it would have happened to him to create; that is, creation would have been an accident of the divine nature. God therefore precedes the world, not in the order of time, but of causality. The cause always was, and is, and will be, and therefore the effect always has subsisted, doth subsist, and will subsist; that is, the universe is eternal in its cause." Hence he taught that God is all things, and that all things are God; by which he probably meant the same with the Oriental, Cabbalistic, and Alexandrian philosophers, and, after these, with the followers of Origen, Synesius, and the supposed Dionysius, that all things have eternally proceeded by emanation from God, and will at length return into him as streams to their source. Accordingly he says, that after the resurrection nature itself will return to God; God will be all in all, and there will remain nothing but God alone[c].

These brief specimens are sufficient to shew, that the philosophy of Erigena was founded in the enthusiastical notions of universal deification; and consequently, that he is rather to be ranked among the fanatical than among the atheistical philosophers. By introducing into the Western church the books of the supposed Dionysius, he sowed the seeds of that mystical theology, which afterwards spread through the church, and which has not to this day been en-

[a] Oxon. 1681. fol. [b] Ib. l. iii. p. 185. [c] P. 232.

tirely

tirely eradicated. The monaſtic life, which afforded ſo much leiſure for indulging the flights of imagination, and ſo many opportunities for an oſtentatious diſplay of piety, was peculiarly favourable to the propagation of enthuſiaſm; and the ignorance of the times made it perfectly eaſy for thoſe, who were inclined to practiſe upon vulgar credulity, to execute their deſign. It is no wonder, therefore, that the dreams of myſticiſm were, under the authority of a ſuppoſed apoſtolical name, extenſively propagated. But we ſhall have occaſion to treat of this ſubject more fully in another place; it may ſuffice for the preſent to have ſhewn, by what channel the ſtream of enthuſiaſm, which Origen and other fathers brought into the Eaſtern church, paſſed over to the Weſt.

Beſides the learned men who have already been mentioned, the ninth century produced a few others whoſe names ſhould not be omitted. EGINHART [a], ſecretary to the emperor Charlemagne, had philoſophy ſufficient to be capable of correcting the terrors of Charlemagne, when, upon the appearance of a comet, that emperor enquired of him, what fatal change this phænomenon portended, by quoting the words of the prophet: "Be not thou afraid of the ſigns of heaven." He wrote the life of Charlemagne in a ſtyle ſuperior to the general taſte of the age [b]. HINCMAR, archbiſhop of Rheims, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the zeal and ingenuity with which he maintained the controverſy of the times concerning predeſtination, and by his attention to moral philoſophy. He wrote treatiſes "On the Character and Office of a King;" "On Virtues and Vices;" and "On the different Faculties of the Mind;" which were chiefly deſigned to correct the manners of the age in which he lived [c]. PAUL WINFRID [d], a monk of Caſſel, was, for his learning and ability, much eſteemed by Charlemagne: he ſtudied not only theology, but hiſtory, poetry, and philoſophy. AGOBARD [e], biſhop of Lyons, in the midſt

[a] Maibillon. Sec. iv. Baned. p. i.
[b] Ed. Schmink. Traj. ad Rhen. 1711. 4°. Epiſt. Eginh. Ed. Weinſk. Frank. 1707.
[c] Trithem. c. 264. [d] Pet. Diacon. de Illuſt. Vir. Caſin. c. 8.
[e] Cave Hiſt. L. p. 438. Dom. de Colon. Hiſt. Lit. de Lyon. t. ii. p. 93.

of the general neglect of phyſical ſtudy, wrote a treatiſe on hail and thunder, in which he endeavoured to correct the abſurd ſuppoſitions of the vulgar; and another, in which he enquired into the natural cauſes of an epidemic epilepſy. Grimbald, invited from France to England by Alfred, greatly promoted the ſtudy of letters in England. Eric[a], a monk of Auxerre was preceptor to Lotharius, the ſon of the emperor Charles the Bald. He appears from his writings to have been better acquainted with the Greek and Latin tongues than moſt of his contemporaries, and to have been capable of producing, from his own ſtores, more uſeful works than his *Collectanea*, which, after the bad taſte of the age, is a collection of ſcraps from Bede, Auguſtine, Jerome, and others.

The feeble exertions of theſe and other learned men, in the ſchools and monaſteries which were diſperſed through the Weſtern world, were wholly inſufficient to deſtroy the empire of barbariſm, at a period when public affairs, and private manners, united to eſtabliſh it. Whilſt civil diſcord reigned through almoſt every part of Europe; in the midſt of the wars of the Normans in France, the diſſention of the brothers Lotharius, Charles, and Louis, and the irruptions of the Huns into Pannonia and Germany, and of the Normans and Danes into England, it was impoſſible that learning and philoſophy ſhould flouriſh; eſpecially when it muſt be added, that thoſe who alone might ſeem likely to promote them, the monks and clergy, were ſunk in luxury, idleneſs, drunkenneſs, and debauchery. It is not therefore difficult to aſſign ſufficient cauſes for the ignorance of this period, which prevailed to ſuch a ſhameful degree, that inſtructions were given by the pope to the biſhops, that they ſhould make enquiries through the pariſhes of their reſpective diſtricts, whether the officiating clergy could read the goſpels and epiſtles correctly, and give them a literal interpretation. Another part of this enquiry into the learning of the clergy was, whether they could repeat, *memoriter*, the Athanaſian creed, and *un-*

[a] Fabr. l. c. t. ii. p. 327. Mabill. Ann. t. i. p. 422.

*derſtand*

*derſtand its meaning, and were able to explain it in familiar language*[a]. Giſlemar, an archbiſhop of Rheims, being called upon before his conſecration to read a portion of the goſpels, was found ſo ſhamefully ignorant as not to underſtand the literal meaning of the paſſage.

The thick darkneſs, which had now ſo long overſpread the world, was not in the ſmalleſt degree diſperſed in the TENTH CENTURY. At the beginning of this century, in the ſynod of Rheims, among other grievous complaints, it was ſaid[b], "Whilſt even at Rome ſcarcely any one has as much learning as would be neceſſary for a porter, with what front ſhall any one dare to teach what he himſelf has not learned?" The wretched ſtate of learning and philoſophy at this time may be inferred from the narrow limits of that courſe of inſtruction, which was ſuppoſed to comprehend the whole circle of knowledge. The *trivium* and *quadrivium*, as already explained, in which natural, moral, and metaphyſical ſcience was unknown, were now the utmoſt extent of the learning of the ſchools; and very few advanced beyond the *trivium*. If dialectics were more ſtudied and practiſed than in the preceding century, they were applied to no other purpoſe than to maintain frivolous, but often fierce, contentions on theological dogmas. John of Saliſbury complains[c]; "Men at this time waſte their whole lives in controverſy; even diſputing in the public ſtreets. When too old for any other employment, they ſtill retain their fondneſs for debate; always ſeeking but never arriving at truth, becauſe they are ignorant of the antients, or diſdain to adopt their opinions, for ever framing new errors of their own, or, through poverty of judgment, retailing the opinions and ſayings of others, and compiling an inconſiſtent maſs, out of which each author would find it difficult to recover his own." Theſe contentions may not improperly be conſidered as the infancy of the ſcholaſtic philoſophy; they did not, however, hinder the general prevalence of a moſt aſtoniſhing degree of ignorance. The records

[a] Reginon. de Diſciplina Eccl. ſub. init.
[b] Baron. ad Ann. 992. n. 25.
[c] Metalog. l. ii. c. 7.

of theſe times mention [a] a biſhop of Paderborne, who had ſo entirely neglected the ſtudy, not only of the *quadrivium*, but the *trivium*, that he was not able to read the pſalter, without committing the moſt ludicrous blunders [b]. This univerſal ignorance was accompanied with univerſal ſuperſtition and credulity. It is at preſent ſcarcely to be conceived how eaſily the moſt extravagant and abſurd tales of marvellous events and miracles were believed, and how much influence the clergy, by means of theſe tales, notwithſtanding their heinous immorality, every where obtained. How far corruption of manners now prevailed among them, may be conceived from the advice of Edgar, king of England, to his clergy [c], in which he upbraids them with luxury, groſſneſs of language, laſciviouſneſs of manners, and neglect of duty. When the clergy, who alone pretended to learning, were thus infamous for their vices, it was impoſſible that learning itſelf ſhould not fall into contempt among the laity. Every trace of literature and philoſophy muſt at this period have been loſt, had they not met with a few zealous patrons and able ſupporters.

Among the patrons of literature which this age produced, are the emperors Otho the Firſt and Second, who had themſelves ſome learning, and afforded proviſion and encouragement to learned men [d]; and Athelstan and Edgar, kings of England, the former of whom employed certain Jewiſh converts to tranſlate the Old Teſtament into Engliſh, and himſelf wrote ſeveral books in Engliſh and Latin, among which was a treatiſe on aſtrology [e].

Among the ſupporters of literature we find, in England, Bridferth [f], who, beſides commenting upon Bede, wrote a treatiſe *De Principiis Mathematicis*, "On Mathematical Principles," and *Computus Latinorum, Græcorum, Hæbræorum, et Anglorum*, "On the

[a] Leibnitz. Coll. Scr. Brunſ. t. i. p. 555.

[b] He read, *Benedic domine regibus et reginis mulis et mulabus tuis*, for *famulis et famulabus tuis*.

[c] Spelman. Conf. Baron. ad Ann. 925. n. 9, 10.

[d] Maibill. Præf. in Sec. V. Bened. Laun. c. 21. Conring. Ant. Acad. Sup. 42.

[e] Pitſ. p. 173. [f] Leland. c. 136.

Methods of Computing among the Latins, Greeks, Hebrews, and Engliſh," preſerved in the Bodleian Library; DUNSTAN, archbiſhop of Canterbury, who, beſides the encouragement which he gave to the ſtudy of liberal arts in others, himſelf wrote ſeveral books, among which is a treatiſe "On Occult Philoſophy;" ETHELWOLD and OSWALD, who with Dunſtan were preceptors to Edgar.—In France, REMIGIUS, CONSTANTINE, and ABBO, monks who appear to have been, for the period in which they lived, well read in letters and philoſophy.—And in Germany, NANNO, of Stavern, in Weſt Frieſland, who, in the tenth century, wrote a Commentary upon Plato, *De Legibus et de Republica*; and upon Ariſtotle, *De Cælo et Mundo, et Ethicis*: BALDRIC, preceptor to Bruno, the brother of Otho Great; and others [a].

One of the moſt celebrated among the learned of this century was GERBERT, a native of Orleans, archbiſhop of Rheims, and afterwards Pope Sylveſter II. He merits a diſtinguiſhed place in the liſt of natural philoſophers, on account of the ſkill which he at this period acquired in mathematics, mechanics, hydraulics, and aſtronomy. Dithmar, writing concerning Gerbert, ſays [b]; "He was well ſkilled in aſtronomical obſervations, and far excelled his contemporaries in various kinds of knowledge. After his baniſhment from France, he fled to the Emperor Otho, and during his ſtay with him at Magdeburg, he made a clock, which he corrected by obſerving through a tube [c] a certain ſtar by which ſailors are guided in navigation." The knowledge of nature which Gerbert poſſeſſed, ſo far ſurpaſſed that of his contemporaries, that they thought him poſſeſſed of magical power, and Benno, a cardinal who owed him a grudge for his oppoſition to the ſee of Rome, invented and circulated a tale of his holding converſe with the devil [d]. His epiſtles, of which one hundred and ſixty-one are ſtill extant, contain many curious particu-

[a] Fabric. Bib. Lat. Med. t. v. Conring. Ant. Supp. 43.

[b] Chron. l. vi. p. 309. Conf. Trithem. c. 304. Laun. p. 79.

[c] Teleſcopes not being yet in uſe, this was probably nothing more than an open tube, intended to keep off the ſurrounding rays of light.

[d] Leo Urbevitan. in Deliciis Erudit. Lamii, t. ii. p. 163. Baron. Ann. 1003.

lars reſpecting natural philoſophy[a]. Sylveſter II. died in the year one thouſand and three.

Numerous cauſes concurred, in the Eleventh Century, to rivet the chains of ignorance. The eruptions of barbarous nations ſpread terror and deſolation through many of the more civilized parts of Europe. The Chriſtian world, prompted by ſuperſtition, undertook the romantic deſign of expelling the Turks from Paleſtine. Beſides this, literature and philoſophy met with new interruptions and diſcouragements. The ſmall portion of learning which remained was ſtudiouſly confined within the walls of monaſteries by eccleſiaſtics, who found that the beſt way to preſerve the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of their wealth and power, was to keep the laity ſtill more ignorant than themſelves. At the ſame time, the laity were, through ſuperſtitious credulity, not diſinclined, for the ſafety of their ſouls, to ſubmit their underſtandings to the direction of the prieſts; and were eaſily perſuaded, that learning and philoſophy were nothing more than handmaids to theology, and therefore could be of no uſe but to the clergy. And, indeed, how could the unlearned think otherwiſe, when they ſaw, that the learned themſelves made no other uſe of philoſophy, than to furniſh them with weapons, with which they fought againſt each other with as much violence, as the Chriſtians againſt the Saracens? Men employed in civil or military life would take little intereſt in theſe controverſies; they would freely leave the clergy in poſſeſſion of their philoſophy, whatever it might be, and be content to admire, without imitating, a kind of excellence which they did not fully comprehend, and which they ſaw productive of no good effects. Even among the clergy, moſt of thoſe who aſpired after ſome diſtinction were contented with making themſelves maſters of the principles and practice of muſic; an art which was at this time in ſuch high repute, that no one who was ignorant of it was judged qualified for any ſcholaſtic or theological office; and they who excelled in it were ranked among philoſophers of conſummate erudition. So violent was the paſſion for muſic, that even princes were

[a] Ed. Maſſon. Par. 1611. 4to. Fab. Bib. L. Med. t. iii. p. 827.

ambitious

ambitious of excelling in it. Robert, a king of France, was eminently skilled in this art, and acquired great credit by ſinging with his clergy[a]. Notwithſtanding all this, it does not appear that muſic was commonly ſtudied or taught upon mathematical principles. Some improvement, however, the art received from the monks of this period. Guido Aretine, a Benedictine, acquired great fame by expreſſing the muſical notes in a new ſcale, *ut, re, mi, fa, ſo, la,* in order to facilitate the learning of this art[b]. He is ſaid to have taken the words from a hymn of Paulus Diaconus on John Baptiſt[c].

UT *queant laxis* RE *ſonare fibris*
MI *ra geſtorum* FA *muli tuorum*
SO *lve pollutis* LA *biis reatum,*
*Sancte Joannes.*

He made this invention public in his *Microloges*, or two books *De Muſica*. After all, this invention was no very material improvement upon the antients, for before Guido, the muſical ſcale had twenty notes; and the octaves were as well diſtinguiſhed among the Egyptians by ſeven vowels, or, by the method which Pope Gregory introduced, the uſe of the firſt ſeven letters of the alphabet[d].

Nevertheleſs, the eleventh century was not without its learned men. Though ſcience and the arts met with little encouragement from the princes of this period, there were not wanting ſcholars, whoſe genius and induſtry enabled them in ſome meaſure to riſe above the difficulties of their ſituations, and whoſe literary and philoſophical labours caſt ſome rays of light upon this gloomy period. OLIVER OF MALMSBURY excelled his contemporaries in the knowledge of mathematical and natural philoſophy. INGULPHUS, ſecretary to William the Conqueror, devoted himſelf to ſtudy, in the univerſity of Oxford, and made Ariſtotle his guide in philoſophy, and Cicero in rhetoric[e]. FULBERT, a pupil of Gerbert, who enjoyed

[a] Trithem. c. 304. [b] Sigebert, c. 144. et in Chron. ad Ann. 1028.
[c] Weizius in Heortologio, p. 263.
[d] Voſſ. de Scient. Math. c. 22. § 7. Et de Viribus Rythmi, p. 91.
[e] Fab. t. iii. p. 89.

the

the patronage of Robert king of France, and of Canute king of England, was eſteemed one of the moſt learned men of the age[a]. BERENGER, of Cologne[b], was a great maſter of the dialectic art, and diſplayed much courage as well as good ſenſe by the oppoſition which he made againſt the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation; an abſurd dogma, which nothing but ſuch a total neglect of philoſophy as diſgraced the Middle Age could have produced. BRUNO[c], of Cologne, a pupil of Berenger, and preceptor and counſellor to Pope Urban the Second, retired into monaſtic life, and founded the order of Carthuſians. LANFRANC, archbiſhop of Canterbury, oppoſed the hereſy of Berenger, and employed the weapons of dialectics with great ingenuity and addreſs in defence of tranſubſtantiation. His writings[d] are celebrated for the purity of their Latinity. ANSELM[e], who was alſo preferred to the archbiſhoprick of Canterbury, applied the ſubtlety of logic to theology. As an example of his refinement may be mentioned his arguments for the being of God, derived from the abſtract idea of Deity, afterwards reſumed by Des Cartes. His writings[f], On the Will of God; Free Will; Truth; The Conſiſtency of the Doctrine of Divine Preſcience, with that of predeſtination, and other points, which abound in logical and metaphyſical abſtractions, entitle him to the honour of having largely contributed towards preparing the way for the Scholaſtic ſyſtem, which ſoon afterwards univerſally prevailed. To this liſt muſt be added HERMANNUS[g], a ſelf-taught German, who wrote Latin corrections of ſome part of Ariſtotle's works, and who ſeems to have been the firſt writer in the Weſt who tranſlated Arabic books into Latin.

On the whole, though Gerbert, Anſelm, and ſome others were verſed in the ſubtleties of logic and metaphyſics, they were ſo far from reſtoring true ſcience, that they involved the ſtudy of philoſophy in new embarraſſments. The few who, by the help of ſuperior genius and induſtry, raiſed themſelves above the ordinary level of the

[a] Trithem. c. 315. Laun. c. 40.
[b] Laun. c. 5. W. Malmſb. Hiſt. Angl. l. iii. p. 113. Sigebert, c. 154.
[c] Laun. c. 4. [d] Ed. Par. 1646. fol. [e] Trithem. c. 351.
[f] Par. 1675. 1721.
[g] Trithem. Ann. Herſ. t. i. p. 148. Fab. L. Med. t. iii. p. 705.

times,

times, loſt themſelves in the clouds of metaphyſics. They were wholly employed in attempting to explain abſtract notions of theology, by terms almoſt without meaning; hereby accumulating frivolous controverſies, and obtruding upon the church new refinements in theological ſpeculations, which ſoon grew up into that monſtrous form, to be deſcribed in the next book, the Scholaſtic philoſophy.

A circumſtance which greatly increaſed the confuſion and obſcurity which prevailed in the ſchools at this period was, that for want of an accurate knowledge of the Greek tongue, dialectics were not ſtudied in the original writings of Ariſtotle, but in the wretched Manual of Auguſtine, which was generally uſed in the public ſchools. The original works of Ariſtotle, notwithſtanding the pains which Nannus, Hermannus and others, had taken to tranſlate ſelect parts, lay neglected till the beginning of the twelfth century, when his logical and metaphyſical writings, lately brought from Conſtantinople, were rendered into Latin, and read in the univerſity of Paris. From this and other cauſes, the ſtudy of dialectics produced nothing but frivolous diſputes and fruitleſs logomachies; of which this century affords a memorable example in the controverſy which was raiſed by Roſceline[a], whether the perſonal diſtinctions in the Trinity be *real* or *nominal*; whence afterwards aroſe the metaphyſical ſects of the Realiſts and Nominaliſts *.

[a] II. Gandavenſis de Sc. Ec. c. 5. p. 118.

* Vidend. Fabric. Bibl. Eccl. Hamb. 1718. fol. Trithemius de Script. Eccl. Miræi Auctarium de Script. Eccl. J. Sariſber. Policrat. et Metalog. Op. Lugd. Bat. 1638. Laun. de Scholis celeb. Hamb. 1717. Conrin. Antiq. Acad. Diſſ. iii. Fabr. Bibl. Lat. Med. et Inſim. Rechenberg. de Orig. Theol. Myſt. ap. Exerc. in N. Teſt.

CHAP.

# CHAP. III.

# OF THE SCHOLASTIC PHILOSOPHY.

## SECTION I.

### OF THE STATE OF PHILOSOPHY IN GENERAL, FROM THE TWELFTH CENTURY TO THE REVIVAL OF LETTERS.

THE Dialectic philoſophy, loaded with metaphyſical ſubtleties, which had been ſtudied and profeſſed by ſeveral of the clergy towards the cloſe of the Eleventh century, began, at the opening of the Twelfth, to be publicly taught in the ſchools, and to take the lead of every other kind of learning. Abelard, who was a young man at this time, gave this account of the commencement of his ſtudies at Paris[a]: "Preferring the ſtudy of logic to all others, and the diſputations of the ſchools to the trophies of war, I entirely devoted myſelf to this purſuit, and, like a Peripatetic philoſopher, travelled through different countries, exerciſing myſelf, wherever an opportunity offered, in theſe conteſts. At length I came to Paris, where this kind of learning had for ſome time been cultivated, and put myſelf under the tuition of an eminent and able preceptor, William de Champeaux." He proceeds to relate ſeveral particulars concerning the diſputes which were carried on in this ſchool upon the ſubject of univerſals, which ſufficiently prove, that philoſophy was waſting its ſtrength

[a] Hiſt. Calam. ſuar. c. iii.

upon

upon trifles, and that it was now, perhaps, more than ever, the employment of the philoſophical world, to diſpute *de lana caprina*.

If it be aſked, why dialectic philoſophy was at this time in ſuch high eſteem, the obvious anſwer is, that it was ſuppoſed to be the key of theology, without which it would be impoſſible to unlock the myſteries of ſacred wiſdom. It was on account of this ſuppoſed alliance between logic and theology, that the former was made the principal object of ſtudy in all the ſchools, and that thoſe who excelled in the dialectic art were regarded with the higheſt admiration, and attended by crowds of pupils. Beſides this general cauſe for the univerſal prevalence of a taſte for logical diſputations, there were other collateral circumſtances, which at this period contributed to produce the ſame effect.

The Ariſtotelian philoſophy had now for ſeveral centuries been ſtudied by the Saracens, and was at this time taught in their ſchools in Spain. Theſe ſchools were viſited by many of the Weſtern Chriſtians, who learned Arabic, that they might be able to read tranſlations of Ariſtotle, and other philoſophical writers, in that language, and who afterwards tranſlated many Arabic books into the European tongues. The firſt perſon who undertook this taſk, ſeems to have been CONSTANTINE AFER [a], a monk of Caſſino. He travelled into the Eaſt, and ſpent thirty years among the Arabians, Perſians, Indians, and Egyptians, making himſelf maſter of the learning of each nation; after which he returned to the monaſtery of Caſſino, and ſpent the reſt of his days in tranſlating books from various languages. He is ſaid to have been maſter of Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldaic, Arabic, Coptic, Ethiopic, Indian, Greek, Latin, and Italian. Others were inſpired with the ſame deſire of acquiring that learning among the Arabians, which their own country would not afford. DANIEL MORLEY [b], of Norfolk, a ſtudent in the univerſities of Oxford and Paris, viſited Spain, and learned mathematics in the Arabic tongue at Toledo, and after his return wrote a book, *De inferiori et*

[a] Pet. Diacon. Auct. ad Leonis Chron. Caſſin. l. iii. c. 35, Trithem. c. 286.
[b] Leland, c. 220. Pits. p. 254.

*ſuperiori Parte Mundi*, "On the lower and upper part of the World," which he dedicated to John Biſhop of Norwich, and another, *De Principiis Mathematicis*, "On the Principles of Mathematics." Robert Retin[a], archdeacon of Pampelona, in Spain, after travelling among the Saracens both in Europe and Arabia, wrote a Latin tranſlation of the Koran. Adelard[b], an Engliſh monk of the Benedictine monaſtery at Bath, in the reign of Henry the Firſt, went among the Saracens in ſearch of mathematical and phyſical ſcience, and, having learned Arabic, tranſlated from that language many Greek writings, among which were the Elements of Euclid. Other tranſlators appeared about the ſame time, by whoſe induſtry the logical and metaphyſical writings of Ariſtotle were diſperſed through France, Germany, and Italy[c].

Another cauſe which ſerved to eſtabliſh a general taſte for the Peripatetic philoſophy, and particularly for the Ariſtotelian logic, was, that about this period many Greek copies of the writings of Ariſtotle were brought from Conſtantinople into the Weſt. Before this time, though they had been read in the original by a few monks more learned than the reſt, the greater part had been contented with the tranſlations of Victorinus and Boethius. But, at the beginning of the twelfth century, the original writings of Ariſtotle were ſtudied in Paris; whence they were introduced among the Germans, by Otho of Freiſingen, in the time of Abelard[d].

The guardians of the church obſerved with an apprehenſive and jealous eye, the inundation of new opinions, which this fondneſs for logical diſputations introduced. Almaric, who taught theology at Paris, appeared to the ſecond Pariſian council, in the year one thouſand two hundred and nine, to have imbibed many errors from the ſtudy of Ariſtotle, and fell under their eccleſiaſtical cenſure. David de Dinanto, a diſciple of Almaric, ſoon after ſhared the ſame fate: and the writings of both, which, after all, contained

[a] Huet. de clar. Int. p. 230. [b] W. Malmſb. l. ii. c. 10. Leland, c. 171.
[c] Trithem. c. 477. Ann. Hirſ. t. i. p. 596.
[d] Gaſſend. Exerc. Parad. adv. Ariſt. Ex. iii. Laun. de Fort. Ariſt. c. 1. Helmold. de Slavis, l. ii. c. 9.

doctrines

doctrines rather Platonic than Peripatetic, were ſentenced to be publicly burned. This ſentence was followed by a general prohibition of the uſe of the phyſical and metaphyſical writings of Ariſtotle in the ſchools, by the Synod of Paris, and afterwards, under Pope Innocent the Third, by the Council of the Lateran[a].

Theſe violent meaſures, however, were ſo far from exterminating the evils againſt which they were directed, that they in fact increaſed them; for when thoſe who adopted this new method of philoſophiſing perceived the jealouſy and diſpleaſure which it raiſed among the heads of councils and ſynods, they became ſo much the more tenacious of the right which had been invaded, and zealous in the ſupport of their innovations. The fondneſs for the ſubtleties of Ariſtotelian logic and metaphyſics became ſo general, that the orthodox clergy complained, that ſcholars ſpent their whole time in diſputation[b]. Their complaints and their prohibitions were, however, alike ineffectual; and it was at length found neceſſary, by degrees, and under certain reſtrictions, to favour the ſtudy of Ariſtotle. His dialectics, phyſics, and metaphyſics, were by expreſs ſtatute received into the univerſity of Paris; but it was with this limitation[c], that no one ſhould be permitted to enter upon the ſtudy of them, who had not previouſly devoted ſix years to learning; a prudent precaution, by means of which the profeſſors in the antient ſchools ſecured to themſelves a ſucceſſion of ſcholars. It was further ordered[d], in the year one thouſand two hundred and thirty-one, by a bull of Pope Gregory the Ninth, that only ſuch books of Ariſtotle ſhould be uſed in the ſchools, as had been examined and purged from errors; and that ſtudents in theology ſhould not be ambitious of the reputation of philoſophers, but ſhould confine themſelves to ſuch ſubjects of diſputation, as might be determined by the theological writings of the fathers.

In ſeveral other countries, the Ariſtotelian philoſophy was received with leſs oppoſition. In England, the writings of the Stagyrite

[a] Laun. de Fort. Ar. l. c. Rigord. in Pithoei und. Script. p. 208.
[b] Gualter contr. Hamel. apud Laun. p. 187. [c] Laun. de Fort. Ariſt. c. iv.
[d] L. c. c. vi.

were read with great avidity; and in Germany and Italy, the emperor Frederic the Second, a patron of letters, greatly encouraged the ſtudy of Ariſtotle, and other antient writers, by employing learned men to tranſlate their works into Latin; but for want of a competent knowledge of the Greek language, or through a ſcarcity of copies of the Greek text, tranſlations were chiefly made from the Arabic corrections. It was in this imperfect repreſentation of the original that Ariſtotle was commonly read, till the time of the taking of Conſtantinople, when many copies of his works were brought into the Weſt. Whence it is eaſy to perceive, that the philoſophers of this period muſt have had no very perfect knowledge of the doctrines of this obſcure and ſubtle writer, which, nevertheleſs, they acknowledged as of oracular authority. The truth is, that they received the Peripatetic philoſophy through the medium of the Saracenic, and were in reality as much indebted to Averroës as to Ariſtotle. The name of Ariſtotle, however, from the end of the twelfth century, obtained univerſal dominion; and ſo far were his writings, after this time, from falling under the cenſure of councils and popes, that the Ariſtotelian and Saracenic philoſophy became the main pillars of the eccleſiaſtical hierarchy. In the year one thouſand three hundred and ſixty-ſix[a], cardinals were appointed by pope Urban the Fifth to ſettle the manner in which the writings of Ariſtotle ſhould be ſtudied in the univerſity of Paris; and in the year one thouſand four hundred and fifty-two, Charles the Seventh ordered the works of Ariſtotle to be read and publicly explained in that univerſity. Thus the union between the Peripatetic philoſophy and the Chriſtian religion was confirmed, and Ariſtotle became not only the interpreter, but even the judge, of Saint Paul[b].

During the period from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, though multitudes profeſſed to philoſophiſe, true philoſophy and learning made little progreſs. Inſtead of uniting their endeavours to enlighten mankind, the Scholaſtics loſt themſelves in metaphyſical darkneſs. They carried on their diſputes with ſuch vehemence

[a] Laun. l. c. p. 202.

[b] Laun. c. ix. p. 210. Patric. Diſcuſſ. Perip. t. i. l. xii. p. 162. l. xiii. p. 613.

and

and acrimony, that many ludicrous, and many bloody, frays happened among them. Nominaliſts, Realiſts, Verbaliſts, Formaliſts, Thomiſts, Scotiſts and Occamiſts, were at open war among each other. The whole world was diſturbed with the idle conteſts of the ſcholaſtic philoſophy from the twelfth century, to the Reformation; and ſo deeply did this philoſophy take root, that even to this day it has not been entirely extirpated.

The compilation of the canon law, in the twelfth century, by Gratian, in his *Diſcordantium Canonum Concordia*, "Harmony of diſcordant Canons," and the ſubſequent union of the canon law with that of theology and philoſophy, muſt alſo be mentioned among the cauſes which prevented the revival of knowledge[a]. This compilation, made without judgment, under the authority of the emperor Frederic the Firſt, became a body of eccleſiaſtical juriſprudence, which the clergy were required to ſtudy and obſerve. This code was even made an authoritative guide in moral doctrine and diſcipline, and prevented the ſtudy of ethics till the middle of the fifteenth century, when the morals of Ariſtotle were again permitted to be read. But the worſt evil was, that they who had framed this unnatural union of canon law, ſcholaſtic philoſophy and theology, finding it exceedingly conducive to their own emolument, reſolutely ſet their faces againſt all innovations, and proſcribed with their whole authority thoſe learned men, who had the boldneſs to attempt further improvements in philoſophy. Of this the hiſtory of the perſecution of Reuchlin will, in the ſequel, afford a memorable example.*

[a] Ziegler. de Orig. et Increm. Jur. Canon.

* Vidend. J. Sariſb. Metalog. l. ii. c. 7. l. iv. c. 24, 25. Friend. Hiſt. Med. p. iii. p. 2. Fabr. B.b. Gr. v. xiii. p. 123. Bibl. Lat. Med. t. i. p. 29. t. v. p. 551. Jameſii Eclog. MSS. Ox. et Cantab. Lud. Vives de Cauſ. Corr. Art. l. v. Campanella de Gentiliſmo non retinendo, p. 19. Hottinger. Hiſt. Ecc. Sec. xii. Martene Anecd. t. iv. p. 163. Bulæi Hiſt. Ac. Par. t. iii. p. 24. N. Alex. Hiſt. Ec. t. vii. p. 75. Buddeus de Hæreſ. ex Phil. Ariſt. Obſ. Hal. Lat. t. i. Obſ. 15. Thomas. de Exuſt. Mundi Stoic. Diſſ. xiv. Petri de Vineis l. iii. ep. 69.

SECT.

## SECT. 2.

### OF THE SCHOLASTICS.

THE Scholaſtics, whoſe hiſtory we now proceed to relate in detail, ſeem to have borrowed their name from thoſe profeſſors, who, in the public ſchools of cathedrals and monaſteries, taught philoſophy and the liberal arts. In the Colleges of Canons, which, in the times of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, were erected near the epiſcopal churches or cathedrals, and in the abbacies of monaſteries, it was cuſtomary to have preceptors, or ſcholaſtic doctors, to whom the charge of the education of youth was committed: and great care was at firſt taken, by thoſe who founded or ſupported theſe ſchools, that able and learned men ſhould be appointed to perform the offices of inſtruction [a]. The name, thus introduced, remained, when the care of the ſchools was no longer in the hands of ſcholaſtic doctors. For when emperors, princes, and biſhops, had, from a deſire of baniſhing ignorance and barbariſm, enriched this uſeful office with ample endowments, wealth produced indolence; the labour of teaching was transferred to thoſe who would undertake it for the ſmalleſt ſalary; and the ſcholaſtic doctors themſelves (for, that they might enjoy the profits of this eſtabliſhment, they ſtill retained the name) paid little attention to letters, and only vied with each other in luxury and debauchery. A lively picture of the infamous lives of theſe Scholaſtics is drawn in the *Speculum Humanæ Vitæ*, "Mirror of Human Life," written by Roderic biſhop of Zamora, in Spain, in which he complains [b], "that they were no longer learned themſelves, nor able to teach others;

[a] Conring. Ant. Ac. Supp. 39. Tribbechov. de Div. Scholaſt. c. i. p. 32.
[b] L. ii. c. 17.

that

that they never viſited the ſchools; that they united, with the moſt contemptible ignorance, the moſt ſhameful depravity of manners; and that, through fear leaſt their places ſhould be filled up by men more learned than themſelves, they gave no encouragement to erudition." In the ſchools of ſeveral monaſteries, this noble inſtitution was leſs abuſed; and ſome of the Scholaſtics were employed in inſtructing, not only thoſe young men who were devoted to a monaſtic life, but the ſons of noblemen, and others of the laity. And this was the chief means of preſerving alive the embers of ſcience and learning, in the dark period between the eighth and the twelfth century.

From the ſchools of monaſteries and cathedrals at length ſprung public ſchools and academies, in which the liberal arts and ſacred learning were taught; and the method of philoſophiſing, which had prevailed in the monaſteries, and among the eccleſiaſtics, was tranſferred to the profeſſors of philoſophy and literature in theſe public ſchools. What that method was, ſufficiently appears from the particulars, which have been already related concerning the philoſophy of the Middle Age. An opinion having commonly prevailed, that philoſophy was only to be conſidered as an handmaid to theology, and to be purſued merely to furniſh weapons for theological controverſy, the dialectical branch of philoſophy was chiefly ſtudied, firſt in the Inſtitutes of Auguſtine, a book written in the manner of the Stoics, and afterwards in the writings of Ariſtotle. The profeſſors of philoſophy, or the Scholaſtics, perceiving that eminence in the dialectic art was the ſure road to popularity and preferment, devoted their principal attention to this ſtudy; and the ſchools, now confided to men who placed their chief merit in the ſkill with which they handled the weapons of intellectual warfare, produced nothing but polemics. The ſpirit of diſputation, transferred from the old ſeminaries of learning to every new eſtabliſhment, was diſſeminated through Europe; and education was, every where, nothing elſe but a courſe of inſtruction in dialectics and in metaphyſics. The general introduction of the writings of Ariſtotle into the ſchools eſtabliſhed a taſte for this ſtudy. The whole body of the

clergy employed themſelves in ſolving abſtruſe and ſubtle queſtions, which were always merely ſpeculative, and often merely verbal. In this manner, the Ariſtotelian dialectics became by degrees intimately connected with theology, and on this account obtained the zealous patronage of thoſe who preſided in the church; ſo that almoſt the whole Chriſtian church became Scholaſtics [a].

Under all this appearance of philoſophiſing, it muſt, however, be remarked, that nothing of the true ſpirit of philoſophy was to be found. The art of reaſoning was employed, not in the free inveſtigation of truth, but merely in ſupporting the doctrines of the Romiſh church, the canons of which denounced a perpetual anathema and excommunication upon all who ſhould attempt to corrupt the faith, and bound the clergy, in the form of a ſolemn oath, to defend the papal ſee, and the traditions of the holy fathers, againſt all oppoſition [b]. Hence philoſophy became nothing more than an inſtrument in the hands of the pontiff, to confirm and extend his ſpiritual dominion. Some oppoſition, indeed, the ſpeculative philoſophy of the Scholaſtics met with, from that myſtical ſyſtem, derived from the enthuſiaſm of the Alexandrian ſchool, which Joannes Scotus Erigena, from the ſpurious books of Dionyſius, introduced into the Chriſtian church; a ſyſtem which profeſſed to raiſe the mind from the barren purſuit of ſcholaſtic controverſy, to the pure and ſublime contemplation of God and divine things. But the only conſequence of this oppoſition was, at firſt, to excite mutual jealouſies and animoſity between the Myſtics and Scholaſtics, and afterwards to produce a coalition between them highly injurious to the church.

Many diſputes have ariſen concerning the origin of the Scholaſtic philoſophy, which may eaſily be ſettled by a careful compariſon of the facts, which have been already related, concerning the ſtate of philoſophy in the Middle Age. The caſe was briefly this:

[a] Tribbechov. de Div. Scholaſticis, c. iii. p. 96. Ib. Præf. Humanni, p. 20.
[b] Decret. Diſt. 23. Decr. Greg. de Jur. p. 287.

The

The high reputation which St. Auguſtine obtained in the Chriſtian church, gave his treatiſe on dialectics univerſal authority, and led thoſe who were inclined to philoſophiſe, implicitly to follow his method of applying the ſubtleties of Stoic reaſoning, and the myſteries of the Platonic doctrine, to the explanation of the ſacred doctrines of revelation. The dialectic art, thus introduced, was further encouraged by Latin verſions of ſome of the writings of Ariſtotle, and of Porphyry's Introduction to the Categories. The ſtudy of logical ſubtleties was purſued under theſe guides in the ſchools of the monaſteries, particularly in Ireland, whence many ſcholars from England and Scotland carried this kind of philoſophy into their own countries; and from Britain it afterwards paſſed into France, and other parts of Europe.

From this time, the eccleſiaſtics, who, during a long period of tumult and barbariſm, kept the ſmall remains of learning and philoſophy in their own hands, made no other uſe of them than as pillars to ſupport the hierarchy, or as weapons of defence againſt its adverſaries. The whole hiſtory of the church, from the eighth to the eleventh century, proves that Scholaſtic men, that is, the profeſſors of philoſophy and theology in the monaſtic ſchools, ſtudied and taught philoſophy only for this purpoſe; and there can be no doubt, that the violent eccleſiaſtical diſputes of theſe times foſtered that diſpoſition towards ſubtle refinement in ſpeculation, which at length brought the Scholaſtic philoſophy to maturity. Towards the cloſe of the eleventh century, this ſpirit ſo generally prevailed, that diſputation upon theology and philoſophy became the chief occupation and amuſement of the learned; and, in proceſs of time, various ſects ſprung up, in which queſtions purely logical were confounded with points of theology, and dialectics were applied to the explanation of the ſcriptures. This kind of philoſophy was taught, not only in the monaſtic ſchools, but in public academies; and Ariſtotle, at firſt imperfectly repreſented in Arabic and Latin verſions, and afterwards brought into full view in his own original writings, obtained ſovereign authority in the whole Chriſtian world. Thus the Scholaſtic philoſophy appears not to have been

the invention of any one man, but to have riſen up by almoſt imperceptible degrees from the fifth to the twelfth century, when it attained its maturity[a].

The Scholaſtics are commonly divided into three diſtinct ages; the firſt, from Lanfranc, or Abelard, and his diſciple Peter Lombard, to the middle of the thirteenth century, when Albert flouriſhed; the ſecond, from that time to the year one thouſand three hundred and thirty; and the third, from the laſt period to the reformation.

After Lanfranc, Anſelm, and Roſceline, who have been already mentioned, in the firſt age of the Scholaſtics aroſe WILLIAM DE CHAMPEAUX[b], appointed biſhop of Catalaun in the year one thouſand one hundred and thirteen, and afterwards archbiſhop of Paris. He taught dialectics in the univerſity of Paris with great applauſe. He maintained the doctrine of the Realiſts, who held that all individual things partake of the one eſſence of their ſpecies, and are only modified by accident. He had the appellation of the VENERABLE DOCTOR.

From the ſchool of William de Champeaux aroſe PETER ABELARD, born in Palais, in Bretagne, in the year one thouſand and ſeventy-nine. He early applied himſelf, with great ſucceſs, to the ſtudy of metaphyſics and logic, under Roſceline, who eſtabliſhed the ſect of the Nominaliſts, maintaining, in oppoſition to the Realiſts, that univerſals have no real exiſtence out of the mind, and are to be referred wholly to words or names. From nature and habit Abelard[c] poſſeſſed a wonderful ſubtlety of thought, a moſt retentive memory, and uncommon facility and fluency of ſpeech. After

[a] Budd. Iſag. Hiſt. Theol. l. ii. c. 1. § 7. Dupin. Meth. Stud. Theol. c. ii. p. 19. 21. Alſted. Encyclop. t. i. p. 105. Thomas, Orat. xii. p. 266. Heumann. Præf. p. 13. J. Sariſbur. Metalog. l. ii. c. 9. Thom. Hiſt. Sap. et Stult. p. iii. p. 226, 228. Mabillon. de Stud. Monaſt. p. ii.

[b] Abelard. Hiſt. Cal. ſuar. c. 2. Pagi ad Ann. 1121. Oudin. de Sc. E. t. ii. p. 964. Sammarthan. t. ii. p. 504. Martene Anecdot. t. v. p. 877.

[c] Hiſt. Calamitatum ſuarum, Par. 1616. 4to. cum Annot. Du Cheſne. Vit. Pet. Abelard, a Gervaſio, Par. 1720. Bayle.

travelling

Travelling through ſeveral countries to improve himſelf in the arts of diſputation, he became a ſtudent of dialectics under William de Champeaux, in Paris. But he ſoon ventured to contradict the opinions of his maſter, and held diſputations with him, in which, in the judgment of many of his fellow ſtudents, he was frequently victorious. This circumſtance at length awakened the jealouſy of the preceptor, and inflamed the ambition of the pupil. The conſequence was, that Abelard ſoon left William de Champeaux, and opened a ſchool of his own, at Melun, in the vicinity of Paris, where the ſplendour of his ſuperior talents in diſputation attracted general admiration, and eclipſed the fame of Champeaux.

The violent exertions which were neceſſary to ſupport his riſing reputation, and maintain his ground againſt his numerous enemies (for Champeaux had many followers) brought Abelard into a ſtate of debility, which rendered it neceſſary that he ſhould for a while retire from his labours. After an abſence of two years, which he paſſed in his native country, he found, upon his return, that his preceptor had taken the monaſtic habit among the regular canons, but ſtill continued to teach rhetoric and logic in the ſchools of the monaſteries. In hope of regaining his popularity, Abelard again viſited his ſchool, and renewed his controverſy with Champeaux on the points then agitated between the Nominaliſts and Realiſts; and he argued with ſuch ſtrength and ſubtlety, that the pupils of Champeaux came over in crowds to Abelard. Even the profeſſor of the former ſchool of Champeaux reſigned his chair to the young philoſopher. This created a violent oppoſition on the part of Champeaux, who had intereſt ſufficient to obtain the appointment of a new profeſſor: upon which Abelard retired for a while to Melun; but as ſoon as he heard that Champeaux had withdrawn into the country, he went to Paris, and opened a ſchool upon Mount St. Genevieve, where he eaſily vanquiſhed his rival, the new profeſſor of the cathedral ſchool, who, through mortification, entered into a monaſtery. Champeaux now reſumed the conteſt; and it was continued with great violence, till the former was preferred to the ſee of Chalons, and the latter, probably through an envious

deſire of attaining equal honours with his antagoniſt, removed to Laon, to ſtudy theology under Anſelm. But finding his lectures (as he himſelf ſays) like trees abounding with leaves but barren of fruit, he ſoon left him, and began himſelf to lecture in theology, after the manner of Anſelm, by commenting upon ſome part of the ſacred ſcriptures. To give the hearers of Anſelm an unequivocal proof of his extenſive learning and ready ability, he undertook to explain, on the ſhorteſt notice, any portion of the ſcriptures, and illuſtrate it by pertinent quotations from the fathers. The paſſage given him for this purpoſe was the beginning of the prophecy of Ezekiel, which he the next day explained, in a theological lecture, with ſo much ſucceſs, that all his hearers expreſſed the higheſt admiration of his talents. Anſelm, through jealouſy, pretended that Abelard was too young a man to read theology, and obliged him to deſiſt from his lectures. Abelard upon this, returned to Paris, where his explanations of the ſcriptures ſoon raiſed his reputation to ſuch a height, that he had crowded auditories, and obtained great profit from his lectures.

In theſe philoſophical and ſacred labours, Abelard was interrupted by his celebrated amour with Heloiſe, the beautiful niece of an avaricious canon named Fulbert, who *prudently* employed this young man, upon eaſy terms, to become her private preceptor. The particulars of the ſtory are well known, and might not perhaps perfectly comport with the gravity of philoſophical hiſtory. Suffice it to ſay, that Abelard's fair pupil made a much more rapid progreſs in the leſſons of love, than in thoſe of philoſophy; and that when Fulbert diſcovered that his niece's ſtudies had taken a turn ſo contrary to his wiſhes, his indignation fell with ſuch *cruel ſeverity* upon the young preceptor, that in vexation and deſpair, rather than from devotion, he gave himſelf up to the monaſtic life in the abbey of St. Denys. Heloiſe, who had already retired into the convent of Argenteuil, gave the only proof that now remained of her unalienable attachment to Abelard, by taking the veil.

Abelard, in conſequence of the freedom with which he cenſured the monks of St. Denys, became ſo obnoxious to them that he was

was obliged to leave the monaſtery. He now withdrew to the monaſtery of Theobard, count of Champagne, where he reſumed his public lectures with a degree of popularity which rendered him an object of jealouſy to other profeſſors. Alberic and Lotulf, two preceptors in the ſchool at Rheims, apprehenſive for the reputation and ſucceſs of their ſeminary, became inveterate enemies of Abelard, and took occaſion, from a treatiſe which he wrote upon the Trinity, to charge him with hereſy. The archbiſhop of Rheims liſtened to this accuſation, and ſummoned a council at Soiſſons, in the year one thouſand one hundred and twenty, which convicted him of hereſy[a], without knowledge enough of his ſyſtem to underſtand wherein the hereſy conſiſted. The perſecution was carried on with unrelenting ſeverity; the book was ordered to be burned, and its author, after making his recantation by reciting the Athanaſian creed, to retire to the cloiſter of St. Medard. He was ſoon, indeed, by the command of the pope's legate, reſtored to the convent of St. Denys; but he here found himſelf ſtill ſurrounded with enemies. Happening in private converſation to maintain that St. Denys, the founder of the monaſtery, was not Dionyſius the Areopagite mentioned in ſcripture, but a Corinthian biſhop, the abbot threatened to complain to the king of the indignity which Abelard had caſt upon St. Denys. Abelard perceived the ſtorm which was gathering, and again fled into Champagne, where he was obliged to remain till the death of the abbot, which happened in the year one thouſand one hundred and twenty-two. His ſucceſſor permitted Abelard to lead a monaſtic life wherever he pleaſed, and he retired to a pleaſant retreat in the dioceſe of Troyes, near Nogent, where he built an oratory, which he conſecrated to the Paraclete. Here he ſoon found himſelf ſurrounded by pupils, and was again haraſſed by perſecution. Norbart and Bernard, two fanatic teachers, made grievous complaints of the heretical tenets of Abelard, and rendered his ſituation ſo

[a] Abelard illuſtrates the doctrine of the Trinity by comparing it to a ſyllogiſtic argument, in which the Major, the Minor, and the Concluſion, though Three Propoſitions, make One Syllogiſm.

uncomfortable

uncomfortable and dangerous, that he had almoſt reſolved to fly to ſome country where Chriſtianity was not profeſſed, when, through the intereſt of the duke of Bretagne, he was, in the forty-ſeventh year of his age, elected Superior of the Benedictine Monaſtery of Saint Gildas, in the dioceſe of Vannes.

At firſt, this monaſtery ſeemed to promiſe him a tranquil retreat: but the zeal, with which he reprobated the diſorders of the monks, raiſed againſt him ſuch a violent ſpirit of oppoſition, that ſeveral attempts were made upon his life.

The nuns of the convent of Argenteuil, over which Heloiſe preſided, being expelled by the abbot of St. Denys, Abelard preſented her with his oratory of the Paraclete, and ſhe retired thither with ſome of the ſiſterhood. Pope Innocent the Second appointed her abbeſs of this convent, in the year one thouſand one hundred and thirty-ſeven.

It is probable, that about this time Abelard returned to Paris, and reſumed his former ſituation at Mount St. Genevieve, as preceptor of learning and philoſophy, for John of Saliſbury ſays[a], that he attended the Palatian Peripatetic (under which name he frequently ſpeaks of Abelard) who preached in Mount St. Genevieve, the ſecond year after the death of Henry the Second, that is, in the year one thouſand one hundred and thirty-ſeven. This may account for the renewed perſecution which he ſuffered through the inſtigation of Bernard, who appeared as his accuſer before the archbiſhop of Sens. In this trial, which happened in one thouſand one hundred and forty, ſeveral propoſitions from the writings of Abelard were adjudged heretical, and he was condemned unheard. The ſentence was confirmed by the Pope, who ordered the books to be burned, and pronounced *anathema* upon the writer. Through the ſolicitation of Peter Maurice, abbot of Clugni, Abelard was, however, abſolved from the ſentence, and permitted to paſs his days in this monaſtery. Here he enjoyed great tranquillity, and conſecrated his time to religion. On account of his infirmities, he was, in his laſt days, removed to the priory of St. Marcellus, a pleaſant and healthful ſituation on the

[a] Metalog. l. ii. c. 10.

Saon,

Saon, near Chalons, where to the laſt he applied with great aſſiduity to his ſtudies, and ſeldom ſuffered a moment to paſs, in which he was not either praying, or reading, or writing, or dictating. Abelard died at the age of ſixty-three, in the year one thouſand one hundred and forty-two [a]. After his death his body was ſent to Heloiſe, and interred in the convent of the Paraclete. Heloiſe ſurvived him twenty-two years. Abelard, a man of ready talents, extenſive erudition, and elegant taſte, who roſe ſuperior to the prejudices of his age, affords, in the hiſtory of his life, an inſtructive example of the danger of neglecting the dictates of prudence in the purſuit of diſtinction, or pleaſure. He wrote many philoſophical treatiſes, which have never been edited. His "Chriſtian Theology," epiſtles, and ſeveral other works, have been publiſhed in one volume [b].

From the ſchool of Abelard, beſides many other diſciples, of whom he had great numbers, was PETER LOMBARD [c], a celebrated theologian, born in Lombardy, and educated at Paris. He was advanced to the epiſcopal ſee of Paris, in the year one thouſand one hundred and fifty-nine. He wrote a theological ſyſtem, which he entitled, *Magiſter Sententiarum*, "The Maſter of Sentences," in which, after the method of Auguſtine, he illuſtrated the doctrines of the church by ſentences collected from the fathers, with ſelect queſtions for diſputation; a work which obtained univerſal authority in the theological ſchools, and upon which innumerable commentaries were written. He followed the track marked out by his preceptor Abelard. He died in the year one thouſand one hundred and ſixty-four.

This age alſo produced ROBERT PULLEYN [d], who, in the time of the civil wars then raging in England, withdrew into France, where he enjoyed the friendſhip of Bernard. On his return to England, he

[a] Conf. Berengar. Apol. pro Abel. J. Sariſber. Met. l. ii. paſſim. Pet. Ven. Ep. l. iv. c. 24. Otto Friſing. l. i. c. 47. Pet. Cluniac. Ep. l. iv. c. 24. Abel. Op. p. 337. Berrington's Life of Abelard, 1789. [b] Paris, 1717.

[c] Hen. Gandav. c. xxxi. App. p. 123. Trithem. de Scrip. Eccl. c. 377. p. 96. Annal. Hirſaug. t. i. p. 435. Vinc. Bellovac. Spec. Hiſt. l. xxix. c. 1. Laun. de Fort. Ariſt. p. 182. 192.

[d] Cave. Hiſt. Lit. p. 582. J. Sariſb. Met. l. ii. c. 10.

revived the ſtudy of the ſcriptures, and taught theology for five years in Oxford. His *Sententiarum Libri*[a], "Books of Sentences," differ in ſome meaſure from the general character of the times; preferring the ſimple authority of reaſon and ſcripture to the teſtimony of the fathers, or the ſubtlety of metaphyſics. He was admitted into the college of cardinals, in the year one thouſand one hundred and forty-four.

Gilbert Porretan[b], biſhop of Poictiers, is memorable in the hiſtory of the Gallic church, for the introduction of new phraſes and ſubtle diſtinctions into theology, which brought upon him a ſuſpicion of hereſy in the doctrine of the Divine Nature. Bernard, the great champion for the orthodox faith, who was better qualified for invective than argument, bitterly complained of Gilbert to the Pope, for aſſerting, that the divine eſſence was not God himſelf; that the properties of a perſon are not the perſon himſelf; that the divine nature was not incarnate, and the like: aſſertions which aroſe entirely from the ſubtlety of logical and metaphyſical diſtinctions concerning the meaning of the terms, eſſence, perſon, and nature, and which afford a curious example of the cobweb refinements which metaphyſical philoſophy at this time introduced into religion. Gilbert conſented to acknowledge, before the Pope, that in theology there is no diſtinction between nature and perſon, and that the divine eſſence may not only be ſaid to belong to God, but to be God; and he was confirmed in his eccleſiaſtical dignities. This happened in the year one thouſand one hundred and forty-ſeven. This moſt ſubtle philoſopher died in the year one thouſand one hundred and fifty-four.

In this firſt age of the Scholaſtics, another celebrated name is Peter Comestor[c], dean of Troyes. He wrote a Breviary of the hiſtorical books of the Old and New Teſtament, for the uſe

[a] Paris, 1651. fol.

[b] Hen. Gandav. de S. E. c. 17. App. c. 7. p. 121. Trithem. de S. E. c. 368. p. 94. Otto Friſing. de Geſtis Frid. l. i. c. 46.

[c] Henr. Andegav. c. 31. p. 123. Trithem. de S. E. c. 380. Ann. Hirſ. t. i. p. 435.

of

of the ſchools, under the title of *Hiſtoria Scholaſtica*; a work, in the judgment of Father Simon, of great uſe in biblical learning.

One of the moſt learned and valuable men of this age was JOHN OF SALISBURY[a], ſurnamed The Little. He viſited Paris in the year one thouſand one hundred and thirty-ſeven, and attended upon the lectures of Abelard, and other maſters, with ſuch induſtry and ſucceſs, that he acquired an uncommon ſhare of knowledge both in philoſophy and letters. At an early period of life, his poverty obliged him to undertake the office of preceptor; notwithſtanding which, he made ſuch good uſe of his leiſure, that he acquired a competent knowledge of dialectics, phyſics, and morals, as well as an acquaintance with the Greek, and (what was at that time a rare accompliſhment) with the Hebrew, languages. He may juſtly be ranked among the firſt ſcholars of his age. After many years had elapſed, he reſolved to reviſit the companions of his early ſtudies on Mount St. Genevieve; in order to confer with them on the topics on which they had formerly diſputed. His account of this viſit[b] affords a ſtriking picture of the philoſophical character of this age. "I found them," ſays he, "the ſame men, and in the ſame place; nor had they advanced a ſingle ſtep towards reſolving our antient queſtions, nor added a ſingle propoſition, however ſmall, to their ſtock of knowledge. Whence I inferred, what indeed it was eaſy to collect, that dialectic ſtudies, however uſeful they may be when connected with other branches of learning, are in themſelves barren and uſeleſs." Speaking in another place of the philoſophers of his time, he complains, that they collected auditors ſolely for the oſtentation of ſcience, and deſignedly rendered their diſcourſes obſcure, that they might appear loaded with the myſteries of wiſdom; and that though all profeſſed to follow Ariſtotle, they were ſo ignorant of his true doctrine, that in attempting to explain his meaning, they often advanced a Platonic notion, or ſome erroneous tenet equally diſtant from the true ſyſtem of Ariſtotle and of Plato. From theſe obſervations, and from many ſimilar paſſages to be found in his writ-

[a] Bulæi Hiſt. Ac. Par. t. ii. p. 750. Fab. Bib. L. M. t. iii. p. 380.
[b] Metal. l. i. c. 2. 3. l. ii. c. 17. 19.

ings, it appears, that John of Saliſbury was aware of the triffing character both of the philoſophy and the philoſophers of his age; owing, probably, to the uncommon ſhare of good ſenſe which he poſſeſſed, as well as to the unuſual extent and variety of his learning. Throughout his writings there are evident traces of a fruitful genius, of ſound underſtanding, of various erudition, and, with due allowance for the age in which he lived, of correct taſte. He was a ſtrenuous advocate for Thomas Becket, and, in the year one thouſand one hundred and ſixty-three, became a companion of his exile. He died about the year one thouſand one hundred and eighty-two. His writings leave no room to doubt, that if he had lived in a more fortunate period, he would have ſhone in the claſs of learned men. His *Metalogicum*, or apology for grammar, philology, and the Ariſtotelian logic, his *Policraticum*, and his Letters, are his moſt valuable works.

Other Scholaſtics of ſome repute at this period are the following [a]: Alexander Hales, of the order of Minors, who belonged to a monaſtery in the county of Glouceſter. He was educated in Paris, and became a famous preceptor in philoſophical theology. He wrote a commentary upon the ſentences of Peter Lombard, and another upon Ariſtotle's Metaphyſics. For his profound knowledge of philoſophy and theology, he obtained the title of the Irrefragable Doctor.—Stephen Langton, who, in one thouſand two hundred and ſeven, was conſecrated archbiſhop of Canterbury. He is ſaid to have been inferior to none of his contemporaries in the knowledge of the Ariſtotelian dialectics, or in the application of them to the doctrines of ſcripture. The firſt diviſion of the books of the Old and New Teſtament into chapters is aſcribed to him [b].—Vincent, a monk of Beavais, who, under the patronage of the king of France, about the year one thouſand two hundred and forty-four, wrote a famous ſummary of knowledge, or Encyclopedia, under the title of *Speculum doctrinale, hiſtoriale, naturale, et morale*,

[a] Hen. Gandav. c. 46. p. 126. Trithem. de S. E. c. 457, 8. p. 111. Oudin. de S. E. t. iii. p. 451. Fab. Bib. Lat. Med. t. i. p. 170. Bayle.

[b] Pits. p. 304.

A doctrinal,

"A doctrinal, hiſtorical, natural, and moral Mirror," which is chiefly valuable for quotations from authors whoſe writings are now loſt.—ALFRED, who tranſlated many of the phyſical writings of Ariſtotle.—And ROBERT GREATHEAD[a], biſhop of Lincoln, whom Roger Bacon, for his learning and wiſdom, ranked with Ariſtotle and Solomon; and whoſe name deſerves particular honour, on account of the freedom with which he cenſured the avarice and tyranny of the court of Rome, in a letter to Pope Innocent the Fourth. He wrote a commentary upon the works of Dionyſius the Areopagite, and many other pieces.

The SECOND AGE of the Scholaſtic philoſophy, in which Ariſtotelian metaphyſics, obſcured by paſſing through the Arabian channel, were applied with wonderful ſubtlety to the elucidation of Chriſtian doctrine, began with Albert, and ended with Durand.

ALBERT[b] was born at Lawingen, in Suabia, in the year one thouſand one hundred and ninety-three, and became a Dominican friar in one thouſand two hundred and twenty-one: from this time he was an inſtructor of youth, firſt at Cologne, where he acquired great reputation, and afterwards at Paris. In the year one thouſand two hundred and ſixty, he was appointed biſhop of Ratiſbon; but, finding the labours of the epiſcopal office inconſiſtent with his love of retirement and ſtudy, after three years he reſigned this dignity, and returned to a monaſtic life. He remained in the monaſtery at Cologne till his death, which happened in the year one thouſand two hundred and eighty, at the age of eighty-ſeven. In the ſubtleties of the times, and in the ingenious application of theſe to theology, Albert was excelled by none of his contemporaries; but it is more to his credit to add, that the age produced few men equally ſkilled in natural hiſtory, natural philoſophy, and chemiſtry. He is ſaid to have conſtructed a machine which ſent forth diſtinct vocal ſounds; at which Thomas Aquinas was ſo much terrified, that he ſtruck it with his ſtick, and broke it, to the great mortification of Albert, who

[a] Bulæus, t. iii. p. 260. Godwin de Præſul. Ang. p. 348. Blount. Cenſ. p. 408

[b] Vinc. Juſtin. in Vit. Alb. Trithem. Ann. Hirſ. t. i. p. 592. Chron. Spanheim. Ann. 1254. Lang. Chron. 1258. Bayle.

had been thirty years in bringing this curious machine to perfection. In this age of profound ignorance with reſpect to the powers of nature and art, it is no wonder that a man who was capable of producing ſuch a machine ſhould commonly paſs for a magician[a]. Albert is alſo ſaid to have ſuddenly reproduced the flowers of ſpring in the midſt of winter, for the entertainment of the emperor William, when he viſited Cologne. What this ingenious philoſopher really did, or how far he was indebted to the arts of deception, in this and other wonderful performances, it is difficult to determine; one thing is very certain, that had he lived in a more enlightened age, he would neither have had the honour, nor the diſcredit, of being thought to have performed his curious feats by the aid either of God, or of evil ſpirits. Albert wrote many works in logic, ethics, metaphyſics, theology, and aſtronomy: the books aſcribed to him were publiſhed in twenty-one volumes in folio, at Lyons, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and fifteen. His treatiſes on ſpeculative ſcience are written in the abſtract and ſubtle manner of the age; thoſe on natural ſubjects contain ſome gems, which would perhaps, even in the preſent age, repay the labour of ſearching for them. His Commentaries on Ariſtotle are of little value, on account of his ignorance of the Greek language and the antient philoſophy. His ſtyle is gothic and barbarous.

Though ignorance and ſuperſtition gave Albert the ſurname of Great, he was not only rivalled, but far exceeded, in fame by his pupil Thomas Aquinas, commonly diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of the Angelical Doctor. Thomas Aquinas[b], of the illuſtrious family of Aquino, in the Terra di Lavoro, in Italy, was born in the year one thouſand two hundred and twenty-four. At five years of age he was ſent for education to Mount Caſſino, whence, after he had acquired the elements of learning, he was removed to the univerſity of Naples. Here his fondneſs for a retired and ſtudious life

[a] Naude Apol. Mag. Acc. c. 18. p. 370. Paſchius de Inv. c. vii. § 43.

[b] G. de Thoco Vit. Aquin. in Act. S. T. iii. p. 655. Fabr. t. iii. p. 502. Oudin. de S. E. t. iii. p. 259. Laun. de Fort. Ar. c. x. p. 213. Bulæi Hiſt. Ac. Par. p. 433.

induced

induced him to enter himſelf, without the knowledge of his parents, among the Dominicans, in the order of the Preaching Friars. His mother was much offended at this ſtep, and took great pains to obtain an interview with him, in order, if poſſible, to diſengage him from this ſociety. The monks, who were loth to part with a youth of ſuch diſtinction and abiſity, that they might keep him from her ſight, removed him from one place to another. But at laſt, as they were conducting him to Paris; her other ſons ſeized him on his way, and conveyed him to her caſtle, where he was confined for two years. Still, however, he reſiſted the importunities and the threats of his mother; and perſiſting in his purpoſe of devoting himſelf to a monaſtic life, he let himſelf down from a window, in the night, and by the help of ſundry Dominican brethren, who were apprized of his deſign, he eſcaped to Naples. After changing his place of reſidence ſeveral times, he became a diſciple of Albert, at Cologne. Under this eminent preceptor, though not favoured by nature with ready talents, he was enabled, by patient aſſiduity, to make great attainments. Among his fellow ſtudents, his ſilence, and apparent dullneſs procured him the contemptuous appellation of the Dumb Ox. Albert, however, who penetrated further into the mind of his pupil, ſaid, "This ox, if he begin to bellow, will fill the whole world with his roaring[a]." At length Thomas Aquinas, having made himſelf maſter of the dialectics, philoſophy, and theology of the age, became an eminent teacher at Paris, where he was created Doctor in Divinity, in the year one thouſand two hundred and fifty-ſix. After a few years he returned to Italy, and ſpent the remainder of his days at Naples, where he continued his lectures in theology. A counſel being ſummoned at Lyons, by Gregory X. in the year one thouſand two hundred and ſeventy-two, for the purpoſe of uniting the Greek and Latin church, Thomas Aquinas was ſent thither, to preſent to the fathers in council a book, which he had written by order of Pope Urban IV. to refute the errors of the Greek church. On his way, he was ſeized with a violent diſorder, and died in the monaſtery

[a] R. Fulgoſus apud Horn. Hiſt. p. 1. iv. c. 4.

of

of Foſſa Nova, in Campania, in the year one thouſand two hundred and ſeventy-four.

The whole Weſtern world, after his deceaſe, began to load the memory of Thomas Aquinas with honours. The Dominican fraternity removed his body to Thoulouſe; Pope John XXII. canonized him; Pius V. gave him the title of the Fifth Doctor of the Church; the learned world honoured him with the appellation of The Universal and the Angelic Doctor; and the vulgar believed, that many miracles were wrought at his tomb, and ſaid, that the ſoul of Auguſtine had paſſed into Thomas Aquinas [a].

Notwithſtanding all the extravagant praiſes and honours which have been heaped upon Thomas Aquinas, it is however certain, that his learning was almoſt wholly confined to Scholaſtic theology, and that he was ſo little converſant with elegant and liberal ſtudies, that he was not even able to read the Greek language. For all his knowledge of the Peripatetic philoſophy, which he ſo liberally mixed with theology, he was indebted to the defective tranſlations of Ariſtotle which were ſupplied by the Arabians, till he obtained, from ſome unknown hand, a more accurate verſion of his philoſophical writings [b]. Adopting the general ideas of the age, that theology is beſt defended by the weapons of logic and metaphyſics, he mixed the ſubtleties of Ariſtotle with the language of ſcripture and the Chriſtian fathers; and, after the manner of the Arabians, framed abſtruſe queſtions, without end, upon various topics of ſpeculative theology. His moſt celebrated writings are, his *Summa Theologiæ*, "Heads of Theology," of which the ſecond ſection, which treats of morals, may be read with advantage; his Commentaries upon the Analytics, Metaphyſics, and Ethics of Ariſtotle, and upon his book *De Interpretatione*.

[a] Ptolomæus Lucenſis ap. Ouden. t. iii. p. 259. Sextus Senenſ. Bibl. S. l. iv.

[b] Trithem. c. 467. p. 117. Aventin. Ann. l. vi. p. 566. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 172. Op. Edit. Rom. 1570. Venet. 1594. Antwerp. 1612. Paris, 1640. tom. xvii.

Another

Another Scholaſtic of great celebrity in this age was BONAVENTURE[a], of Tuſcany, born in the year one thouſand two hundred and twenty-one. Being early devoted by his mother to a religious life, he entered into the Franciſcan order, in the year one thouſand two hundred and forty-three. He ſtudied philoſophy and theology at Paris, where he acquired ſo much diſtinction in Scholaſtic learning, that he was appointed to read public lectures, was admitted Doctor, and ſoon after created Head of his Order. Pope Gregory X. having previouſly given him a ſeat among the cardinals, invited him to the general council at Lyons. In this aſſembly, Bonaventure greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his learning and erudition; but during the council he died ſuddenly, in the year one thouſand two hundred and ſeventy-four. His funeral was attended by the Pope, the Latin emperor Baldwin the Second, in perſon; the emperor of the Greeks in his repreſentatives, the Greek nobles; James king of Arragon; the patriarchs of Conſtantinople and Antioch; five hundred prelates, and many other perſons of high rank, both eccleſiaſtics and laics. After his death, Bonaventure was diſtinguiſhed by the high appellation of THE SERAPHIC DOCTOR, and he was canonized by Pope Sixtus the Fourth, in one thouſand four hundred and eighty-two.

Though Bonaventure was well acquainted with the Scholaſtic philoſophy, he chiefly addicted himſelf to myſtic theology, and the enthuſiaſtic worſhip of the Virgin Mary. His writings are almoſt entirely theological[b]. His treatiſe, *De reductione Artium ad Theologiam*[c], "On the Application of Learning to Theology," affords a curious ſpecimen of the manner in which the myſtical divines transferred the ſcholaſtic philoſophy to theology. Human knowledge he divides into three branches, logical, phyſical, and moral. Each of theſe he conſiders as the effect of ſupernatural illumination, and as communicated to men through the medium of

[a] Hen. Gandav. c. 47. p. 126. Trithem. c. 464. p. 113. Ann. Hirſ. t. i. p. 615. Acta S. t. iii. p. 811. Anton. Spec. Hiſt. p. iii. tit. 24. c. 8.

[b] Fabric. Bibl. Lat. Med. t. iv. p. 121.

[c] T. i. Opuſcula, Lugd. 1647. fol. t. vi. Op. Ed. Rom.

the holy ſcriptures. The whole doctrine of ſcripture he reduces to three heads; that which reſpects the eternal generation and incarnation of Chriſt, the ſtudy of which is the peculiar province of the doctors of the church; that which concerns the conduct of life, which is the ſubject of preaching; and that which relates to the union of the ſoul with God, which is peculiar to the monaſtic and contemplative life. Phyſical knowledge he applies to the doctrine of ſcripture emblematically. For example, the production of the idea of any ſenſible object from its archetype, is a type of the generation of the *Logos*; the right exerciſe of the ſenſes typifies the virtuous conduct of life; and the pleaſure derived from the ſenſes repreſents the union of the ſoul with God. In like manner, logical philoſophy furniſhes an emblem of the eternal Generation and the Incarnation of Chriſt: A word conceived in the mind reſembling the Eternal Generation; its expreſſion in vocal ſounds, the Incarnation. Thus the multiform wiſdom of God, according to this myſtical writer, lies concealed through all nature; and all human knowledge may, by the help of allegory and analogy, be ſpiritualiſed and transferred to theology. How wide a door this method of philoſophiſing opens to every kind of abſurdity, the reader will eaſily perceive from this ſpecimen.

Of a very different and much higher character than Bonaventure, or any other mere Scholaſtic, was that great man, Roger Bacon[a], whoſe deep penetration into the myſteries of nature juſtly entitled him, in the ignorant age in which he lived, to the appellation of The Wonderful Doctor. He was born at Ilcheſter, in Somerſetſhire, in the year one thouſand two hundred and fourteen. At Oxford, he ſtudied grammar, rhetoric, and logic, under Richard Fiſacre, and under Edmund Rich, afterwards archbiſhop of Canterbury; after which, according to the cuſtom of the times, he viſited Paris, to attend upon the lectures of the celebrated profeſſors of that univerſity. But it may be eaſily collected from the

[a] Wood Ant. Ox. p 136. Leland. c. 236. Balæ. Hiſt. Ac. Cent. iv. 55. Bayle. Cave Hiſt. Lit. p. 648. Oudin. t. iii. p. 190. Borrich. de Orig. Chem p. 123.

particulars

particulars which are preſerved concerning his early ſtudies, that he was more indebted to his own genius than to any academical inſtruction: for he read hiſtory, learned the Oriental and Weſtern languages, and ſtudied juriſprudence and medicine; ſubjects little attended to at this period. The knowledge which he could not obtain from living preceptors, he dug, with indefatigable induſtry, out of the mines of Grecian and Arabian learning. After having been admitted to the degree of Doctor, Roger Bacon returned to England, and in the year one thouſand two hundred and forty, that he might proſecute his ſtudies without interruption, devoted himſelf to the monaſtic life in the order of St. Francis. He employed his time, not in the idle controverſies of the age, but in uſeful reſearches into the properties of natural bodies. By the help of mathematical learning and experiment he acquired a degree of knowledge in phyſics, which aſtoniſhed his ignorant contemporaries, and brought upon him the charge of practiſing magical arts. His writings diſcover an acquaintance with the laws of mechanics, ſtatics, and optics, with the chemical properties of bodies, and other ſubjects of natural philoſophy, which could only have been the reſult of a judicious and indefatigable exertion of wonderful powers. He was certainly acquainted with the compoſition of gunpowder long before it is commonly ſaid to have been invented by Barthold Schwartz[a]. He ſpeaks of a kind of unextinguiſhable fire prepared by art, which muſt have been a ſpecies of phoſphorus. He was maſter of many other curious proceſſes in chemiſtry, and would, doubtleſs, have produced ſtill greater diſcoveries in this branch of ſcience, had he not been drawn aſide from the path of true ſcience by the philoſophical *ignis fatuus*, which led the philoſophers of this time to attempt the tranſmutation of inferior metals into gold. He deſcribes concave and convex lenſes, and knew how to uſe the latter for teleſcopic and microſcopic purpoſes. His mathematical and aſtronomical knowledge appeared in the diſcovery, which he made, of the error which occaſioned the Gregorian reformation in the ca-

[a] Morhoff. Polyh. t. ii. l. ii. c. 38. § 3.

lendar, and in his attempt to ſquare the circle. Nor was this great man leſs diſtinguiſhed by his knowledge of theology, and his ſkill in the Hebrew and Greek languages, as appears from his epiſtle to Clement IV. in praiſe of the ſacred ſcriptures[a].

The aſtoniſhing power and performances of Roger Bacon, at the ſame time that they excited univerſal admiration, kindled a ſpirit of envy and jealouſy among the monks of his fraternity, who induſtriouſly circulated a report that he held converſe with evil ſpirits. This rumour at length reached the ears of the Pope; and he was obliged, in order to exculpate himſelf from the charge of necromancy, to ſend, in the year one thouſand two hundred and ſixty-ſix, his philoſophical writings and inſtruments to Rome, that it might appear to his holineſs by what means he had been able to accompliſh ſuch wonders. The ſtorm which was gathering around him was thus for a while diſperſed; but in the year one thouſand two hundred and ſeventy-eight, whilſt he was in France, the ſame charge was renewed by Jerom de Eſeul, the head of the order of Minors, who forbade his fraternity to read the works, and obtained from Pope Nicholas IV. an order that the author ſhould be impriſoned. During his confinement, Bacon wrote a treatiſe "On the Means of avoiding the Infirmities of Old Age," which he addreſſed to the Pope. Through the interceſſion of ſome of his countrymen, he was at length releaſed from his confinement, and permitted to return to England. He paſſed the laſt days of his life at Oxford, and died in the year one thouſand two hundred and ninety-four, at the age of ſeventy-eight, leaving behind him many valuable writings, and an immortal reputation, as, beyond all compariſon, the greateſt man of his time. Several of his pieces were burnt in the Franciſcan library, during the tumults at the reformation. Among thoſe which remain, are ſome which reſpect metaphyſical and moral ſubjects; particularly the following; "On the Four Univerſal Cauſes of all Human Ignorance;" "On Perfect Wiſdom;" "Of Moral Philo-

[a] Ejus Epiſt. de Secret. Art. et Nat. Oper. Ed. Par. 1542. Baſil. 1593. Hamb. 1618. Hody de Bibl. Text. origin. p. 419.

ſophy;"

ſophy;" "On Divine Wiſdom;" "Of Being and Eſſence;" "Of the true Character, and the Hindrances of Wiſdom," &c. whence it appears that Bacon, even upon theſe ſubjects, went far beyond his contemporaries in enquiries directed towards the improvement of the mind.

After Friar Bacon, it may ſeem of little conſequence to mention, among the philoſophers of this age, ÆGIDIUS DE COLUMNA [a], a Roman monk of the Auguſtine order, who was preceptor to the ſons of Philip III. of France, and who taught philoſophy and theology in the univerſity of Paris, with ſo much reputation, that he was honoured with the appellation of THE MOST PROFOUND DOCTOR. After being advanced to the archbiſhopric of Berri, he died, in the year one thouſand three hundred and ſixteen, leaving behind upon his monument, the character of *lux in lucem reducens dubia*, the luminary that brought dark things to light. Nevertheleſs, it appears from thoſe more faithful memorials, his writings, that he treated the abſtruſe queſtions of the Ariſtotelian and Scholaſtic philoſophy with ſuch profound obſcurity, that it is impoſſible to read his works without ſuſpecting, that he did not himſelf always underſtand his own meaning.

In the ſubtleties of Scholaſtic philoſophy no one acquired a more diſtinguiſhed name than JOHN DUNS SCOTUS [b]. The place of his birth is uncertain, but it is moſt probable that he was born at Dunſtan, near Alnwick, in Northumberland. He was educated at Merton Hall, in Oxford; and was admitted to the higheſt honours in the univerſity of Paris, in the year one thouſand three hundred and four. At firſt he was a follower of Thomas Aquinas; but differing from his maſter on the queſtion concerning the efficacy of divine grace, he formed a diſtinct ſect, and this ſeparation produced the denominations of the Thomiſts and Scotiſts, which ſtill ſubſiſt in ſome of the Roman-catholic ſchools. Some aſcribe to him the introduction

[a] Corn. Curtius Elog. Vir. Illuſt. p. 61. Sammarthan. in Gall. Chriſt. t. i. p. 179. Bulæi Hiſt. t. iii. p. 671.

[b] Trithem. l. c. c. 416. p. 136. Leland. c. 315. Bal. Scr. Ang. Cent. iv. c. 82. Pits. p. 390. Mackenzie de Vit. Scot. Scr. t. i. p. 215. Vit. Oper. Præm. Fab. Bib. Lat. Med. t. iii. p. 509.

of the queſtion concerning the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary. In the year one thouſand three hundred and eight, Duns Scotus was ſent, by the head of the fraternity of Minors, of which he was a member, to teach theology at Cologne; and he was received there with the greateſt pomp, and with the higheſt expectations; but was ſoon cut off by a ſudden death[c]. The exact time of his death, as well as of his birth, is unknown. On account of his acuteneſs in diſputation, he was called THE MOST SUBTLE DOCTOR; but his ingenuity was wholly employed in embarraſſing, with new fictions of abſtraction, and with other ſcholaſtic chimeras, ſubjects already ſufficiently perplexed. His works are publiſhed in twelve volumes[a].

To theſe more celebrated names, belonging to the ſecond period of the Scholaſtic age, we muſt add thoſe of SIMON of TOURNAY[b], who excelled in chemiſtry and natural philoſophy, and was accuſed by the monks of his fraternity of hereſy and impiety; PETER D'APONO[c], who was chiefly famous for his pretended ſkill in the arts of aſtrology; ROBERT DE SORBONNE, who about the middle of the thirteenth century founded the theological college of the Sorbonne in Paris; FRANCIS DE MAYRO[d], a French monk, wholly loſt in abſtractions, who wrote, *De Formalitatibus*, "On Formalities;" *De primo Principio*, "On the Firſt Principle;" *De Univocatione entis*, "On Identity;" and a work entitled *Conflatile*, or Various Queſtions concerning Diſtinctions, Relations, and Expreſſions; ARNAUD DE VILLE NEUF[e], who was devoted to the myſteries of aſtrology, and practiſed medicine with great reputation, whoſe books[f] were reprobated by the inquiſition; and PETER THE DANE[g], celebrated for his ſkill in aſtronomical calculations.

[a] Lugdun. 1639. fol. [b] Hen. Gandav. de S. E. c. 24.
[c] Trithem. l. c. c. 556. Fab. Bib. Lat. Med. t. v. p. 715. Acta Phil. v. iii. p. 374. Naud. Apol. Mag. c. 14. p. 271.
[d] Wharton. App. to Cave p. 11.
[e] Friend. Hiſt. Med. p. iii. p. 19. [f] Trithem. c. 523.
[g] Ed. Lugd. 1520. Borrich. de Orig. Chem. p. 128. Baſ. 1585. N. Anton. Bib. Hiſt. Vet. t. ii. p. 74.

In

In the third age of the Scholaſtic period, which commences with Durand, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and continues to the end of the fifteenth, the Scholaſtic philoſophy increaſed in the number of teachers and learners, in the affectation of ſubtleties, and in the multiplicity of intricate and trifling diſputes, but by no means in the celebrity of its profeſſors. Duns Scotus, and other preceptors of the ſame caſt, having filled the ſchools with vain ſubtleties, and eſtabliſhed a mode of philoſophiſing, in which important truth and good ſenſe were loſt in unprofitable diſputes concerning entities, hæcceities, formalities, relations, and other abſtractions, the edge of genius was gradually blunted, the way to knowledge was choaked up by thorns and briars, and the very name of philoſophy became to the young ſtudent an object of terror. There are not wanting, however, in this period, philoſophers of ſufficient diſtinction to merit particular notice.

Of theſe the firſt is WILLIAM DURAND[a], of Clermont; a preaching monk, who, for his attainments in philoſophical and theological ſtudies, was admitted to the degree of Doctor of Divinity, in the univerſity of Paris, in the year one thouſand three hundred and thirteen, and was afterwards made biſhop of Meaux, by Pope John the Twenty-ſecond. He purſued his way through the thorny paths of ſcholaſtic diſputation with ſuch indefatigable perſeverance, that he merited the title of the MOST RESOLUTE DOCTOR. He was at firſt a follower of Thomas Aquinas, but afterwards became a convert to the Scotiſts, and defended their cauſe with great acuteneſs and zeal; which gave ſo much offence to the Thomiſts, that one of them, after his death (which happened in the year one thouſand three hundred and thirty-two) honoured him with this epitaph:

Durus Durandus jacet hic ſub marmore duro,
An ſit ſalvandus ego neſcio, nec quoque curo.

[a] Trithem. c. 567. p. 137. Anton. Sum. Hiſt. tit. 23. c. 11. § 2. t. iii. p. 681. Laun. de Cauſſa Durandi. Par. 1638. 8vo. Fabric. l. c. t. iii. p. 204.

As the author of another ſcholaſtic ſect, muſt be mentioned WILLIAM OCCAM [a], an Engliſhman, born in the county of Surrey. He was a pupil of the moſt ſubtle doctor Duns Scotus, and was little inferior to his maſter in ſubtlety. The ſchool of the Scotiſts had, till his time, followed the popular opinion of the Realiſts; but Occam, probably from an ambition of becoming the head of a ſeparate body, revived the opinions of the Nominaliſts, and formed a ſect under the name of Occamiſts, which vehemently oppoſed the Scotiſts, upon the abſtract queſtions concerning univerſals, which had been formerly introduced by Roſcelin'e. Whatever be thought of the ingenuity, or of the ſucceſs, of Occam in this diſpute, he deſerves praiſe for the courage with which he oppoſed the tyranny of the papal over the civil power, in a book which he wrote *De Poteſtate Eccleſiaſtica et Seculare* [b], "On the Eccleſiaſtic and Secular Power." The boldneſs with which he withſtood the encroachments of the Roman ſee, and cenſured the corruption of the monks, brought upon him the cenſure of the pontiff, and obliged him to retire into France till the year one thouſand three hundred and twenty-eight; when, under the protection of the Emperor, he again maintained the independency of the civil with reſpect to the eccleſiaſtical power. And though his oppoſition to the ſee of Rome brought upon him a ſentence of excommunication, he continued to live in ſecurity in the Emperor's court, where he died, in the year one thouſand three hundred and forty-ſeven. He wrote a Commentary upon the Predicables of Porphyry, and the Categories of Ariſtotle, and many treatiſes [c] in Scholaſtic theology and eccleſiaſtical law; which, if they be admired for their ingenuity, muſt at the ſame time be cenſured for their extreme ſubtlety and obſcurity. He obtained the appellation of THE INVINCIBLE DOCTOR.

One of the moſt ſingular geniuſes of the fourteenth century was RICHARD OF SWINSHEAD, an Engliſhman, of the monaſtery of

[a] Leland. c. 326. Bal. Cent. v. c. 18. Pits. p. 457.
[b] Apud. Goldaſti Monarchia, t. i. p. 13.
[c] Fabric. l. c. t. iii. p. 466.

Swinſhead,

Swinſhead, in Lincolnſhire; who devoted himſelf chiefly to mathematical ſtudies, in which he acquired great renown at the univerſity of Oxford. Little is recorded of this mathematician; probably becauſe few have read his works, which chiefly conſiſt of profound and ſubtle applications of algebraic calculations to phyſics and metaphyſics. He wrote a treatiſe "Of Aſtronomical Calculations;" and another entitled "The Calculator[a]," which is ſo exceedingly ſcarce, that it is neither mentioned by any of the writers of the literary hiſtory of this period, nor even by that eminent mathematician, Wallis, in his Hiſtory of Algebra. He was certainly a great maſter of algebraic operations; but injudiciouſly applied them to ſubjects which do not admit of this method of inveſtigation, particularly to queſtions in Scholaſtic philoſophy. Probably, ſome valuable mathematical knowledge might be gathered up from his Calculator, by a reader who ſhould be capable of extracting the pure gold from the heterogeneous maſs in which it lies concealed.

Among other diſciples of Scotus was WALTER BURLEY[b], preceptor to Edward the Third. He wrote many treatiſes in logic, metaphyſics, phyſics, morals, and policy, with ſuch clearneſs, that he juſtly obtained the appellation of the PERSPICUOUS DOCTOR. In a treatiſe *De Vita et Moribus Philoſophorum*[c], "On the Life and Manners of Philoſophers," he runs over the hiſtory of philoſophy, in three hundred and thirty-one chapters, from Thales to Seneca; but for want of a more perfect acquaintance with the Greek language, and with antient philoſophy, the work is of little value.

The fifteenth century produced, among other Scholaſtics, JOHN HERMAN WESSEL[d], born at Groningen, in one thouſand four hundred and nine, and educated in the monaſtery at Zevole. He not only ſtudied the Greek language, by the help of the Dominican friars,

[a] Ed. Venet. 1520. Leibn. Ep. ad. Wallis in Op. t. iii. p. 678. Scaliger Exercit. 340. p. 1068.

[b] Voſſ. de Hiſt. Lat. l. ii. p. 515. Leland. c. 378. Pits. p. 435. Fabr. l. c. t. i. p 839. [c] Act. Phil. v. iii. p. 283

[d] Suffr. Petri de Scr. Friſ. dec. viii. p. 46. Adami Vit. Phil. p. 21. Goez. Diſſ. Lub. 1719.

who

who about this time paſſed over to the Weſt from Conſtantinople, but obtained, from certain learned Jews, a knowledge of the Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Arabic tongues. Having been early inſtructed in the Scholaſtic diſputes, and having acquired by his induſtry an uncommon ſhare of biblical learning, he taught philoſophy and philology with great applauſe at Groningen. But his chief claim to diſtinction in the hiſtory of philoſophy ariſes from the penetration which, in the midſt of the Scholaſtic phrenzy of his age, enabled him to diſcover the futility of the controverſies which agitated the ſchools of the Thomiſts, Scotiſts, and Occamiſts. To a young man who conſulted him concerning the beſt method of proſecuting his ſtudies, he ſaid, "You, young man, will live to ſee the day, when the doctrines of Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure, and other modern diſputants of the ſame ſtamp, will be exploded by all true Chriſtian divines, and when the Irrefragable Doctors themſelves will be little regarded." A prediction which diſcovers ſo much good ſenſe and liberality, that Weſſel ought to be immortalized under the appellation of the Wise Doctor. He died at Groningen in one thouſand four hundred and eighty-nine, about the æra of the Revival of Letters.*

* Vidend. Lambert. Danæus Proleg. Sentent. Genev. 1580. Binder. de Theol. Schol. Tub. 1624. Himmelius de Theol. Schol. Thomas Hiſt. Sap. et Stult. t. iii. p. 225. Barthold. Niemeir. Orat. de Scholaſt. Helmſt. 1675. Tribbechovius de D. Scholaſt. Jen. 1719. Morhoff. Polyh. t. ii. l. i. c. 13. Roderici Specul. Hum. Vitæ. Rapin Reflexions ſur la Philoſophie, Op. t. ii. p. 340. Oudin. de S. E. t. ii. p. 936. Launois de Schol. cel. c. 45. Gandavenſes, c. 30. Bulæi Hiſt. Univ. Par. Ann. 1101, 1111, 1116. Fabric. Bib. Lat. Med. t. i. p. 737. t. v. p. 689. 753. 801. t. iii. p. 345. 499. 540. Pezii Anecdot. t. iii. p. ii. p. 627. Martene Anecd. t. v. p. 1156. Par. 1717. Labbei, Cavei, Pagi Annal. De Viſch. Bibl. Script. Ord. Ciſterc. Leyſer Hiſt. Poet. Med. Ævi, p. 765. Elſwich. de Fatis Ariſt. in Schol. Prot. Bayle. Wadding. Bibl. Ord. Men. Waræus de Script. Hiberniæ.

SECT.

## SECT. 3.

### OF THE NATURE AND CHARACTER OF THE SCHOLASTIC PHILOSOPHY.

HAVING related the hiſtory of the Scholaſtics, who flouriſhed from the eleventh to the beginning of the ſixteenth century, it remains that we delineate the features of the Scholaſtic philoſophy, that the reader may be enabled to form an accurate idea of its nature and conſtitution. This enquiry is the more neceſſary, as the hiſtory of religion is ſo intimately interwoven with that of philoſophy, during this period, that the former cannot be underſtood without a knowledge of the latter.

We have already ſeen, in general, whence this philoſophy ſprung, and what cauſes concurred to promote its eſtabliſhment and extenſion. It has been ſhewn, that from the ſtudy of the Stoic and Peripatetic philoſophy, blended with theological ſpeculations, aroſe a vaſt and confuſed maſs of opinions and queſtions, which were for ages canvaſſed in ſubtle, but vain and fruitleſs diſputations; and that this polemic ſpirit was greatly encouraged by the example of the Arabians, and by the high repute, and general circulation, of their writings, particularly thoſe of Averroes, till, in proceſs of time, the evil roſe to ſo great an height, that ſober reaſon was loſt in ſubtlety, and the ſimple doctrine of religion buried in the refinements of falſe philoſophy[a].

To follow the Scholaſtics in detail, through the mazes of their ſubtle ſpeculations, would be to loſe the reader in a labyrinth of words. We muſt refer thoſe who wiſh for this kind of entertainment to the writings of Albert, Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, and Occam; where they will ſoon diſcover, that theſe wonderful doctors

[a] Conf. Thomas de Cauſ. Inept. Schol. Præfat. 82. p. 544. Hiſt. Sap. p. iii. p. 226. Tribbechov. de D. Scholaſt. cum Præf. Hermanni.

amuſed themſelves and their followers by raiſing up phantoms of abſtraction in the field of truth, the purſuit of which would be as fruitleſs a labour, as that of tracing elves and fairies in their midnight gambols. A brief review of their method of philoſophiſing is all that is practicable, and all that the intelligent reader will deſire, in this part of our work.

The leading character of the Scholaſtic philoſophy was, that it employed itſelf in an oſtentatious diſplay of ingenuity, in which axioms aſſumed without examination, diſtinctions without any real difference, and terms without any preciſe meaning, were made uſe of as weapons of aſſault and defence, in controverſies upon abſtruſe queſtions, which, after endleſs ſkirmiſhes, it was impoſſible to bring to any iſſue, and which, notwithſtanding all the violence of the conteſt, it was of no importance to determine. The Scholaſtic logic is not to be confounded with the genuine art of reaſoning, from which it differs, as much as droſs from pure gold. Theſe diſputants made uſe of dialectics, not to aſſiſt the human underſtanding in diſcovering truth conducive to the happineſs of man, but to ſecure to themſelves the honours of conqueſt in the field of controverſy. John of Saliſbury complains [a], that the ſcholars of his time conſumed, not ten or twenty years, but their whole lives, in theſe diſputes; and that when, through old age, they became incapable of any other amuſement or pleaſure, theſe dialectic queſtions ſtill dwelt upon their tongues, and dialectic books ſtill remained in their hands.

It is ſcarcely to be conceived with what ardour, approaching even to madneſs, the firſt geniuſes of the age applied to this kind of ſtudy. Loſing themſelves in a wood of abſtract conceptions and ſubtle diſtinctions, the further they proceeded the greater was the darkneſs and confuſion, till at length, what was commonly called philoſophy no longer deſerved the name. Ludovicus Vives, one of the moſt intelligent writers of the ſixteenth century, ſpeaking of the Scholaſtic philoſophy, ſays [b], "From the writings of Ariſtotle they have

[a] Metalog. l. ii. c. 10. p. 805. Conf. Lud. Vives de Corrupt. Art. l. iii. p. 112.
[b] L. c. l. v. p. 166.

ſelected, not the moſt uſeful, but the moſt intricate and unprofitable parts; not his Books of Natural Hiſtory, or his Problems, but his Phyſics, and thoſe treatiſes which moſt reſemble theirs in ſubtlety and obſcurity; for example, his Books upon the Firſt Philoſophy, upon Heaven, and upon Generation. For as to the treatiſe on Meteors, they are ſo entirely unacquainted with the ſubject, that it ſeems to have been admitted among the Scholaſtic books rather by accident than deſign. The truth is, that theſe philoſophers are leſs acquainted with nature than huſbandmen or mechanics; and ſo much offended are they with that Nature which they do not underſtand, that they have framed for themſelves another nature, which God never framed, conſiſting of formalities, hæcceities, realities, relations, Platonic ideas, and other ſubtleties, which they honour with the name of the *metaphyſical world*; and if any man has a turn of mind averſe to the ſtudy of real nature, but adapted to the purſuit of theſe viſionary fictions, they ſay, he is poſſeſſed of a ſublime genius.

The topics, upon which theſe philoſophers ſpent the whole force of their ingenuity, were of a kind at once the moſt difficult and abſtruſe, and the moſt trifling and uſeleſs. Intention and remiſſion, proportion and degree, infinity, formality, quiddity, individuality, and other abſtract ideas, furniſhed innumerable queſtions to exerciſe their ſubtlety. Not contented with conſidering properties and relations as they ſubſiſt, and are perceived, in natural objects, they ſeparated, in their conceptions, the former from the latter, and by this artifice transferred them into univerſal notions. Then forgetting that theſe notions are merely the offspring of the reaſoning mind, they conſidered them as real entities, and made uſe of them as ſubſtantial principles in explaining the nature of things. This they did, not only in metaphyſics but in phyſics, in which theſe imaginary entities confuſed and obſcured all their reaſonings. If theſe creatures of abſtraction be brought back to their natural connection with real objects, and with the terms which expreſs them, it will appear, that they had nothing more than an imaginary exiſtence, and the whole conteſt concerning them will vaniſh into a mere war of words.

Whence ſome judgment may be formed concerning the value of this moſt profound, angelic, and ſeraphic philoſophy.

The opinion of Vives upon this ſubject merits attention [a]. "Some maintain, that ſtudies of this kind are uſeful to prepare the way for other kinds of learning, by ſharpening the ingenuity of the ſtudent; and that thoſe who underſtand theſe ſubtle queſtions, will the more eaſily acquire a knowledge of leſs difficult ſubjects: but neither of theſe aſſertions is true. One reaſon why queſtions of this kind are thought ingenious is, that they are not underſtood; for it is not uncommon for men to admire what they do not comprehend, and to think that moſt profound, which they are not able to fathom. In the opinion of many, however, theſe enigmatical ſubtleties are only to be ranked among the trifling amuſements of children; being, in truth, not the produce of an underſtanding exerciſed and improved by erudition, but ſpringing up in an unoccupied mind, from an ignorance of better things, like uſeleſs weeds in an uncultivated ſoil." To the ſame purpoſe Lord Bacon, with his uſual ſtrength of judgment, ſays [b]; "As many natural bodies, whilſt they are ſtill entire, are corrupted, and putrefy, ſo the ſolid knowledge of things often degenerates into ſubtle, vain, and ſilly ſpeculations, which, although they may not ſeem altogether deſtitute of ingenuity, are inſipid and uſeleſs. This kind of unſound learning, which preys upon itſelf, has often appeared, particularly among the Scholaſtics, who, having much leiſure, quick parts, and little reading; being in mind as cloſely confined to the writings of a few authors, and eſpecially of their dictator Ariſtotle, as they are in body to the cells of their monaſteries; and being, moreover, in a great meaſure, ignorant of the hiſtory both of nature and of the world; out of very flimſy materials, but with the moſt rapid and violent motion of the ſhuttle of thought, they have woven thoſe laborious webs which are preſerved in their writings. The truth is, that the human mind, when it is employed upon external objects, is directed in its operations by the nature of the materials upon which its faculties are exerciſed; but if, like the

[a] L. c. l. iii. p. 129. [b] De Aug. Scient. t. i. Op. l. i. c. 9.

ſpider,

ſpider, it draws its materials from within itſelf, it produces cobwebs of learning, wonderful indeed from the fineneſs of the threads, and the delicacy of the workmanſhip, but of no real value or uſe[a]."

The general prevalence of this taſte for ſubtle ſpeculations, among the Scholaſtics, is certainly to be accounted for, chiefly from the want of more important objects to occupy the leiſure of monaſtic life, and to furniſh occaſions of generous and uſeful emulation among thoſe who devoted their days to ſtudy. But the particular direction which this idle humour took was owing to the univerſal authority which, after Auguſtine, Ariſtotle, in the manner already explained, by degrees acquired in the Chriſtian ſchools. The reverence, almoſt religious, which the Scholaſtics paid to the Stagyrite, naturally led them to follow implicitly his method of philoſophiſing, and to embrace his opinions, as far as they were able to diſcover them. "There are," ſays Vives[b], "both philoſophers and divines, who not only ſay that Ariſtotle reached the utmoſt boundaries of ſcience, but that his ſyllogiſtic method of reaſoning is the moſt direct and certain path to knowledge; a preſumption which has led us to receive, upon the authority of Ariſtotle, many tenets as fully known and eſtabliſhed, which are by no means ſuch; for why ſhould we fatigue ourſelves with further enquiry, when it is agreed that nothing can be diſcovered beyond what may be found in his writings. Hence has ſprung up in the mind of men an incredible degree of indolence; ſo that every one thinks it ſafeſt and moſt pleaſant to ſee with another's eyes, and believe with another's faith, and, to examine nothing for himſelf." There cannot be a clearer proof of the extravagant heighth to which this Ἀριστοτελομανία, rage for Ariſtotle, was carried, than the fact complained of by Melanchthon[c], that in ſacred aſſemblies the ethics of Ariſtotle were read to the people inſtead of the goſpel.

Notwithſtanding all the homage which was paid to the name of Ariſtotle, it is certain that the Scholaſtics were very imperfectly acquainted with the true ſenſe of his writings: for, not to inſiſt at pre-

[a] Conf. Lang. Chron. Ciz. t. i. p. 305. Piſtor. p. 836. Eraſmi Encom. Moriæ.
[b] L. c. l. v. p. 161. [c] Apol. A. C. p. 62.

ſent

ſent upon the difficulties which unavoidably attend the ſtudy of his works, ariſing from the abſtract nature of the ſubjects upon which he treats, from the ſtudied ambiguity with which he frequently writes, from the extreme conciſeneſs of his ſtyle, and from his obſcure and defective report of the opinions of preceding philoſophers, it muſt be recollected that theſe philoſophers engaged in the ſtudy of Ariſtotle without a previous acquaintance with hiſtory, or with the Greek philoſophy, and even without the knowledge of the Greek language, and ſaw the doctrines of their maſter through the obſcure medium of very imperfect tranſlations. Hence they never underſtood his whole ſyſtem in connection, and often created monſtrous forms, at which the Stagyrite himſelf would have been terrified.

The Scholaſtic philoſophy, thus introduced, and ſupported by the authority of Ariſtotle, derived its complete eſtabliſhment from the firm alliance into which it entered with theology, and the honours and emoluments which were, in conſequence of this alliance, beſtowed upon thoſe who excelled in this kind of learning. Dialectics having been found an uſeful inſtrument in eſtabliſhing the prevailing theological ſyſtem, eminence in this art became the ſure road to eccleſiaſtical preferment. Almoſt all the great men, who have been mentioned in the preceding chapter, roſe to diſtinction through their knowledge of ſubtle queſtions in metaphyſics, and through their adroitneſs in wielding the weapons of logic. Excellence in the Scholaſtic art of trifling was not only ſufficient to procure the high titles of Moſt Profound, Subtle, Reſolute, Wonderful, Angelic, or Seraphic Doctor, but to create profeſſors, abbots, biſhops, cardinals, and even pontiffs. What wonder, that the Scholaſtic philoſophy univerſally prevailed?

The effects of its prevalence were of the moſt ſerious nature. Beſides the extravagant waſte of time which theſe diſputes occaſioned, they introduced an abſurd kind of vanity, which perſuaded theſe Sublime Doctors to believe, that they had arrived at the ſummit of wiſdom, both human and divine, and gave occaſion to violent conteſts, which often terminated in ſomething worſe than a mere war of words. Theology, already ſufficiently clouded and corrupted by the

the ſpeculations and diſputes of former ages, by admitting into its ſervice Scholaſtic philoſophy involved itſelf in new obſcurity; ſo that at length, inſtead of the plain and ſimple doctrine of religion, little elſe was to be found in the writings of theologians, but vague notions, and verbal diſtinctions. As an example of the miſchief which aroſe to theology from this alliance, we may mention the doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, which firſt ſprung up at this period, and concerning which the moſt violent diſputes aroſe between Berengar and his heretical partizans on the one ſide, and Lanfranc and his orthodox brethren on the other, till at length this abſurd dogma paſſed into an article of faith.

Another evil which aroſe from the Scholaſtic philoſophy was, that inſtead of attempting to diſtinguiſh the real differences of things, and to deduce clear concluſions from certain principles, in order to enlarge the boundaries of human knowledge, it employed all the powers of ingenuity, and all the arts of ſophiſtry, to obſcure the principles of ſcience, to mix truth with fallacy, and, to open the door to univerſal ſcepticiſm. By the help of confuſed notions, unmeaning diſtinctions, barbarous terms, and a ſophiſtical method of reaſoning, men were prepared to advance and defend the moſt frivolous and abſurd poſitions; both theological and philoſophical diſputations degenerated into a mere trial of ſkill; and the honeſt enquirer after truth was left without any certain guide. The conſequences were, that tenets deſtructive of all religion were often publicly maintained in the ſchools; a corrupt ſyſtem of moral philoſophy, which left open many avenues to diſhoneſty and debauchery, was taught; and great depravity of manners prevailed.

This corruption of opinions and manners was accompanied with barbariſm of language. Little attention was now paid to the ſtudy of grammar, or rhetoric; a vaſt maſs of terms, wholly unknown in the Auguſtine age, were introduced into the Latin tongue, to expreſs the abſtract notions of dialectics and metaphyſics; and a verboſe, puerile, and inelegant mode of writing generally prevailed. John of Saliſbury, who took much pains to revive an attention to literature, complained

complained [a], that, in his time, thoſe who profeſſed to be acquainted with all arts, both liberal and mechanic, and to teach them in a ſhort time, neglected the ſtudy of Grammar; whence they were ignorant of the firſt art, without which it is in vain that any one attempts to become maſter of the reſt. Even the beſt writers of this period were not wholly free from literary barbariſm [b].

After this general view of the nature, cauſes, and effects of the Scholaſtic philoſophy [c], the reader may perceive, that it would be a moſt irkſome and unprofitable labour to attend theſe ſubtle doctors through all the winding paths, in which they wandered from the ſtrait road of ſimple truth and common ſenſe. The immenſe variety of their queſtions, the incomprehenſible ſubtlety of their diſtinctions, and the uncertainty and obſcurity of their mode of reaſoning, render it an impracticable taſk to give a clear and connected view of the doctrines of the Scholaſtic philoſophy. Or if it were poſſible to pour the light of order upon this chaos, the reſult would be nothing more than the repetition of Ariſtotle's dialectics and metaphyſics, clothed in barbarous terms and phraſes, and encumbered with a vaſt addition of puerile trifles, and viſionary fictions, which it would be an unpardonable abuſe of the reader's patience to retail. A few words concerning the manner in which the Scholaſtics taught logic and metaphyſics, phyſics, politics, and morals, and concerning their ſects, ſhall conclude this part of our work.

Although Logic and Metaphyſics were the peculiar province of the Scholaſtics, their labours in theſe branches of learning were of little uſe. Their logic [d] was rather the art of ſophiſtry than that of reaſoning; for it was applied to ſubjects which they did not underſtand, and employed upon principles which were not aſcertained. Their whole buſineſs being diſputation, they ſought out for ſuch thorny queſtions as were likely to afford them ſufficient exerciſe for their ingenuity. Their whole care was to conduct themſelves in the conteſt by the rules of art, and their whole ambition to obtain the

[a] Metal. l. i. c. 24. [b] Lud. Viv. l. c. l. ii. p. 78.
[c] Conf. Laun. de Fort. Arif. Act. Phil. v. iii. p. 921. Matt. Paris, ad Ann. 1201.
[d] Lud. Viv. l. c. l. iii. p. 111, 128. l. v. p. 177.

victory,

victory. For want of clear principles, and accurate definitions, their metaphyſical ſyſtem was a chaos of abſtract notions and obſcure terms. They profeſſed, indeed, to follow the metaphyſics of Ariſtotle, but for want of underſtanding the antient doctrines of phyſics and mathematics, or even the language of Ariſtotle, they frequently ſubſtitute the fictions of their own imaginations in the room of the true Ariſtotelian principles.

Of this the manner in which they handled the ſubject of Firſt Matter affords a clear example. The Stagyrite, in his metaphyſics, had called Matter, that of which, conſidered in itſelf, neither quantity nor quality can be predicated, and in which being terminates. In this definition Ariſtotle had a reference to the antient doctrine, that bodies are compoſed of corpuſcles; and, by mental abſtraction, ſeparated from theſe that which is the firſt formal cauſe of their exiſtence, and called it Firſt Matter. But the Scholaſtics, being ignorant of the antient notion of body, and confounding the purely metaphyſical conception of matter with an extended ſubject endued with form and quantity, fell into trifling diſputes, and deviſed innumerable ſubtleties, by which the original obſcurity of the doctrine of Ariſtotle concerning the firſt matter was greatly increaſed. The firſt matter, according to the followers of Thomas Aquinas, was ſimple power without actual energy. Others, who perceived that this was a mere phantom of the imagination, defended the real exiſtence of matter, though they confeſſed themſelves ignorant of its nature. Whilſt others, concluding that the attributes aſcribed to matter could belong only to God, contended that God was the firſt matter. Nor did theſe ſubtle reaſoners trifle leſs on the ſubject of divine and ſpiritual natures. Bonaventure, in his Compendium of Theology, treats of angels, their ſubſtance, orders, offices, language, and the like, as if he himſelf had been an inhabitant of the angelic world.

In Natural Philoſophy, inſtead of attending to the real properties of bodies, and inveſtigating the laws of nature by experiment and obſervation, they reaſoned with ſubtlety upon vague and obſcure principles, and always confounded phyſics with metaphyſics. Many

reaſonings of this kind may be met with in thoſe parts of the writings of Thomas Aquinas, where he treats of the principles of nature, of the nature of matter, of the occult operations of nature, and the like[a]. Among other profound obſervations, he derives the occult operations of nature from the forms of things, which exiſt in their reſpective bodies, and ſuppoſes the formal principles of ſuch bodies to be celeſtial bodies, which by their acceſſion or receſſion cauſe the production or corruption of the inferior body. Whence he concludes, that there is in theſe occult forms a capacity of being reſtored to higher principles, namely, celeſtial bodies, or to powers ſtill higher than theſe, that is, to ſeparate intellectual ſubſtances, which in their reſpective operations leave traces of themſelves. If the reader will apply the myſterious operations of theſe occult forms to the explanation of magnetic attractions, he will ſoon perceive how much the ſcience of phyſics is indebted to this angelic doctor. Bonaventure[b], and others, laboured in this field with equal ſucceſs. Roger Bacon, indeed, Albert, and a few more, in their enquiries into nature, left the clouds of metaphyſics, and deſcended into the humble vale of experience; but the world was not prepared to receive the information they were able to communicate, and imputed their operations to the power of magic. Boniface, the patron of ignorance and barbariſm, ſummoned Polydore Virgil, biſhop of Saliſbury, to the court of Inquiſition, for maintaining the exiſtence of Antipodes; for this profound theologian wiſely concluded, that ſuch a race of men would be a new world for which Chriſt had not died[c].

Upon the ſubject of Ethics, we find among the Scholaſtics ſurpriſing proofs of ignorance and weakneſs. Till the twelfth century, the only books of morals which obtained any authority were that wretched compilation, the *Moralia* of Pope Gregory, and ſome other injudicious collections of ſentences from the ſcriptures and the writings of the Fathers. When the Ethics of Ariſtotle were intro-

[a] Opuſc. p 213.

[b] Opuſc. t. ii. p. 728. ed. Lugd. Conf. Viv. l. v. p. 176.

[c] Aventin. Ann. l. iii. Welſer. Ann. Boic. l. v. Bayle, Art. Virg.

duced, and moral doctrine began to be conſidered as a part of philoſophy, we indeed find the Scholaſtics treating concerning virtues and vices, but always in the dialectic method; ſubſtituting uſeleſs queſtions concerning caſes which are never likely to happen in real life, in the room of practical enquiries,

Quid ſit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non*.

If they diſcourſed upon theſe topics, they either implicitly followed the definition and arrangement of Ariſtotle, or injudiciouſly combined with his moral doctrine the precepts of piety and ſanctity which the church had preſcribed. The correction and improvement of ethics was indeed attempted by John Scotus Erigena, and other followers of the ſuppoſed Dionyſius; but theſe enthuſiaſts having abandoned the humble path of common ſenſe to ſoar into the regions of myſticiſm, the remedy proved ſcarcely leſs miſchievous than the diſeaſe to which it was applied; and the ſimple doctrine of pure morality, taught by Chriſt and his apoſtles, which had hitherto been debaſed by ſuperſtition, was now loſt in the extravagancies of enthuſiaſm.

The ſpirit of diſputation which ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed the Scholaſtics, gave birth to many ſects, which contended againſt each other with bitter animoſity. The diſciples of Albert, called Albertiſts, who mixed the doctrines of religion with the tenets of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, were vehemently oppoſed by Peter Lombard and his followers. The diſſentions between Thomas Aquinas and John Duns Scotus laid the foundation of the ſects of the Thomiſts and Scotiſts, who diſputed with great warmth on the doctrines of grace and free will, and other theological topics. From the ſchool of Duns Scotus aroſe Occam, the inventor of new ſubtleties, who became the father of the ſect of Occamiſts. But, among all the ſects of the Scholaſtics, the moſt memorable, on account of the extent, the violence, and the duration of their conteſts, are thoſe of the Nominaliſts and Realiſts.

To underſtand the ground of the diſpute which gave riſe to theſe

* What fair or baſe, what good or ill, to man,
And what his wiſeſt, ſafeſt, happieſt plan.

ſects, it will be neceſſary to recollect the different tenets of the antient ſchools of Plato, Ariſtotle, and Zeno, concerning Ideas, or the univerſal forms of things. Ideas, according to Plato, are not the univerſal notions or conceptions of the mind, ariſing from the contemplation of external objects, but Intelligible Natures, having a certain and ſtable exiſtence, whoſe origin and ſeat is the divine mind, and which are the immediate objects of contemplation to the human underſtanding. Univerſal eſſences of this kind, external to matter, Ariſtotle thought to be the mere fictions of the imagination of Plato, or rather of Pythagoras; but, not daring to deny the exiſtence of eſſential forms, he affirmed that ideas, or forms, were eternally united to matter, and that from this union of matter and form aroſe exiſting bodies. Zeno and the Stoic ſchool acknowledged primary principles of material things; but denied their eſſentiality, and ridiculed thoſe who aſſerted the ſubſtantial exiſtence of ideas or univerſals, as diſtinguiſhed from the conceptions of the mind and the words by which they are expreſſed. This ſubtle queſtion was purſued by the Eclectic philoſophers, who endeavoured to reconcile the Academic, Peripatetic, and Stoic notions concerning it, by ſuppoſing, that ideas have a real eſſentiality, but only in the divine underſtanding, where they ſubſiſt as models, by means of which, in framing individual bodies, eſſential characters of things are impreſſed upon matter, as by one ſeal ſimilar impreſſions are made upon innumerable portions of wax; and that theſe ideas may be contemplated by the human mind, and may be expreſſed by univerſal terms. Others left it undetermined whether the univerſals thus contemplated have a real phyſical exiſtence. Porphyry, in his introduction to the Ariſtotelian logic, ſays[a], "Concerning *genera* and *ſpecies*, whether they have a real eſſence, or are barely conceptions of the mind, and if they ſubſiſt whether corporeally or incorporeally, whether ſpiritually or only in the objects of ſenſe, I give no opinion, becauſe the ſubject is abſtruſe, and requires a larger diſcuſſion." This point, which Porphyry left undetermined, was reſumed in the ſchools, and the opinion of

[a] § 2. p. 2. Ed. Jul. Pacii.

Ariſtotle, that univerſals ſubſiſt not prior to individual bodies, nor after them, but within them, and are the forms eternally united to matter, which make bodies to be ſuch as they are, univerſally prevailed, till, in the eleventh century, Roſceline, before mentioned, adopted the Stoic opinion, that Univerſals have no real exiſtence either before or in individuals, but are mere names and words by which the kinds of individuals are expreſſed: a tenet which was afterwards propagated by Abelard, and produced the ſect of the Nominaliſts [a].

This new opinion gave great offence to the philoſophers and divines of the eleventh century, perhaps, chiefly becauſe Roſceline, by applying it to the doctrine of the Trinity, brought upon himſelf a ſuſpicion of hereſy. Many young perſons, however, ſtrenuouſly adhered to the ſide of the Nominaliſts, and the ſect, through the ingenuity and ability of Abelard and others, obtained many followers [b]. Some of theſe, to avoid cenſure, changed their ground ſo far as to maintain, that univerſals conſiſt, in notions and conceptions of the mind, formed by abſtraction, whence they were called Conceptualiſts. The Realiſts, too, were of different opinions, ſome leaning towards the doctrine of Plato, and others towards that of Ariſtotle.

In the twelfth century, the controverſy ſtill continued; but the doctrine of the Realiſts found ſuch able ſupporters in Thomas Aquinas, and Duns Scotus, that it almoſt became triumphant. But Occam, in the fourteenth century, revived the dying cauſe of the Nominaliſts, and gave it ſuch a degree of credit, that after his time it was zealouſly maintained by Suiſſet, Buridan, Marſilius ab Inghen, Weſſel, and many others. The ſect of the Nominaliſts, enjoying the countenance and favour of Louis the Eleventh, almoſt univerſally flouriſhed in Germany; whilſt that of the Realiſts, being patronized by Pope John XXIII. was prevalent in Italy, and other countries; till at length the Pope's faction became predominant, and haraſſed

[a] Otto Friſing. de Geſt. Frid. l. i. c. 42. J. Sariſb. Męt. l. ii. c. 17. p. 814. Aventin. Ann. Bor. l. vi. p. 396.

[b] Du Cheſne Scr. Hiſt. Fr. t. iv. p. 632. Hiſt. Crit. Phil. t. iii. p. 906. Abelard. Hiſt. Cal. c. 3.

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the Nominaliſts with ſevere perſecutions. Louis XI. king of France, publiſhed an edict which, in the year one thouſand four hundred and ſeventy-four, ſilenced and baniſhed the Nominaliſts; ordered their books to be faſtened up in the libraries with iron chains, that they might not be read by ſtudents; and required the academic youth to renounce their doctrines. Upon this the leaders of the ſect fled into Germany and England, where, at the beginning of the reformation, they met with a ſtrong reinforcement in Luther, Melancthon, and others [a].

Nothing could exceed the violence with which theſe diſputes were conducted. Vives, who himſelf ſaw theſe conteſts, ſays [b], "that when the contending parties had exhauſted their ſtock of verbal abuſe, they often came to blows; and it was not uncommon, in theſe quarrels about univerſals, to ſee the combatants engaging, not only with their fiſts, but with clubs and ſwords, ſo that many have been wounded, and ſome killed." Such were the bleſſed fruits of Scholaſtic philoſophy! We cannot more properly take leave of this period of our hiſtory, than in the words of Martial:

Turpe eſt difficiles habere nugas,
Et ſtultus labor eſt ineptiarum [c]. *

[a] Pleſſis d'Argen. Collect. t. i. p. 202. 255. 302. Bulæi Hiſt. Ac. Par. t. v. p. 678. 739. 747. Baluz. Miſc. t. iv. p. 531. Naud. Add. Hiſt. Ludov. xi. p. 203. Launois Hiſt. Gymn. Navarr. t. iv. p. 201.

[b] L. c. l. i. Conf. Eraſm. præf. Enchir. Camer. Vit. Melancth. p. 213. Wood. Ant. Oxon. ad Ann. 1343. Patric. Diſc. Perip. t. i. c. 13.

[c] 'Tis a folly to ſweat o'er a difficult trifle,
And for ſilly devices invention to rifle.

* Vidend. Hottinger Hiſt. Ecc. Sec. xiii. Leyſer. Hiſt. Poet. Med. Ævi. Marnix. Apiar. Rom. Ecc. p. i. c. 10. Flacii Carm. de Corrupt. Eccl. Statu. Mabillon de Stud. Monaſt. p. ii. c. 7. Dupin Meth. Stud. l. iv. Salabert. Phil. Nomin. vind. Par. 1651, 8°. Ars Rationis ad Mentem Nomin. Ox. 1673, 12°. Mabillon Analect. t. iv. p. 369.

# BOOK VIII.

## OF THE REVIVAL OF PHILOSOPHY.

### CHAP. I.

#### OF THE INFLUENCE OF THE REVIVAL OF LETTERS UPON PHILOSOPHY.

HAVING at length, not without difficulty, cleared our way through the thorns and briars of the Middle Age, we are now arrived at a more open and pleaſant country, where we ſhall ſee learning and philoſophy recovering their antient honours. This great effect was not produced inſtantaneouſly; but, as the twilight precedes the riſing ſun, ſo the dawning of literature prepared the way for the revival of ſcience, till, at length, genius was awakened, rational enquiry was reſumed, and the night of the Scholaſtic age was ſucceeded by a bright day of learning and true philoſophy.

In the thirteenth century, a ſingular but fanciful attempt was made to introduce a new method of philoſophiſing by RAYMUND LULLY[a], long famous for an invention which is called his Great

[a] Bovilli Vit. Lullii. Danat. Hiſt. Balear.

Art.

Art. Lully was born in the iſland of Majorca, in the year one thouſand two hundred and thirty-four. After paſſing his younger days in pleaſure, he was on a ſudden induced, by a diſappointment in love, to give himſelf up to retirement and devotion. In his retreat he boaſted of viſions and revelations. Forming a romantic deſign of converting the Mahometans to the Chriſtian faith, about the year one thouſand two hundred and eighty-ſeven, he viſited Pope Honorius the Fourth, and the eccleſiaſtics in Rome, and endeavoured to prevail upon them to aſſiſt him in his enterprize, and for this purpoſe to inſtitute ſchools for teaching the Oriental languages. Finding his propoſal, however, treated with contempt, he carried it to the courts of Paris, Genoa, and other ſtates; but met with no better ſucceſs. At laſt he determined to attempt the execution of his project, with no other reſources than thoſe which his own ingenuity and zeal ſupplied; and undertook a journey into Aſia and Africa, where he viſited the principal cities, in hope of making converts. After many diſappointments and hazards, he returned home; but the ardour of his enthuſiaſm remained unabated, and he renewed his application to ſeveral European princes. Finding no one, however, who was inclined to favour his deſign, he entered into the fraternity of Franciſcan monks, and, inflamed with an invincible thirſt after the glory of martyrdom, he went a ſecond time into Africa, whence he had before been permitted to depart only upon condition that he would never return thither. This proved a moſt unfortunate adventure; for upon his being again found in this country, he was thrown into priſon, where he ſuffered great torture, and whence he barely eſcaped with life, through the intereſt of certain Genoeſe traders, who took him on board their ſhip to convey him home. On his paſſage, when he was juſt within ſight of his native country, he died, in the year one thouſand three hundred and fifteen. He had the appellation of The most Enlightened Doctor.

Wonderful things are related of Lully's chemical and medical ſkill[a]; but he is chiefly celebrated for an invention, by which he pretended

[a] Borrich. de Orig. Chem. p. 129. Fabr. Bib. Lat. Med. t. iv. p. 864. N. Anton. Bib. Hiſp. Vet. t. ii. p. 84. Blount. Cenſ. p. 420.

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to enable any one mechanically to invent arguments and illuſtrations upon any ſubject, and thus to reach the ſummit of ſcience at a ſmall expence of time and labour. This GREAT ART profeſſes to furniſh a general inſtrument for aſſiſting invention in the ſtudy of every kind of ſcience. For this purpoſe certain general terms, which are common to all the ſciences, but principally thoſe of logic, metaphyſics, ethics, and theology, are collected and arranged; not however according to any natural diviſion, but merely according to the caprice of the inventor. An alphabetical table of ſuch terms was provided; and ſubjects and predicates taken from theſe, were reſpectively inſcribed, in angular ſpaces, upon circular papers. The eſſences, qualities, affections, and relations of things being thus mechanically brought together, the circular papers of ſubjects were fixed in a frame, and thoſe of predicates were ſo placed upon them as to move freely, and in their revolutions to produce various combinations of ſubjects and predicates; whence would ariſe definitions, axioms, and propoſitions, varying infinitely, according to the different application of general terms to particular ſubjects. Such is the general idea of Lully's mechanical logic; the particulars of which it would be wholly unintereſting to detail, ſince it is very evident, that the invention is perfectly futile; ſuppoſing that knowledge of the nature of things, which nevertheleſs it profeſſes to teach; deriving its rules, not from reaſon, but from the arbitrary play of the imagination; and furniſhing certain repoſitories of univerſal notions, without providing any criterion for diſtinguiſhing truth from falſhood, or any method of diſcovering the real properties of things. The great Lullian art, though ſpoken of by certain writers of this period in the higheſt terms of panegyric, may therefore ſafely be pronounced an unprofitable and ridiculous invention, wholly unworthy of notice, except as a ſpecimen of the artifice with which men, who have more ingenuity than honeſty, frequently impoſe upon vulgar weakneſs and credulity[a].

[a] Morhoff. Polyh. t. i. c. 5. p. 352. Verulam. Aug. Scient. l. vi. c. 2. Alſted. Clavis Artis Lull. Arg. 1608. Ars magna, Ed. Argent. 1598. 8vo. cum Comment. Agrippæ. Brunon. Lampad. Combin. p. 685. Leibnitz de Arte Combinat. p. 33.

To the fanciful and enthuſiaſtic Lully the philoſophical world has few obligations. But other more cultivated and liberal ſpirits aroſe about this period, who rendered eſſential ſervice to mankind, by reviving a taſte for learning and ſcience.

In the meritorious deſign of baniſhing barbariſm, and reviving a taſte for polite literature, the Italian poet, DANTE ALLIGHIERI [a], appears to have led the way. He was born at Florence, in the year one thouſand two hundred and ſixty-five. In his youth he not only applied himſelf to the ſtudy of poetry, and other branches of elegant learning, but, conſidering the period in which he lived, acquired a correct acquaintance with philoſophy. According to his biographers, he was inferior to none of his age as a philoſopher and a poet; in genius he was ſublime, in language brilliant, and in reaſoning accurate and profound. He ſtudied phyſics and mathematics at Paris, and wrote a philoſophical piece, entitled, *Quæſtio de Natura duorum Elementorum Aquæ et Terræ* [b], "An Enquiry into the Nature of the Two Elements, Water and Earth." But his chief work is his dramatic ſatire, "On Heaven, Purgatory, and Hell." On account of the happy influence which his example had upon the taſte and ſtudies of the age in which he lived, he may juſtly be ranked among the firſt revivers of learning, and reformers of philoſophy.

From the ſchool of Dante aroſe FRANCIS PETRARCH [c], a ſtar of the firſt magnitude in the Italian hemiſphere, who greatly contributed to diſſipate the darkneſs of the fourteenth century. Petrarch was born at Arezzo, in Tuſcany, in the year one thouſand three hundred and four. His father, with many other Italians, who were diſcontented with their fortune, removed from Florence to the neighbourhood of Avignon, in France, where a Gaſcon pope had fixed the Roman ſee. After the example of his maſter, Petrarch devoted himſelf chiefly to polite literature. His father in vain endeavoured to draw his attention from theſe purſuits to the more profitable, but

[a] Hank. de Rom. Scrip. p. ii. c. 42. p. 194.
[b] Fabr. Bib. L. Med. t. v. p. 675. Pref. Ed. Volpi, 1720.
[c] Trithem. de S. E. c. 622. Squarzaſich Vit. Pet. Op. præm. Ep. Petr.

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leſs elegant, ſtudy of the law. After various occurrences in life (of which his amour with Laura was an intereſting, and his poetical coronation at Rome was a ſplendid, part) he reſided during the later period of his life, ſometimes in the celebrated vale of Vaucluſe, near Avignon, and ſometimes at Argua, near Padua, where, in the year one thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-four, he died, univerſally known, eſteemed, and regretted. To Petrarch the Latin tongue is chiefly indebted for the reſtoration of its purity; Italian poetry for its perfection; and even philoſophy for a conſiderable ſhare of improvement. The ſcience of ethics he ſtudied with attention, and clothed many excellent precepts of morality with all the graces of pure and claſſical language. His treatiſes, *De Remediis utriuſque Fortunæ*; *de vera Sapientia*; *de Contemptu Mundi*; *de Republica optime adminiſtranda*; *de Avaritia*; "On the Remedies of Fortune; True Wiſdom; the Contempt of the World; Government; Avarice;" and above all the reſt, *De ſua ipſius et aliorum Ignorantia*, "On his own Ignorance of himſelf and others," are exceedingly valuable. In reading the moral writings of Petrarch, we viſit, not a barren deſert of dry diſputation, but a fruitful garden of elegant obſervations, full of the choiceſt flowers of literature.

Several other Italian writers followed the footſteps of Petrarch, and may be deſervedly mentioned among the revivers of learning and philoſophy; particularly his pupil and friend JOHN BOCCACE [a], born at Certaldi, in Tuſcany, in the year one thouſand one hundred and thirteen, who, beſides his celebrated *Decameron*, wrote a book *De Genealogia Deorum*, "On the Genealogy of the Gods," in which he treats of the fabulous philoſophy of the Greeks with greater ſucceſs than was to be expected in the age in which he lived.

About this period an event occurred, which greatly promoted the revival of letters in Italy, and other Weſtern parts of Europe. The oppreſſion which all liberal arts and ſciences ſuffered in the Eaſt under

[a] Erythræus Pinacoth. iii. p. 219. Blount. Cen. p. 437. Bayle. Trithem. c. 647. Fab. Bib. L. Med. t. i. p. 682.

the conqueſt of the Turks, obliged many eminent Greeks to forſake their native country, and take refuge in Italy. Emanuel Chrysoloras[a], a Conſtantinopolitan of Roman extraction, having been ſent, in the year one thouſand three hundred and eighty-ſeven, by John Palæologus, the ſon of the younger Andronicus, to ſolicit the ſupport and protection of the Chriſtian princes in Europe againſt the Turks, viſited firſt Venice, and afterwards Florence, Rome, and other Italian cities. He remained in the Weſt till his death, which happened in one thouſand four hundred and fourteen. Other Greeks, driven from their native country by the hoſtilities of the Turks, followed the example of Chryſoloras, and found an hoſpitable aſylum in Italy. Theſe brought with them many Greek books, and ſome portion of antient learning. The conſequence was, that Grecian literature, which had lain dormant in the Weſt for ſeven hundred years, was revived, and antient books, which had been for ages neglected, were brought to light, and with great avidity read and tranſlated. Dante and Petrarch, and other learned men, having introduced a taſte for literature, the princes of Italy entered into a laudable competition with each other, in affording countenance and protection to learning. Learned men from every quarter found a welcome reception at Rome, under the patronage of Pope Nicholas V. who was particularly diſpoſed to encourage tranſlations of Ariſtotle's works. The Medicean family at Florence expended their wealth, with great liberality, in providing a comfortable aſylum for the learned refugees of the Eaſt. One of this family, Lorenzo di Medici, ſent John Laſcaris into Greece to purchaſe at any expence the moſt valuable Greek manuſcripts[b]. The effect of this judicious exertion of public ſpirit upon the ſtate of learning was ſoon experienced: learned men, both Greeks and Italians, induſtriouſly devoted themſelves to the neceſſary labour of multiplying copies, and furniſh-

[a] Jovius Elog. c. 23. Bullart Acad. Sc. t. i. p. 265. Oudin. de S. E. t. iii. p. 123. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. x. p. 392.

[b] Nic. Reuſner in Icon. Lit. F. 6.

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ing verſions of the antient Greek writings; and the knowledge of the Greek language was every where diſſeminated [a].

JOHN ARGYROPULUS, a Conſtantinopolitan, who was taken under the patronage of Coſmo di Medici, at the requeſt of his patron, undertook to tranſlate Ariſtotle's phyſics and ethics. The natural jealouſy and reſerve of his temper prevented him from freely communicating his learning to the Italians; and he affected to deſpiſe Cicero, whom he maintained to have been ignorant of philoſophy and Greek learning. His tranſlations, however, are valuable; and beſides theſe he wrote a commentary upon the Ethics of Ariſtotle, and Solutions of Queſtions propoſed to him by certain philoſophers and phyſicians in the iſland of Cyprus. He taught the Ariſtotelian philoſophy in Rome, with a ſtipend granted him by the pope; and died in the year one thouſand four hundred and eighty-ſix [b].

Among the learned Latins of the fifteenth century, were POLITIAN [c] of Tuſcany, born in one thouſand four hundred and fifty-four, who tranſlated from the Greek, Alexander Aphrodiſæus's "Solution of certain Phyſical Queſtions," Epictetus's *Enchiridion*, and Plato's *Charmis*; HERMOLAUS BARBARUS [d], who tranſlated the medical writings of Dioſcorides, the Rhetoric and other pieces of Ariſtotle, and is ſaid to have ſupplicated the aſſiſtance of a divinity in explaining the ſignification of Ariſtotle's εντελεχεια; FRANCISCUS PHILELPHUS [e], who wrote a treatiſe *De Morali Diſciplina*, "On Moral Diſcipline;" and two books, *De Conviviis*, "Of Banquets," which diſcover an extenſive knowledge of hiſtory and philoſophy; PETER VERGER [f], whoſe work *De Ingenuis Moribus*, "On Liberal Manners," affords a pleaſing ſpecimen of the ſobriety with which philoſophy now began to be purſued; MANETTUS [g], a Florentine, who tranſlated Ariſtotle's Categories, with Porphyry's Introduction, and

[a] Ficin. Præf. in Plat. Beſſario Dedic. Verſ. Metaph. Ariſt. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 172.
[b] Bullart Ac. Sc. t. i. p. 269. Jov. Elog. c. 37. Bayle. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. x. p. 278.
[c] Bayle. [d] Trithem. c. 878.
[e] Jov. Elog. c. 17 Trithem. c. 855. [f] Trithem, c. 856. Bayle.
[g] Voſſ. de Hiſt. Lat. l. iii. c. 7.

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wrote the Lives of Socrates and Seneca, and treatiſes on wiſdom, truth, poſſibility, the nature of the univerſe, the nature of the mind, &c. which diſcover an unuſual ſhare of philoſophical knowledge; Donatus Acciailus [a], a pupil of Argyropulus, who wrote a commentary on Ariſtotle's ethics and politics; Apollinaris Offred [b], whoſe commentary on Ariſtotle, *De Anima*, and *Analytica poſteriora*, obtained him great authority in the ſchools; and Laurentius Valla [c], born at Rome, in one thouſand four hundred and fifteen, who freely cenſured the dialectics of Ariſtotle, and the philoſophy of his own time, but diſcovered more ſkill in pulling down antient edifices, than in erecting new ones; and of whom Eraſmus ſays [d], that with great induſtry and perſeverance he refuted the abſurdities of barbarians, raiſed learning from the grave, reſtored Italy to its antient ſplendour of eloquence, and rendered this ſervice to learned men, that he obliged them from that time to ſpeak and write with greater accuracy.

The exertions which theſe learned men made towards the revival of learning and philoſophy, are chiefly to be imputed to the example and influence of Chryſoloras, Argyropulus, and other Greeks, who, as we have ſeen, became reſident about this time in Italy. And it is to be aſcribed to the ſame cauſe, that the firſt innovations upon the Scholaſtic philoſophy were made by two different claſſes of adverſaries, thoſe who were attached to the pure Peripatetic ſyſtem, and thoſe who embraced the doctrine of Plato. The Greeks had, in their own country, followed, ſome the Platonic or Alexandrian, others the Ariſtotelian, philoſophy, and the Latins, through their example and influence, naturally fell into the ſame claſſes. Thoſe of the Greek refugees who followed the Stagyrite, finding the Latins in general addicted to a ſpurious kind of Ariſtotelianiſm, endeavoured to perſuade them to uſe their own eyes, and rather to follow Ariſtotle himſelf, than to yield an implicit deference to the judgment of the Arabian and Scholaſtic philoſophers. Thoſe,

[a] Voſſ. de Hiſt. Lat. l. iii. c. 8. [b] Morhoff. Polyh. t. ii. l. i. c. 11.
[c] Trithem, c. 750. [d] Ep. l. vii. 7. Viv. l. c. l. iii. p. 130.

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on the contrary, who were admirers of Platoniſm, ſtrenuouſly recommended this ſyſtem as moſt favourable to religion, and eaſily drew over to their intereſt ſuch as were offended with the impiety of the reigning doctrine of Averroiſm. In this manner it came to paſs, that beſides the body of Scholaſtics, who ſtill continued, after their uſual manner, to diſpute and to trifle, two philoſophical families ſprung up in Italy, one of whom followed the ſyſtem of Plato as new modelled in the Alexandrian ſchools, and the other profeſſed to adhere to the genuine doctrine of Ariſtotle.

The firſt Greek who gave occaſion to the revival of Platoniſm in Italy was George Gemiſt, alſo called PLETHO [a], a native of Conſtantinople, who was born in one thouſand three hundred and ninety, and lived one hundred years. He was a zealous advocate for Platoniſm, and maintained a violent controverſy with the Ariſtotelians. His heretical and philoſophical writings afford unqueſtionable proofs of his learning, and particularly of his intimate knowledge of the Alexandrian philoſophy. In his *Expoſitio Oraculorum Magicorum Zoroaſtris*, "Explanation of the Magic Oracles of Zoroaſter," he exhibits twelve fundamental articles of the Platonic religion, and gives an elegant compendium of the whole Platonic philoſophy. Other philoſophical writings of Pletho are, *De Virtutibus*, "On the Virtues;" *De Differentia Platonicæ et Ariſtotelicæ Philoſophiæ*, "On the Difference between the Platonic and Ariſtotelian philoſophy;" *Demonſtrationes naturales de Deo*, "Natural arguments concerning God."

A more moderate adherent to Plato, who maintained his ſyſtem, without deſpiſing the philoſophy of Ariſtotle or treſpaſſing upon the doctrine of Chriſtianity, was BESSARIO [b], a learned biſhop of Nice, whom the emperor Manuel Palæologus, about the year one thouſand four hundred and forty, appointed, with other Greek divines, to treat with the Latin church concerning an union. Upon his return, he was nominated by the emperor to the patriarchate of Conſtantinople; but the zeal which he had ſhewn to reunite the Greek and

[a] Allatius de claris Georg. p. 741. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. x, p. 740.

[b] Bullart Acad. Sc. t. i. p. 9. Fabr. l. c. p. 401. Trithem. c. 459. Dupin Nouv. Bib. Ec. t. xii. p. 122.

Latin

Latin churches, was ſo diſpleaſing to the Greeks, that he was obliged, for his ſafety, to return into Italy, where he was admitted to the Conclave by Pope Eugenius IV. Many ſubſequent honours were conferred upon him. He died at Ravenna in one thouſand four hundred and ſeventy-two. His houſe was the general reſort of men of letters, whether Grecians or Latins; and he allowed them the free uſe of his large and valuable library, which he left, by will, to the Senate of Venice. A friend to moderation, he made uſe of all his influence and authority to bring the violent diſputes of the times to an amicable termination. He wrote a defence of the Platonic ſyſtem againſt George Trebizond, and tranſlated, but with great obſcurity, Xenophon's Memorabilia, the Metaphyſic of Ariſtotle, and that falſely aſcribed to Theophraſtus.

Under the patronage of Coſmo di Medici, MARSILIUS FICINUS[a], a Florentine, born in one thouſand four hundred and thirty-three, was educated by Pletho for the expreſs purpoſe of tranſlating the writings, and reviving the philoſophy, of Plato. He was provided with every kind of inſtruction neceſſary to qualify him for this undertaking, and applied himſelf with great induſtry and ſucceſs to his ſtudies. At the ſame time he enjoyed the benefit of converſation with many able and learned men, who frequented the houſe of his patron, for the moſt part followers of Plato. Notwithſtanding this advantage, it appears from the manner in which he executed his taſk, and from his other writings, that he was deficient in ſtrength of judgment, and correctneſs of taſte. His Latin ſtyle wants that richneſs and dignity, which are requiſite in a verſion of Plato. Many proofs may be found in his writings of a degree of weak ſuperſtition, wholly inconſiſtent with the character of a philoſopher. He was of a timid and ſervile ſpirit, which would naturally lead him to accommodate his verſion to the judgment of his patron. And he entertained the notion which prevailed among the Chriſtian Fathers, that the doctrine of Plato was, in ſome ſort, of divine origin, and might be fairly conſtrued into a perfect agreement with that of

[a] Præf. in Platonis Verſ. Shelhorn. Amœnitat. Liter. t. i. p. 18.

divine revelation. From theſe cauſes, Ficinus is very far from adhering with ſtrictneſs to his author's meaning; in many inſtances he rather expreſſes his own conceptions than thoſe of Plato, and often gives his interpretation a bias towards the Alexandrian or Chriſtian doctrine, for which he had no ſufficient authority in the original. On the whole, Ficinus was rather an induſtrious than a judicious tranſlator, and his verſion of Plato ſhould be read with caution. He died in the year one thouſand four hundred and ninety-nine.

A fellow labourer with Ficinus, in the taſk of editing and tranſlating the writings of Plato and his followers, was JOANNES PICUS, of Mirandola[a], born in one thouſand four hundred and ſixty-three, who, for his ſucceſs in reviving the Platonic philoſophy, was honoured with the title of the phœnix of his age. Before he was twenty-four years of age, he had acquired ſuch a knowledge of ſcience and of languages, that he went to Rome, and propoſed for diſputation nine hundred queſtions in dialectics, mathematics, philoſophy, and theology, which he alſo hung up in all the open ſchools in Europe, challenging their profeſſors, to public diſputation, and promiſing to defray the travelling expences of any one who would undertake a journey to Rome for this purpoſe. The iſſue of the challenge did not correſpond with the expectations of this ambitious youth; he became an object of univerſal jealouſy and envy, and was ſuſpected of magic, and charged with hereſy. A few years afterwards, probably through diſappointment and mortification, he gave himſelf up to ſolitude and devotion, and formed a reſolution to diſtribute all his property among the poor, and to travel, bare-footed, through the world, in order to propagate the goſpel. But death put an end to this extravagant project, in the thirty ſecond year of his age. He was a zealous ſupporter of Platoniſm, after the model of the Alexandrian ſchool; but not without blending with its doctrine a large portion of Cabbaliſtic myſtery, and confounding with both theſe the doctrine of divine revelation.

Another body of Greek ſcholars were at this time advocates for

[a] Jo. Moller. Homonym. p. 883. Vit. a J. Fr. Pico in Bates Vet. Select. Politian. Miſc. Cent. i. c. 100.

the genuine Ariſtotelian philoſophy, and employed their time and learning in editing and tranſlating the writings of the Stagyrite. Before the revival of letters, though the name of Ariſtotle was idolized, his writings were, as we have ſeen, read only in imperfect Latin tranſlations. But after many learned Greeks had ſettled in Italy, and introduced a taſte for Greek literature, his works were ſtudied in the original; and, whilſt Plato's writings were tranſlated and commented upon by many learned men, under the patronage of the Medicean family, others, under the direction and authority of Pope Nicholas V. rendered the ſame ſervice to literature with reſpect to the works of Ariſtotle. This taſk, though of uncommon difficulty, on account of the obſcurity of the author, and the defective ſtate of the manuſcripts, was executed with tolerable ſucceſs. Of thoſe who laboured in this undertaking, the principal were Theodore Gaza, George of Trebizond, and Georgius Scholarius.

Theodore Gaza, a native of Theſſalonica, came over into Italy under the protection of the Cardinal Beſſarion, and Coſmo di Medici, and applied himſelf ſo diligently and ſucceſsfully to the ſtudy of the Latin tongue, under Victorinus, that, according to Jovius, it was not eaſy to ſay, whether he tranſlated more correctly from Latin into Greek, or from Greek into Latin. He particularly admired and imitated the ſtyle of Pliny the Elder. Through the bounty of his patron, he lived for ſeveral years in plenty; but, for want of œconomy, he involved himſelf in debt, and was reduced to poverty. To extricate himſelf from theſe difficulties, he ſet about a tranſlation of Ariſtotle, "On the Hiſtory of Animals," and, when he had finiſhed the work, dedicated it to Pope Sextus IV. in hopes of receiving from his Holineſs a liberal recompence. The Pope, however, only made him a ſmall preſent; upon which Gaza, through vexation and reſentment, immediately went and threw the money into the Tiber. From that time, he withdrew from Rome, and paſſed his days in Calabria, till diſappointment preyed upon his conſtitution, and put an end to his life. He died in the year one thouſand four hundred and ſeventy-eight.

* Jov. Elog. c. 26. Trithem. c. 848. Volater. Anthr. l. xxi. p. 775.

Georgius

GEORGIUS TRAPEZUNTIUS, or GEORGE OF TREBIZOND[a], born in the year one thouſand three hundred and ninety-ſix, came into Italy at the time of the celebrated council of Florence, held for the purpoſe of uniting the Greek and Latin churches. He taught rhetoric and philoſophy, firſt at Venice, and afterwards at Rome. Pope Nicholas V. honoured him with his particular friendſhip. He defended the Peripatetic philoſophy againſt the Platoniſts with great vehemence and acrimony; nor did even his fellow-labourers in the taſk of tranſlating Ariſtotle eſcape the effects of his haughtineſs and ill temper. A violent quarrel aroſe between him and Gaza, in their joint undertaking of tranſlating Ariſtotle "On Animals;" each claiming to himſelf the excluſive merit of having overcome the difficulties which aroſe from the great number of names of animals, which are found in that work. He wrote, "A Compariſon of Ariſtotle and Plato," full of bitter invective. He tranſlated Plato's dialogue *de Legibus*, and Ariſtotle's treatiſe *de Animalibus*, but he muſt not be allowed the credit either of accuracy or fidelity. He frequently violated the duty of a tranſlator by unpardonable variations, omiſſions, or additions. Trapezuntius died in one thouſand four hundred and eighty-four.

Georgius Scholarius[b], a learned Greek, ſtudied letters, philoſophy, theology, and juriſprudence in his native city, Conſtantinople. In the council of Florence, he oppoſed the union of the Eaſtern and Weſtern churches, and hereby diſpleaſed the Emperor. Upon his return home, he retired into a monaſtery near Conſtantinople, and took the name of Gennadius. At the taking of Conſtantinople, he fled into Italy, and ſpent his laſt days in the monaſtery of John Baptiſt, at Monaco, where he died, about the year one thouſand four hundred and ſixty-four. He wrote an introduction to Porphyry on Univerſals, and a Commentary on the Categories of Ariſtotle, and on the book *de Interpretatione*.

[a] Jov. c. 25. Allat. de Georg. § 50. Niceron. Mem. t. xiv. p. 322. Wharton App. Cave, p. 97.

[b] Allat. l. c. p. 760. T. Smith. Miſc. p. 4. Renaudot. Diſſ. de Vit. et Op. Gennadii. Fab. Bib. Gr. v. x. p. 343.

Between theſe two bodies of philoſophers, thoſe on the one part who followed Plato, and thoſe who on the other followed Ariſtotle; a diſpute aroſe concerning the merit and authority of their reſpective maſters, which was carried to a moſt ridiculous and extravagant height. It was begun by Pletho, whoſe veneration for Plato led him to oppoſe with great violence the unrivalled dominion, which Ariſtotle had for ages poſſeſſed in the ſchools. Georgius Scholarius took up the pen ſo zealouſly in defence of Ariſtotle, that he maintained, after Marcus Eugenius, biſhop of Epheſus, that the opinions of Ariſtotle are conſonant to the trueſt and beſt doctrines of the Chriſtian religion, and are *even more true*; and that the tenets of Plato differ from thoſe of Ariſtotle, and are *therefore* falſe. George of Trebizond ſupported Scholarius with extreme virulence of temper, and rudeneſs of language. On the other ſide, Pletho was ably and ſtrenuouſly ſeconded by Gaza. Other combatants of inferior note engaged in the conteſt; but the diſpute produced no better effect, than that of expoſing the contending parties to ridicule; and, therefore, only deſerves to be mentioned, as an example of the power of prejudice to pervert the judgment, and inflame the paſſions, of men [a]. *

[a] Diſſ. Boivin. Mem. de l'Acad. des Inſcrip. t. ii. p. 775. Heuman. Act. Phil. v. ii. p. 537.

* Vidend. Paul. Jov. Elog. Wharton ad Cave. Oudin de Scrip. Eccl. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. Fabric. Bib. Lat. Med. Reuſner in Iconibus Lit. Clar. Vir. Gundling. Hiſt. Erud. Wadding. Ann. Ord. Men. Soleri Acta S. t. v. Dupin Nouv. Bibl. des Auct. Eccl. t. xi. Borrich. de Orig. et Prog. Chemiæ. Nich. Anton. Bibl. Hiſp. Blount Cenſ. cel. Auct. Bzovii Annal. Alſ. Horn. Hiſt. Phil. l. v. Niger de Script. Florent. Pocciantius de Script. Flor. Niceron. Memoires. Papadopoli Hiſt. Gymn. Patav. Trithemii Cat. S. E. Annal. Hirſaug. Theiſſier Eloges. Ghilini Theat. Vir. Erud. Morhoff. Polyhiſtor. Huet. de claris Interpret. Adami Vit. Phil. Miræus in Auct. Bayle.

CHAP.

## CHAP. II.

### OF THE INFLUENCE OF THE REFORMATION OF RELIGION UPON THE STATE OF PHILOSOPHY.

IF, at this period, philoſophy was much indebted to the revival of letters, it was not leſs benefited by the Reformation of Religion. For, no ſooner did the friends of truth and virtue apply themſelves to the correction of religious errors, and endeavour to free mankind from the yoke of eccleſiaſtical domination, to which the whole Weſtern world had for many ages tamely ſubmitted, than Philoſophy, which had been loaded with the ſame chains with Religion, began to lift up her head, and to breathe a freer air. Determined no longer to yield implicit obedience to human authority, but to exerciſe their own underſtandings, and follow their own judgments, theſe bold reformers proſecuted religious and philoſophical enquiries with an independent ſpirit, which ſoon led them to diſcover the futility and abſurdity of the Scholaſtic method of philoſophiſing, and enabled them at the ſame time, in a great meaſure, to correct the errors of philoſophy, and to reform the corruptions of religion.

The ſtudy of antient languages being now revived, and the arts of eloquence and criticiſm having now reſumed their antient ſtation, the reformers were ſoon convinced, that ignorance and barbariſm had been among the principal cauſes of the corruption of doctrine and diſcipline in the church. Hence, whilſt theſe honeſt and zealous friends of truth ardently longed for the reformation of religion, they were earneſtly deſirous to ſee philoſophy reſtored to its former purity; and their bold attempts to ſubdue religious error and prejudice indirectly contributed to the correction of philoſophy, and the advancement of learning[a].

[a] Seckendorf. Hiſt. Lutheran. l. i. § 69. Ep. ad Reuchlin. p. 13.

So

So extenſively powerful was the operation of this reforming ſpirit, that it diffuſed its influence beyond the reformers themſelves, to thoſe who ſtill choſe to remain within the verge of the Romiſh church. Many of theſe ſecretly approved of the deſign in which the reformers were engaged; but, either becauſe they were diſſatisfied with the manner in which it was conducted, or becauſe they were afraid to encounter the hazards which attended the undertaking, contented themſelves with admiring the courage of the reformers, and lending them concealed and indirect aſſiſtance. Perceiving that the Scholaſtic method of philoſophiſing had been the chief cauſe of the evils which had ariſen in the church, theſe men, ſeveral of whom were eminently diſtinguiſhed for genius and learning, judiciouſly endeavoured to correct religion, by firſt correcting philoſophy. Some inveighed ſeriouſly againſt the prevailing corruptions of ſcience and learning, and painted, in ſtrong colours, the diſtorted features of the Scholaſtic philoſophy, and the miſchiefs which it had produced in the learned world. Others, calling in the aid of wit and ſatire, held up its deformities to public ridicule. Theſe attacks upon the eſtabliſhed inſtitutions and practices of the ſchools, raiſed a violent ferment among thoſe who were intereſted in their ſupport, and brought upon the heads of their opponents a load of calumny, reproach, and perſecution. But this violence ſerved no other purpoſe, than to expoſe the weakneſs of the cauſe of the aſſailants, and to bring Scholaſtic philoſophy into general contempt. The intereſts of learning and religion were ſo much indebted to theſe Caſtigators of the Scholaſtics, that it would be injuſtice to their memory, not to give the principal of them a place in this work [a].

The learning and ability of that great man, Erasmus [b] of Rotterdam, and the ſervices which he rendered to learning and religion, are well known. But his ſerious labours having been chiefly of the philo-

[a] Conf. Adam. Vit. Phil. p. 336. Thuan. ad Ann. 1547. Teiſſier Eloges, t. i. p. 7. Blount. Cenſ. p. 595. Eraſmi Encom. Moriæ. Epiſtolæ Obſcurorum Virorum.

[b] Adami Vit. p. 98. Le Clerc. Bibl. t. vii. p. 215. Bayle. Jortin's Life of Eraſmus.

logical kind, he appears as a philoſopher in no other light than as a keen obſerver, and humorous cenſor, of falſe philoſophy, in his incomparable treatiſe intituled "The Praiſe of Folly," and in other parts of his writings. His penetrating genius, extenſive reading, and elegant taſte, gave him great weight among his contemporaries, and added much efficacy to his uſeful labours. The ſevere ſarcaſms which he caſt upon the Scholaſtics, created him enemies, and ſubjected him to hardſhips; but he never ceaſed to chaſtiſe folly, and to approve himſelf a true friend to ſolid learning and ſound philoſophy. Eraſmus was born in the year one thouſand four hundred and ſixty-ſeven, and died in one thouſand five hundred and thirty-ſix. His numerous works were publiſhed in ten volumes folio, at Leyden, 1706.

The footſteps of Eraſmus were cloſely followed by LUDOVICUS VIVES[a], a native of Valentia, in Spain, who, though well trained in all the ſubtleties of the Scholaſtic philoſophy at Paris, had the good ſenſe to diſcover its futility, and diligently applied himſelf to more uſeful ſtudies. At Louvain, he undertook the office of a preceptor, and exerted himſelf with great ability and ſucceſs in correcting barbariſm, chaſtiſing the corrupters of learning, and reviving a taſte for true ſcience and elegant letters. Eraſmus, with whom he lived upon the footing of intimate friendſhip, ſpeaking of Vives when he was only twenty-ſix years of age, ſays[b], that there was no part of philoſophy in which he did not excel; and that he had made ſuch proficiency in learning, and in the arts of ſpeaking and writing, that he ſcarcely knew his equal. He wrote a commentary upon Auguſtine's treatiſe *De Civitate Dei*, which diſcovers an extenſive acquaintance with antient philoſophy. Henry VIII. of England, to whom he dedicated this work, was ſo pleaſed with it, that he invited the author to his court, and made him preceptor to his daughter Mary. Though he diſcharged his office with great fidelity, yet in conſequence of his oppoſition to the king's divorce, he fell under his diſpleaſure; and it was not without difficulty that he eſcaped to

[a] Blount. l. c. p. 519. Tieſſer Elog. t. i. 266. Nic. Anton. Bib. Hiſp. N t. i. p. 109. Colomeſ. Hiſp. Orient. p. 223. [b] Ep. xix. 101.

Bruges,

Bruges, where he devoted the remainder of his days to ſtudy. He died in the year one thouſand five hundred and thirty-ſeven, or, according to Thuanus, in one thouſand five hundred and forty-one. With Eraſmus and Buddæus, he formed a triumvirate of literature, which did honour to the age. He wrote *De Prima Philoſophia*, "On the Firſt Philoſophy;" *De Explanatione Eſſentiarum*, "On the Explanation of Eſſences;" *De Cenſura Veri*, "On the Teſt of Truth;" *De Initiis, Sectis, et Laudibus Philoſophiæ*, "On the Origin, Sects, and Praiſes of Philoſophy;" and *De Corruptis Artibus et Tradendis Diſciplinis* [a], "On the Corruption of Science, and on Education." Theſe writings, of which the two laſt are the moſt valuable, diſcover great ſtrength of judgment, an extenſive knowledge of philoſophy, much enlargement of conception, uncommon ſagacity in detecting the errors of antient and modern philoſophers, particularly of Ariſtotle and his followers, and, in fine, a mind capable of attempting things beyond the ſtandard of the age in which he lived. To all this he added great perſpicuity and elegance of ſtyle, not unworthy of the friend of Eraſmus. Morhoff [b] calls the writings of Vives, Golden Remains, which are worthy to be carefully peruſed by all learned men.

A third ſcourge of Scholaſtic barbariſm was James Faber, or Le Fevre [c], a native of Picardy. He was educated at Paris, but not contented with the learning he acquired there, he travelled through various parts of the world, to converſe with the learned. On his return to France, he declared open war againſt the Scholaſtic philoſophy, and attempted to introduce the genuine Ariſtotelian philoſophy, and to diſſeminate a taſte for mathematical learning. Beſides theological works, he wrote commentaries upon the dialectics, phyſics, politics, and œconomics of Ariſtotle. One of his contemporaries, ſpeaking of theſe commentaries, ſays [d], "Faber has rendered the Peripatetic doctrine ſo clear, that we have no longer

[a] Ed. Lugd. 1551, 8°. [b] Polyhiſt. t. i. l. ii. c. 2 § 34.
[c] Jovius. c. 121. Bayle. Art. Le Fevre. Blount, p. 521.
[d] Rhenan Ep. ad Reuchlin, p. 52.

any

any occaſion for Ammonius, Simplicius, or Philoponus." Another ſays [a], "Faber was the firſt among the French, as Cicero among the Romans, who united philoſophy and eloquence." The boldneſs with which he oppoſed the corruption of philoſophy brought upon him a ſuſpicion of hereſy, and the perſecution of the doctors of the Sorbonne; but he found a ſecure aſylum in the court of Margaret Queen of Navarre, where he is ſaid to have lived to the age of a hundred years.

About the ſame time aroſe MARIUS NIZOLIUS [b], of Bruſſels, a ſevere caſtigator of barbariſm. He was an enthuſiaſtic admirer of the purity and eloquence of the ſtyle of Tully; and, to promote a taſte for correct and elegant literature, he wrote his *Theſaurus Ciceronianus*, "Ciceronian Treaſury." By a natural aſſociation, he extended his attachment to Cicero from his language to his philoſophy; and maintained a ſtrenuous conteſt in favour of Cicero with ſeveral learned men. In the courſe of the diſpute he wrote a treatiſe *De veris Principiis et vera Ratione Philoſophandi* [c], "On the true Principles and Method of Philoſophiſing," in which he vehemently cenſured the followers of the Stagyrite, and particularly the Scholaſtics, chiefly for the corruptions they had introduced into the Latin language.

But the moſt direct and ſucceſsful attack upon the Scholaſtic philoſophy was made by the Reformers. Perceiving that the human underſtanding was clouded, and the freedom of enquiry reſtrained, by the forms of the ſchools, and that nothing contributed ſo much to perpetuate ſuperſtition and error in the church, as falſe philoſophy, theſe great and able men concluded, that the diſeaſe admitted of no palliative; that, in order to produce any great and laſting effect, it was not ſufficient barely to lop off the heads of the tares which had ſprung up in the church, but that it was become neceſſary to tear them up by the roots. They therefore, with a degree of magnanimity which entitles them to immortal honour, made a bold and open

[a] Wimpheling, c. 15. p. 236. [b] Morhoff. t. i. l. i. c. 25. § 26.
[c] Ed. 1553. Leibnibz. 1670. Ep. Leibn. t. ii. p. 63.

attack at once upon the corruption of philoſophy and theology; laying open the numerous evils which the Scholaſtic mode of philoſophiſing had introduced into religion; ſhewing by what puerile arts, and with how much injury to truth, both natural and divine, it had maintained its authority; and exhorting young men to leave ſuch faithleſs guides, and give themſelves up wholly to the direction of Reaſon and Revelation.

The leader in this arduous and meritorious undertaking was the great reformer MARTIN LUTHER [a], born at Eiſlaben, in Saxony, in the year one thouſand four hundred and eighty-three. He was early initiated in the Peripatetic philoſophy, but ſoon opened his eyes to diſcover its defects. During his reſidence at Wittemburg, in the year one thouſand five hundred and ſixteen, he wrote to Jodocus, a zealous Ariſtotelian, who had been his preceptor in the univerſity at Erford, ſtating his doubts both reſpecting the doctrines of Ariſtotle and of Porphyry. Jodocus was ſo much offended with the freedom of his remarks, that, upon his next viſit to Erford, he refuſed to ſee him. Luther, far from being intimidated by this mark of diſpleaſure, afterwards wrote him a ſecond letter, in which he boldly gave it as his opinion, that it would be impoſſible to reform the church, without entirely aboliſhing the canons and decretals, and with them the Scholaſtic theology, philoſophy, and logic, and inſtituting others in their ſtead [b].

In the early part of his life, Luther had ſtudied the writings of Auguſtine, Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, and others, and in the diſpute concerning univerſals, attached himſelf to the party of the Nominaliſts; but maturer age and reflection inſtructed him to treat the whole controverſy, and indeed all the ſubtleties of the Scholaſtics, with contempt. This was probably in part owing to his early acquaintance with the antients, but chiefly to that peculiar ſtrength and ardor of mind, which led him eaſily to diſcover the weakneſs and abſurdity of the prevailing modes of reaſoning and judging upon

[a] Melanchthon. Vit. Luth. ap. Op. L. recuſ. cum Ann. Heumann. Gotting. 1741. 4to. Seckendorf. Hiſt. Lutheran. p. 103. 121. Fabric. Centifol. Luth. p. i. p. 367.

[b] Lutheri Epiſt. i. 10.

theological

theological and philoſophical ſubjects, and to obſerve, with regret and indignation, the fatal effects of corrupt philoſophy united with eccleſiaſtical tyranny. He ſaw much reaſon to conſider the Scholaſtic philoſophy as the foundation of the principal errors which had been introduced into theology, and the chief ſupport of that oppreſſive dominion which the ſee of Rome exerciſed over the conſciences of men; and he regarded the logical and metaphyſical parts of Ariſtotle as the immediate grounds of thoſe diſputes, which had given riſe to the factions of the Thomiſts, Scotiſts, Occamiſts, and others. He therefore rejected both the Scholaſtic and Ariſtotelian philoſophy, as not only irreconcileable with the Chriſtian ſyſtem, but the cauſe of endleſs controverſies in the Chriſtian church. In various parts of his writings he expreſſes great contempt for Ariſtotle and his followers. He aſſerts, that the ſtudy of Ariſtotle was wholly uſeleſs, not only in theology and ſacred learning, but in natural philoſophy [a]. "What doth it contribute," ſays he, "towards the knowledge of things, to be perpetually trifling and cavilling, in language conceived and preſcribed by Ariſtotle, concerning matter, form, motion, and time." And again [b], "I am perſuaded that neither Thomas, nor all the Thomiſts together, ever underſtood a ſingle chapter of Ariſtotle." On ſome occaſions, perhaps, the heat of controverſy might lead Luther to make uſe of language too contemptuous and indignant, in ſpeaking of Ariſtotle and his writings. His indignation, however, was chiefly directed againſt that falſe philoſophy which had been built upon his doctrine, ill underſtood; and his great object was to free the world from the yoke of authority in philoſophy and religion. It is ſufficiently manifeſt from the life and writings of Luther, that he was no enemy to ſound philoſophy.

Melancthon, though he differed in judgment, on many topics, from Luther, and though he ſo far eſpouſed the doctrine of Ariſtotle as to attempt the revival of the pure Peripatetic philoſophy in the ſchools (on which account we ſhall afterwards give him a place

[a] Declarationes ad Heidelbergenſes apud Werenſdorf. Diſſ. de Progreſſu emendatæ per Luth. Relig. p. 20. [b] T. i. Ep. 45.

among the Peripatetics of this period) nevertheleſs perfectly agreed with the Father of the Reformation in his judgment concerning the nature and effects of the Scholaſtic philoſophy. In his writings, we find him frequently complaining of the miſchiefs, which theſe ſubtle ſpeculations had occaſioned[a]: "Ever ſince this method of philoſophiſing has been introduced, antient learning has been deſpiſed, mathematics deſerted, and ſacred ſtudies more negligently cultivated. Among the variety of opinions which prevail in the different Scholaſtic factions, you will ſcarcely find one that is conſiſtent with itſelf. Truth is every where confounded with error, and every doctor is more concerned to gather crowds by his noiſy diſputations, than to diſcover and eſtabliſh ſound philoſophy. In the mean time diſſentions every where ariſe; enmities are cheriſhed; rancour ſupplies the place of that candid ſpirit which ought ever to accompany learning; and the antient union between the Muſes and Graces is diſſolved." Many other followers of Luther, and friends of the reformation, oppoſed the Scholaſtic mode of philoſophiſing, and exerted themſelves to introduce a ſpirit of liberal enquiry.

The cultivation of polite learning, which had revived in Italy, and was now ſpread ſtill further, promoted the ſame good deſign. Though few of thoſe who engaged in critical ſtudies addicted themſelves to any particular ſect of philoſophy, they ſerved the cauſe of ſcience, as well as of literature, by editing and interpreting the philoſophical writings of the antients. In the ſixteenth century, James Sadolet[b], a great admirer of Ciceronian eloquence, wrote an elegant treatiſe *De Laudibus Philoſophiæ*, "On the Praiſes of Philoſophy;" Hieronymus Fracastorius[c] ſtudied nature, and was well acquainted with mathematics and aſtronomy; Camerarius[d] edited, with valuable notes, many antient Greek authors, and among the reſt, Archytas *De Decem Prædicamentis*, "On the Ten Predicaments," Nicomachus *De Theologia Arithmetica*, "On Arithmetical Theology," and Ariſtotle's Ethics; Grynæus[e], whoſe tranſlations from Plato, Ariſtotle, and

[a] De Stud. corrigend. t. i. p. 489. Conf. Orat. adv. Rhadin. t. iii. p. 38.
[b] Blount, p. 573. Teiſſer, t. i. 29. [c] Thuan. ap. Adam. Vit. Med. p. 77.
[d] Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. xiii. p. 493. [e] Adami, p. 118.

Plutarch, ranked him among the learned men of his age, and of whom Eraſmus ſpeaks [a], as a man who with an accurate knowledge of the Grecian and Latin tongues, and an extenſive acquaintance with philoſophical and mathematical ſcience, united an uncommon ſhare of modeſty. Through the aid of ſuch men as theſe, with which the age abounded, philoſophy, as well as literature, revived.

In this manner, and from theſe cauſes, it happened, that the reformation of religion was accompanied with the correction and enlargement of philoſophy; ſo that from this time to the preſent, the ſtudy of ſcience in all its branches has been cultivated with great induſtry and ſucceſs, and it may be truly aſſerted, that ſince the commencement of the ſixteenth century, more has been done towards the advancement of knowledge, than was done in all the preceding ages of the world*.

[a] L. xxvi. ep. 39.

* Videnda. Diſſ. de Relig. Eraſmi, Hamb. 1717. Warton ad Cave. Chaſſanæi Catal. Glor. Mundi. l. x. p. 204. Beyſchlagius Syll. ii. opuſc. p. 263. Rexinger. et Edzard. Diſſ. de Lutheri Ref. Hamb. 1717. Wucherer. de Increm. Phyſ. a Reform. Temp. Jen. 1717. Lehman. de Utilitate Morali Diſcip. Ref. ib. Stockii de bon. Lit. renov. poſt Ref. ib. Elſwich de Fort. Ariſt. in Ac. Prot. Halbauer. Diſſ. de Luth. polit. Lit. Werenſdorf de Prog. emend. Rel. Crenius de Sing. Script. Struvii Bibl. Phil.

CHAP.

# CHAP. III.

# OF THE REVIVAL OF THE ANTIENT SECTARIAN PHILOSOPHY.

## SECT. I.

### OF THE REMAINS OF THE SCHOLASTIC PHILOSOPHY.

WITH what aſſiduity the Scholaſtic philoſophy was oppoſed, with what clearneſs its futility and pernicious tendency were laid open, from the time of the revival of letters to the completion of the reformation in the ſixteenth century, we have already ſeen. And how ſucceſsful theſe attempts were, with men of ſound underſtandings and honeſt minds, who preferred truth to every other conſideration, the whole hiſtory of the revival and improvement of philoſophy will ſhew. But, ſince nothing in human affairs is brought to perfection at once, it is not ſurpriſing that ſome predilection for Scholaſtic ſubtleties ſtill remained. In the midſt of the general ſpirit of reformation and improvement which diſtinguiſhed this period, there were not wanting men, who, from their zealous attachment to antient ſyſtems, and the eccleſiaſtical hierarchy, judged it inexpedient to diſmiſs an ally, to which they had been ſo much indebted. In order therefore to retain this Palladium of the church of Rome, the advocates for eſtabliſhed forms pleaded, that the evils ſo violently complained of, had originated, not from the Scholaſtic method of philoſophiſing, but from the abuſe of it; and that nothing more was

neceſſary to render this philoſophy a uſeful auxiliary to religion, than to chaſtiſe its ſubtleties, and moderate the ſpirit of vain curioſity, and idle diſputation, which had prevailed in the ſchools. Under this futile pretence, the friends of the Romiſh hierarchy retained in their hands an inſtrument, which had been found ſo uſeful in eſtabliſhing and perpetuating the reign of ignorance and ſuperſtition. Hence, whilſt a better method of philoſophiſing was every where elſe adopted, the Scholaſtic philoſophy, ſomewhat corrected by the introduction of Ariſtotle's logic and metaphyſics, was ſtill ſtudied and profeſſed in the colleges and monaſteries belonging to the church of Rome. Even into theſe ſchools indeed ſome rays of light penetrated. A few men of ſuperior genius, and a more liberal ſpirit, even this unfavourable ſoil produced, who ſaw the weakneſs of the pleas upon which the Scholaſtic philoſophy was retained, and who ventured, though with little ſucceſs, to recommend ſalutary innovations.

TOLETUS[a], of Cordova, a Jeſuit, who flouriſhed about the middle of the ſixteenth century, and is celebrated for his learning and the perſpicuity of his writings, philoſophiſed after the genuine manner of the Peripatetic ſchool. RICCIOLUS[b], an Italian Jeſuit, who, in the ſeventeenth century, taught at Bologna and at Parma, ſtudied with great ſucceſs the ſciences of mathematics and aſtronomy. CARAMUEL DE LOBKOWITZ[c], a native of Madrid, born in one thouſand ſix hundred and ſix, obtained a great name for the extent and variety of his learning, and for a ſurpriſing fertility of genius. He pretended to introduce wonderful improvements into every branch of ſcience; but the luxuriancy of his imagination obſtructed the growth of the ſubſtantial fruits of ſound judgment, and his voluminous writings, notwithſtanding all their originality, were ſoon forgotten. HONORATUS FABER[d], born in one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-ſix, and profeſſor of mathematics and philoſophy at Lyons, wrote upon philoſophy, logic, and phyſics. He implicitly

[a] Pinacothec. i. p. 136. [b] Bibl. Soc. Jeſ. p. 416.
[c] N. Anton. Bib. Hiſp. n. t. i. [d] Bibl. Soc. Jeſ. p. 350.

followed

followed neither the Scholaſtics nor the Ariſtotelians, but borrowed light from modern philoſophers, particularly the Carteſians. His innovations, however, brought him under a ſtrong ſuſpicion of hereſy, and produced little effect.

The generality of the Romiſh clergy ſtill retained ſo much of the Scholaſtic ſpirit, that inſtead of promoting, they only retarded the progreſs of true philoſoph . It would therefore be a tedious and fruitleſs taſk to detail their hiſtory. Their writings chiefly conſiſt of ſyſtems of philoſophy, ſummaries of logic, theſes upon Scholaſtic topics, and commentaries upon the works of Ariſtotle and Thomas Aquinas.

The bigotted attachment to antient ſyſtems, which has prevailed in the Romiſh church with reſpect to religion, has always extended itſelf to philoſophy, and has given a permanent eſtabliſhment to the Scholaſtic method of philoſophiſing, which all the wiſdom of modern times has not been able to overturn. It is, however, a happy omen of the entire exorciſm of the dæmons which have ſo long haunted the ſchools, that in many univerſities a better and more extenſive plan of inſtruction has been adopted, which has in a great meaſure precluded the idle dreams of dialectic ſubtlety. In an age in which a rational plan of philoſophiſing was generally followed; in which vague conceptions, unmeaning terms, and uncertain principles were commonly exploded; in which the accurate method of mathematical reaſoning was applied with ſucceſs to other ſciences; in which experimental philoſophy was every where ſtudied and encouraged; and in which the correct uſe of language was an object of attention, it could not but happen that the empty ſhadow of abſtraction would be thrown out of the philoſophical world, to make room for more ſubſtantial and profitable ſtudies.

* Vidend. Melchior. Camus. L. Theol. l. viii. ix. Præf. ad Mabillon. de Stud. Monaſt. Le Cerf Bibl. des Auteurs de la Cong. de S. Maur. N. Anton. Bibl. Hiſp. N. Jac. Echard. de Sc. Domin. Wadding Annal. Ord. Min. Carol. de Viſh. Bibl. Scrip. Ord. Ciſterc. F. Rothfiſher. Ep. ad Cardin. Lettres Provinciales de Montalte. Vavaſor Op. p. 240.

SECT.

## SECT. 2.

### OF THE REVIVAL OF THE GENUINE ARISTOTELIAN PHILOSOPHY.

ALTHOUGH, at the beginning of the ſixteenth century, the Scholaſtic philoſophy began to fall into general contempt, Ariſtotle ſtill retained, in a great degree, his authority. It required more enlargement of thought than the age afforded to diſcard at once a ſyſtem of philoſophy, which had been received with almoſt univerſal approbation, and been ſupported by the united labours of the learned for ſo many centuries; nor was it merely the power of preſcription which eſtabliſhed the dominion of Ariſtotle, ſeveral other cauſes concurred to produce this effect.

The partizans of the Platonic ſyſtem, who, under the patronage of the Medicean family, for a long time maintained their ground againſt the Ariſtotelians, declining with the fortunes of their patrons, the advocates for the Peripatetic philoſophy proportionally increaſed, and, after a violent ſtruggle, eſtabliſhed a victory. It greatly contributed towards this iſſue, that men began at this time to extend their enquiries beyond the region of metaphyſics and theology, into the ſubjects of natural hiſtory and philoſophy. Finding little aſſiſtance in their reſearches into nature in the writings of Plato, they had recourſe to the Stagyrite, who was at this time univerſally allowed to be the beſt guide in the ſtudy of phyſics. And, though in his treatiſes upon this branch of ſcience they met with much obſcurity, and many difficulties, the perſuaſion that they were a rich mine of knowledge, which would amply repay the labour beſtowed upon it, induced them to ſpare no pains to come at his true meaning.

Among the followers of the church of Rome, the Peripatetic philoſophy continued to be zealouſly maintained, on account of the

aſſiſtance which its dialectics afforded them in the defence of the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem; and becauſe many of the doctrines of this ſyſtem coincided with thoſe of the ſchool of Ariſtotle.

The deference which had been long paid to the deciſions of Ariſtotle, even whilſt his works were only read in very imperfect tranſlations, induced the firſt reſtorers of learning to make his writings a principal object of their attention, and to reſt much of their reputation, as editors, tranſlators, and comn entators, upon the manner in which they executed this part of their office. And the brevity and obſcurity of Ariſtotle's ſtyle, his frequent reference to preceding writers, and the injuries which his works had ſuſtained from time, and from the ignorance, negligence, or diſhoneſty of tranſcribers, furniſhed thoſe who were deſirous of diſtinguiſhing themſelves as philologiſts, with an ample field for the diſplay of learning and ingenuity. The firſt race of critics upon Ariſtotle, after the revival of letters, and the invention of printing, employed themſelves in verbal rather than philoſophical criticiſm, and took more pains to fix the true reading, and explain the grammatical conſtruction of their author, than to inveſtigate or illuſtrate his philoſophical tenets. But it was ſoon found that a knowledge of philoſophy, as well as an attention to the rules of criticiſm, was neceſſary in writing notes upon Ariſtotle; and the ſecond race of commentators, from Pomponatius to the middle of the ſeventeenth century, were chiefly employed in aſcertaining and reſtoring the true Ariſtotelian philoſophy.

Even among the reformers, though Luther was a profeſſed enemy to Ariſtotle, his philoſophy had many admirers. Melancthon, as we ſhall afterwards ſee, approved of and encouraged the ſtudy of his dialectics and metaphyſics, as a uſeful exerciſe of the underſtanding, and only objected to the miſapplication of them in theological queſtions. It is to be regretted, that a man of ſuch ſuperior abilities, and in every other reſpect of ſo independent a ſpirit, ſhould addict himſelf to any ſect, and chuſe rather to be an interpreter of Ariſtotle, than to follow the courſe of his own ideas, and philoſophiſe for himſelf. The conſequence was, that Ariſtotle, who, in the zeal of

reformation, had been driven out of the church, was again ſuffered to ſteal in; and that, after the thorns which Scholaſtic philoſophy and ſubtlety had planted were extirpated, the ground was again encumbered with barren weeds. This was the only reaſon why, among Proteſtants, to whom the authority of Ariſtotle could be of little uſe, and who ought to have exerciſed the ſame freedom of thinking in philoſophy as in religion, the doctrine of Ariſtotle prevailed even till the time of Bacon, Grotius, and Des Cartes.

It would be an endleſs undertaking to enumerate all the learned men, who, in the fifteenth and ſixteenth centuries, attached themſelves to the Ariſtotelian ſyſtem. We ſhall ſelect a few of the more celebrated names.

Among the Roman Catholics, NICHOLAS LEONICUS THOMÆUS[a], a Venetian, born in the year one thouſand four hundred and fifty-ſeven, ſeems to have been among the firſt who attempted to reſtore the genuine Ariſtotelian philoſophy. His preceptor in Grecian learning, and other branches of literature, was Demetrius Chalcondylas, of Florence. He derived his knowledge both of the Platonic and Ariſtotelian philoſophy from their pureſt fountains; and preferring the latter, opened a Peripatetic ſchool in Padua, and wrote commentaries upon Ariſtotle's phyſics. Eraſmus[b] ſpeaks of him as an excellent philoſopher, a profound ſcholar, and a good man. He died in the year one thouſand five hundred and twenty-one.

At this period flouriſhed POMPONATIUS[c], of Mantua, who was born in the year one thouſand four hundred and ſixty-two, and died in one thouſand five hundred and twenty-five. He taught the doctrines of Ariſtotle and Averroës in the ſchools of Padua and Bologna. Though much addicted to ſuperſtition and fanaticiſm, and a zealous advocate for judicial aſtrology, as appears from his book

[a] Jovius, l. c. c. 91. Fabr. Bib. L. M. t. iv. p. 788. Patricii Diſq. Perip. l. iii. p. 149. Bayle.

[b] In Ciceroniano.

[c] Jovius, l. c. c. 71. Niceron. Memoires, t. xxv. Bayle. J. Olearius de Pomponatio. Jenæ, 1709.

*De Incantationibus*, "On Enchantments," he had an underſtanding capable of penetrating into the depths of the Peripatetic ſyſtem, in the ſtudy of which he chiefly followed the commentaries of Aphrodiſæus. His writings, though barbarous and inelegant in ſtyle, diſcover great acuteneſs and ſubtlety of thought. He publicly taught the natural mortality of the ſoul, and maintained that the whole proof of a future exiſtence depends upon revelation. His doctrine upon this ſubject became ſo popular, that pope Leo X. thought it neceſſary to iſſue a bull to ſuppreſs it. His book *De Immortalitate Animæ*, "On the Immortality of the Soul," was publicly burnt at Venice, and it was only through the intereſt of cardinal Bembo, that the author eſcaped the flames. He alſo wrote a treatiſe "On Fate and Free-will." Notwithſtanding all his pretended reverence for the doctrines of the church, there can be little doubt, that Pomponatius had more reſpect for the authority of Ariſtotle, than for that of Jeſus Chriſt[a].

Pomponatius had many followers of great celebrity; among whom were, Simon Porta[b], a Neapolitan, who wrote a treatiſe upon the Peripatetic ſyſtem, *De rerum Naturalium Principiis*, "On the Principles of Nature;" and another *De Anima et Mente Humana*, "On the Human Soul and Mind," in which he followed the doctrine of his maſter; Julius Cæsar Scaliger[c], a celebrated philologiſt; and Lazarus Bonamicus[d], who rivalled Eraſmus in elegant Latinity. Vanini the Atheiſt, who wrote two treatiſes, *De Natura Regina Deaque Mortalium*, "On Nature, the Queen and Goddeſs of Mortals; and *Amphitheatrum* "The Amphitheatre," is ſaid by ſome to have been his pupil; but this is impoſſible, for Pomponatius died in the year one thouſand five hundred and twenty-five, and Vanini was not born till the year one thouſand five hundred and eighty-ſix.

[a] Reimann. Hiſt. Ath. ſ. iii. c. 4. § 8.
[b] Thuan. l. xiii. p. 276. Teiſſer. Elog. t. i. p. 197.
[c] Epiſt. 90. [d] Teiſſer. p. 126.

Pomponatius

Pomponatius found an able opponent in AUGUSTINE NIPHUS[a], a native of Calabria, who, like many other learned men of this age, practiſed medicine, at the ſame time that he taught philoſophy. He wrote his treatiſe *De Immortalitate Animæ*, "On the Immortality of the Soul," by order of pope Leo X. in which he undertook to prove that this doctrine is not contrary to the principles of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy. Niphus, like many other learned men of this period, affected in his writings a groſs kind of wit, which was not very conſiſtent either with the dignity of philoſophy, or with purity of morals: an unqueſtionable proof of great corruption of principle, as well as depravity of taſte.

MAJORAGIUS, of Milan; SEPULVEDA, of Cordova; PETER VICTOR, of Florence; ZABARELLA, of Padua; STROZZA, of Florence; with many others, whoſe names are preſerved in the literary hiſtories of theſe times, are chiefly known as commentators upon Ariſtotle[b]. CÆSALPINUS[c], an Italian, born in the year one thouſand five hundred and nine, was an eminent phyſician, who made a conſiderable progreſs in the diſcovery of the circulation of the blood, afterwards completed by Harvey. He wrote *Queſtiones Peripateticæ*[d], "Peripatetic Queſtions." He adopted opinions ſimilar to thoſe which were afterwards held by Spinoza. CÆSAR CREMONINUS[e], of Modena, born in the year one thouſand five hundred and fifty, was a zealous follower of Ariſtotle, and privately maintained opinions contrary to the Chriſtian faith.

Among the Proteſtants, eſpecially in Germany, philoſophy was at this period diligently ſtudied; and in their public ſchools we find many learned men, who, as far as their ſuperior reverence for Jeſus Chriſt would permit, were followers of Ariſtotle. At the commencement of the reformation indeed, both the Scholaſtic philo-

[a] Niceron. Mem. t. xviii. Bayle.

[b] Conf. Tieffer. N. Anton. Imp. Muſ. Hiſt. Huet. de clar. Interp. Bayle. Eurithr. Pinacoth.

[c] Vit. Select. Uratiſl. 1711. Ep. Richter. p. 23.

[d] Ed. Franckf. 1597.

[e] Imp. Muſ. p. 173. Craſſ. Elog. t. ii. p. 124. Bayle.

ſophy,

ſophy, and the dogmas of Ariſtotle, were rejected with great indignation, particularly, as we have ſeen, by Martin Luther. But afterwards, when men of the ſoundeſt judgment and beſt erudition perceived the value of philoſophy as a guard againſt fanaticiſm, much pains was taken to promote learning, and encourage a love of ſcience [a].

The firſt place in this claſs of reformers is unqueſtionably due to Philip Melanchthon [b], who was born at Bretten, in Upper Saxony, in the year one thouſand four hundred and ninety-ſeven. At twelve years of age he was ſent to Heidelberg, where he ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his excellent abilities, ſweetneſs of temper, and urbanity of manners, and obtained the confidence and friendſhip of many learned men. Before he was fourteen years old, he ſtudied the Greek language with ſuch attention that he wrote rudiments of that language, which were afterwards publiſhed. From Heidelberg he was removed to Tubingen, where he attended upon profeſſors in various branches of ſcience, and acquired a large ſtore of erudition. Having early formed a taſte for perſpicuity and correctneſs in writing, and being concerned that every literary and ſcientific purſuit is valuable, only in proportion as it admits of ſome uſeful application, he was much diſſatisfied with the ſubtle and unintereſting ſpeculations which ſtill occupied the ſchools, and frequently amuſed himſelf with expoſing them to ridicule. He ſpent the greater part of his time in the ſtudy of the antients and the holy ſcriptures. At ſeventeen years of age, in the year one thouſand five hundred and thirteen, he received the degree of Maſter of Philoſophy, and immediately undertook the office of preceptor. His firſt inſtructions were confined to the Latin tongue, which he was even at that time well qualified to teach. He was then requeſted to give lectures upon oratory, which he did, by commenting upon Cicero and Livy, as the beſt models. In the Scholaſtic controverſy between the

[a] Elſwich de Fort. Ariſt. in Acad. Proteſt. Laun. de Fort. Ariſt. Flacius Clav. Script. p. i.

[b] Vit. Mel. a Camerario, Winſhemio, Adamo. Seckendorf. Hiſt. Luth.

Realiſts

Realiſts and Nominaliſts, in which he ranked among the latter, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his mildneſs and moderation, no leſs than by the ſtrength and clearneſs with which he maintained his opinions.

From Tubingen, Melanchthon was removed by the favour of Frederic Elector of Saxony, in the year one thouſand five hundred and eighteen, to a new college eſtabliſhed by that prince at Wittenburg, in which he was appointed profeſſor of the Greek language. Through the zeal of Martin Luther, the reformation had at this time made a conſiderable progreſs; but the clouds of barbariſm were not yet diſperſed from the philoſophical and literary world. This was a matter of infinite regret to Luther, whoſe active mind was impatient to diſſipate the darkneſs which ſurrounded it. He therefore gladly embraced the opportunity, which the reſidence of Melanchthon in Wittenburg gave him, of entering into friendſhip with a man ſo well inclined to ſecond his views, and ſo able to aſſiſt him in accompliſhing his deſigns. Literature, philoſophy, and theology ſoon experienced the happy effects of this alliance. The profound learning, ſound judgment, and cultivated taſte of Melanchthon enabled him to correct many errors and abuſes which had crept into the public ſchools. The honeſt zeal and the independent ſpirit of Martin Luther ſupported him in the proſecution of his great undertaking, the reformation of the church. Both adopted the ſame leading views; both were inſpired with the ſame love of truth, the ſame integrity, and the ſame deſire of reſcuing mankind from the dominion of ignorance and bigotry. Yet their natural tempers were different, the one having perhaps too much gentleneſs of diſpoſition, whilſt the other poſſeſſed a degree of ardour, which required ſome reſtraint. The beſt effects were therefore to be expected from the ſtrict friendſhip, which, at this time, took place between Luther and Melanchthon; and the ſubſequent hiſtory of this period correſponds to this expectation.

Philoſophy, however, was chiefly indebted to Melanchthon. The deep intereſt which he took in the reformation of religion, did not prevent his attention to the improvement of literature and ſcience.

In

In order to excite a ſpirit of emulation in the public ſchools, and ſuggeſt hints of improvement, he frequently delivered public diſcourſes on the beſt method of proſecuting the ſtudy of philoſophy, which abounded with good ſenſe and ſound learning. With the ſame deſign he wrote, for the uſe of ſtudents, compendiums of Dialectics, Ethics, and Phyſics, and a treatiſe "On the Soul," the deſign of which was [a], to free the ſchools from the nugatory ſubtleties and idle labours of the Scholaſtics, and to confine the attention of young men to uſeful ſtudies. He induſtriouſly ranſacked the writings of the antients, to collect from them, in every branch of learning, whatever was moſt deſerving of attention. Mathematical ſtudies he held in high eſtimation, as appears from his Declamation [b] *De Mathematicis Diſciplinis*, "On Mathematical Learning," which will very well repay the trouble of peruſal. In philoſophy he followed Ariſtotle as, in his judgment, the moſt ſcientific and methodical guide, but always in due ſubordination to Revelation, and only ſo far as was likely to anſwer ſome valuable purpoſe. "I would have no one," ſays he, "trifle in philoſophiſing, leſt he ſhould at length even loſe ſight of common ſenſe; rather let him be careful both in the ſtudy of phyſics and morals, to ſelect the beſt things from the beſt ſources [c]."

If the particular caſt of Melanchthon's mind be conſidered, it will not be thought ſurpriſing, that in philoſophy he preferred a moderate attachment to a particular ſect, to any bold attempt at perfect innovation. Though he poſſeſſed a ſound underſtanding and amiable temper, he wanted that ſtrength and hardineſs of ſpirit, which might have enabled him to have done in philoſophy, what Luther did in religion. He therefore choſe rather to correct the eſtabliſhed mode of philoſophiſing, than to introduce a method entirely new. If it be a juſt occaſion of regret, that in conſequence of the natural gentleneſs, and perhaps timidity, of his temper, he proceeded no further, it ought not to be forgotten, that while religion was much indebted to his cool and temperate, but honeſt, exertions, philoſophy was not

[a] Ep. l. i. p. 350. [b] Op. t. iii. p. 239.
[b] De Stud. Corrig. t. i. Decl. p. 506.

without

without obligation to him, for the pains which he took to correct its excentricities, and to adorn it with the graces of eloquence.

After a life, in which temperance had enabled him to maintain a long ſtruggle with infirmity, and in which integrity, moderation, candour, and meekneſs, had given him a juſt title to the character of a Chriſtian philoſopher, Melancthon died, in the year one thouſand five hundred and ſixty, leaving behind him a name immortalized by learning and piety.

Melancthon made uſe of the extenſive influence, which his high reputation, and the favour of the reigning elector of Saxony, gave him in the German ſchools, in which he was conſidered as a kind of common preceptor, to unite the ſtudy of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy with that of antient learning in general. And he was much aſſiſted in the execution of this deſign, by the labours of many learned proteſtants of the Germanic ſchools from Italy and Great Britain, who brought with them an attachment to the Peripatetic ſyſtem, and, wherever they were appointed public preceptors, made that ſyſtem the baſis of their philoſophical inſtructions. From Wittenburg, Tubingen, Leipſic, and other ſeminaries, conducted after the manner which was introduced by Melancthon, many learned men aroſe, who, becoming themſelves preceptors, adopted the ſame plan of inſtruction, which from Melancthon was called the Philippic Method; and thus diſſeminated the Peripatetic doctrine, till at length it was almoſt every where taught in the German Proteſtants ſchools, under the ſanction of civil and eccleſiaſtical authority [a].

At Leipſic, SIMON SIMON, of Lucca, left his native country to join the reformers at Geneva. Here, after having, through the injudicious zeal of Beza and other Genevan divines, fallen under eccleſiaſtical cenſure, and ſuffered impriſonment for holding antitrinitarian tenets, he was admitted to the profeſſorſhip of philoſophy. He for ſome time enjoyed the patronage and confidence of Auguſtus, elector of Saxony; but his colleagues, through bigotry or envy, ſoon found means to bring againſt him new accuſations of hereſy, and

[a] Melanch. Declam. t. i. p. 334. 353. 506. t. ii. p. 360. 370. t. iii. p. 371. Mayer. de nimia Lenitate Phil. Melanch. [b] Bayle,

obliged him to reſign his ſtation. He withdrew to Poland, where he practiſed phyſic, and lived ſeveral years, under the protection of the reigning prince. Beſides ſeveral medical works, he wrote a treatiſe *De Senſuum Inſtrumentis*, "On the Inſtruments of the Senſes;" and another *De vera Nobilitate*, "On True Nobility;" and Commentaries upon Ariſtotle *de Memoria*, and upon his books *To Nichomachus*.

In the Academy at Tubingen, flouriſhed JACOBUS SCHEGKIUS[a], and in that of Altdorf, PHILIP SCHERBIUS[b]. Both acquired great reputation as preceptors of the pure doctrine of Ariſtotle, and both defended the Peripatetic philoſophy againſt the followers of Ramus.

Contemporary with Scherbius, and of the ſame ſchool, was NICHOLAS TAURELLUS[c], who, though he for the moſt part followed Ariſtotle in logic, phyſics, and metaphyſics, corrected his doctrines with great freedom, and ventured to reject them wherever he judged them to be contrary to reaſon and revelation. His profeſſed maxim was, in matters of philoſophy, to ſubmit implicitly to the authority of no maſter. His freedom ſubjected him to much obloquy.

ERNESTUS SONERUS[d], a native of Nuremberg, and a pupil of Scherbius, taught medicine and the Ariſtotelian philoſophy at Altdorf. He travelled with two young men of noble rank through Italy, France, Holland, and Great Britain, and formed an extenſive acquaintance with men of learning. After his return home, he became a popular preceptor in phyſics and medicine, in which he chiefly followed Ariſtotle and Galen. He was a zealous and able advocate for the doctrines of Socinus, which had at this time many defenders in Poland and Lithuania. Beſides his Socinian tracts, a treatiſe againſt the eternity of future puniſhment, and other theological works (which are exceedingly ſcarce) he wrote, in philoſophy, a paraphraſe on Ariſtotle *de Interpretatione*, and *Diſputationes Philoſophicæ*, "Philoſophical Diſputations." He was born in one thou-

[a] Adami Vit. Medic. German. p. 200. [b] Baier. Vit. Medic. Altdorf. p. 15.
[c] Adami Vit. Med. p. 403. Bayle. Baier. l. c. p. 16. Feuerlin. Apol. pro Taurello.
[d] Richter Vit. Son. Nuremb. 1614. Zeltner Hiſt. Crypto-Socin. Altdorf. § 17. Baier. p. 26.

ſand

ſand five hundred and ſeventy-two, and died in one thouſand ſix hundred and twelve.

Beſides theſe, there were many other celebrated Germanic philoſophers of this period, whom, for the ſake of brevity, we omit. We muſt not, however, paſs over without notice the eminent ſcholar HERMANNUS CONRINGIUS[a], one of the moſt illuſtrious ornaments of the Germanic ſchools. He was born at Embden, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ſix, and was educated at Leyden, where he made himſelf acquainted with the whole circle of ſciences, but chiefly applied to the ſtudy of theology and medicine. His eminent attainments ſoon procured him diſtinction in the ſchools, and he was appointed profeſſor, firſt of natural philoſophy, and afterwards of medicine, in the univerſity of Brunſwick. Turning his attention to the ſtudy of hiſtory and policy, he became ſo famous in theſe branches of knowledge as to attract the attention of princes. Chriſtina, Queen of Sweden, who was a general patroneſs of learned men, invited Conringius to her court, and upon his arrival received him with the higheſt marks of reſpect. The offer of a liberal appointment could not, however, induce him to relinquiſh the academic life, and after a ſhort time he returned to Juliers. But his uncommon talents for deciding intricate queſtions on policy were not long ſuffered to lie dormant. The Elector Palatine, the Elector of Mentz, the Duke of Brunſwick, the Emperor of Germany, and Louis the Fourteenth of France, all conſulted this great man, and conferred upon him honours and rewards. And, if univerſal learning, ſound judgment, and indefatigable application can entitle a man to reſpect, Conringius merited all the diſtinction he obtained. The great extent of his abilities and learning appears from the number and variety of his literary productions. His polemic writings prove him to have been deeply read in theology. His medical knowledge appears from his "Introduction to the Medical Art," and his "Compariſon of the Medical Practice of the antient Egyptians and the modern Paracelſians." The numerous treatiſes which he has

[a] Corberi Vit. Conring. Præf. Synt. Ep. Conring.

left on the Germanic Inſtitution, and other ſubjects of policy and law, evince the depth and accuracy of his juridical learning. His book, *De Hermetica Medicina*, "On Hermetic Medicine," and his *Antiquitates Academicæ*, "Academic Antiquities," diſcover a correct acquaintance with the hiſtory of philoſophy. It is to be regretted, that this great man was never able wholly to diſengage himſelf from the prepoſſeſſion in favour of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, which he imbibed in his youth. Although he had the good ſenſe to correct the more barren parts of his philoſophy, and was not ignorant that his ſyſtem was in ſome particulars defective, he ſtill looked up to the Stagyrite as the beſt guide in the purſuit of truth. It was owing to his partiality for antient philoſophy, particularly for that of Ariſtotle, that Conringius was a violent opponent of the Carteſian ſyſtem. The term of his life, which was induſtriouſly occupied in ſtudy, was ſeventy-ſix years. His works are publiſhed entire in ſix volumes folio [a].

To the liſt of the learned men of this period, who favoured the Peripatetic doctrine, we ſhall add Christianus Drierus [b], a native of Stetin, in Pomerania, the author of a treatiſe entitled *Philoſophia prima*, "The Firſt Philoſophy," and of ſeveral diſſertations, which caſt much light upon the hiſtory and genius of the Peripatetic philoſophy: Melchior Zeidler [c], of the ſame place, the author of "An Introduction to Ariſtotle," and "A Diſſertation on the various Methods of Reaſoning made uſe of by the Antients:" and Jacobus Thomasius [d], of Leipſic, who wrote ſeveral metaphyſical treatiſes, but is chiefly memorable as the preceptor of the illuſtrious Leibnitz.

The preceding particulars reſpecting the more eminent adherents to the Peripatetic ſyſtem, from the revival of letters to the eighteenth century, compared with the view, given in a former part of this work, of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, may enable the reader to form a judgment concerning the manner in which this philoſophy was taught and profeſſed, after it had been in ſome meaſure freed from

[a] Ed. Brunſuig. 1730. [b] Reiman. Hiſt. Lit. Germ. p. iv. p. 33.
[c] Vit. ap. Op. Helmſt. 1689. [d] Hagen. Mem. Phil. Renov. p. 273.

the quibbles and ſubtleties of the Scholaſtics. A few general remarks on modern Peripatetic philoſophy ſhall therefore cloſe this ſection.

Whatever praiſe may be due to thoſe learned men who endeavoured to reſtore the dogmas of the Stagyrite to their purity, it is to be lamented, that they retained ſo much reverence for his authority, as to think it neceſſary to follow him as their guide. That this was the prevailing opinion of the learned in Italy, France, Germany, and England, from the reſtoration of learning to the end of the ſeventeenth century, appears from the whole hiſtory of philoſophy during this period. Though they had ſeen the deformed aſpect which philoſophy had for ſeveral ages borne, they imputed this rather to the infelicity of the times, than to any defect in the nature of the Sectarian philoſophy; and concluded, that if they could reſtore this philoſophy to its original purity, they ſhould accompliſh every thing that could be wiſhed. Wholly unaccuſtomed to ſteer their courſe without a pilot, they diſtruſted their ability to direct themſelves, and thought it ſafer, as well as more modeſt, to commit themſelves to the direction of ſo celebrated a guide as Ariſtotle. Entering upon the ſtudy of ſcience with ſo ſtrong a prejudice in favour of their preceptor, few thought of examining his doctrines, fewer doubted of their truth, and ſtill fewer ventured to forſake them. Learned men were, almoſt univerſally, more ſolicitous to know what Ariſtotle taught, than to diſcover what reaſon dictates. Hence, inſtead of becoming philoſophers they became mere interpreters of Ariſtotle; their labour was employed, not in inveſtigating truth, but in endeavouring to remove the difficulties and obſcurities which hung upon the doctrines and writings of their inſtructor.

The cauſes which, even after the revival of learning, perpetuated this blind reſpect for the name and authority of Ariſtotle, will be eaſily diſcovered by any one who attentively obſerves the circumſtances of the times. The prejudice in favour of antiquity had now taken deep root; and it was univerſally believed, that the antient Grecians had attained the ſummit of ſcience, and that nothing could be added to the ſtores of wiſdom which they had tranſmitted to poſterity.

poſterity. Among the Greek philoſophers Ariſtotle was almoſt univerſally allowed the firſt place, for depth of erudition, ſolidity of judgment, and accuracy of reaſoning. His empire had now been ſo long eſtabliſhed, that even thoſe who gave the preference to Plato were afraid wholly to reject the Stagyrite, and were willing that theſe two princes of philoſophy ſhould poſſeſs united authority. Nor could it poſſibly be otherwiſe, ſo long as the name of Ariſtotle was held forth to young perſons as an object of reverence, by parents, preceptors, and heads of colleges, and his writings continued to be zealouſly recommended by the general body of the learned. The authority of Ariſtotle was further confirmed, by the intimate alliance which had, long before this time, been formed between the dogmas of the Peripatetic philoſophy and the religious creed of the church. From the metaphyſical parts of this philoſophy ſeveral tenets had been blended with the Chriſtian ſyſtem, and the whole courſe of ſacred inſtruction had been formed upon the model of Ariſtotle's dialectics; whence this philoſophy was now ſo interwoven with the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, that to attempt a ſeparation would be to hazard the whole fabric on which its benefits, powers, honours, and emoluments depended. To theſe may be added a third cauſe, immediately ariſing from the revival of letters. This happy event was, as we have ſeen, chiefly owing to the arrival of learned Greeks in Italy, at the time of the diſſolution of the Eaſtern empire. By means of their inſtruction and example, a general taſte for antient learning was introduced; and the Greek writers of every claſs were read and admired. Among the reſt, the philoſophers, who were held up by the Grecians as oracles of wiſdom, were eagerly ſtudied; particularly Plato, on account of the ſuppoſed divine origin of his theological doctrine; and Ariſtotle, on account of his ſtrict method of reaſoning, and the ſcientific accuracy of his writings.

The general prepoſſeſſion in favour of the Ariſtotelian ſyſtem, which from theſe and other cauſes prevailed for ſeveral centuries after the revival of letters, was attended with much inconvenience and miſchief. The reformers of philoſophy, obſerving that the ſcholaſtics, in order to harmonize the Ariſtotelian ſyſtem with the doctrines

doctrines of Chriſtianity, had repreſented the Stagyrite under fictitious colours, determined to embrace his real tenets as they are found in his writings. Whence they imbibed opinions from the Peripatetic philoſophy wholly inconſiſtent with the principles of true religion; ſuch as, for example, that God, the firſt mover, wholly intent upon the contemplation of his own intellect, diſregards the affairs of the world; that the Intelligence, which preſides over the lower ſphere, is the Univerſal Soul of the world, of which all men partake; and conſequently, that the ſoul of man has no diſtinct exiſtence, and will no longer ſubſiſt as ſuch, than whilſt the body continues to live. Theſe, and other ſimilar tenets, were commonly embraced by the modern Peripatetics, eſpecially in Italy, who thought that they paid ſufficient reſpect to religion, if they pretended, as Chriſtians, to embrace a different creed, though they were not able to reconcile it with the dogmas which they were taught by reaſon and philoſophy. In this manner, Pomponatius, Caſalpinus, Cremoninus, and others, caſt the thin veil of religious profeſſion over real infidelity. This miſchief proceeded to ſuch an extreme, that the minds of the multitude, both eccleſiaſtics and laity, were at this time deeply tinctured with atheiſm; and this fatal relaxation of principle produced an uncommon depravity of manners. A regard to the providence and authority of God, and the fear of future puniſhment, having almoſt wholly loſt their influence upon the minds of thoſe who ſtill called themſelves, not only philoſophers, but Chriſtians, ſobriety and decency were abandoned in their converſation, and the groſſeſt impiety and obſcenity diſgraced their writings.

This ſwelling torrent of profaneneſs, the fathers of the Lateran council in vain endeavoured to ſtem, by a bull which, in the year one thouſand five hundred and ten, was iſſued againſt the Ariſtotelian corruptions. The Peripatetics ridiculed this idle fulmination; for they were not ignorant, that the Pontiff himſelf, Leo X. and the Cardinal, Peter Bembo, by whom the bull was iſſued, lay under a ſtrong ſuſpicion of being themſelves infidels. Subſequent eccleſiaſtical decrees lopped off ſome of the branches of this ſpreading impiety, but no one ſaw the neceſſity, or had the courage

to

to root up the tree. The public guardians of religion were, or ſeemed to be, ignorant that the errors of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy lay at the foundation of this corruption. Themſelves infected with the diſeaſe which they undertook to cure, if the Chriſtian faith was profeſſed in words, they thought it of little conſequence what tenets were in reality believed. In order to throw duſt into the eyes of the people, the eccleſiaſtics profeſſed to yield ſuch implicit ſubmiſſion to the authority of the church, as to embrace its decrees, though they were wholly irreconcileable with the invincible reaſonings of the Peripatetic ſchools. Under this maſk they did not ſcruple publicly to defend any kind of impiety, only adding this caution, that they propoſed poſitions of this kind merely in the way of ſpeculation, and though they might be true according to Ariſtotle, they were falſe according to the deciſions of the church, to which they humbly ſubmitted, though they were not able to diſcover the reaſons upon which they were founded. Such pitiful evaſions, though they might ſuffice to ſecure the credit of the church among an ignorant populace, proved highly injurious to good morals, by encouraging fraud and hypocriſy. The motto of Cremoninus ſeems to have expreſſed the general ſenſe of the Peripatetic clergy of this period, *Intus ut libet, foris ut moris eſt:* "Abroad, with the people; at home, as you pleaſe."

The Stagyrite having, for many centuries, poſſeſſed authority in the ſchools little inferior to that of Jeſus Chriſt in the church, and his dogmas being intimately interwoven with thoſe of religion, it was thought exceedingly hazardous to whiſper any thing to the diſcredit of his philoſophy. The learned Berigard, who was ſenſible of many errors in this ſyſtem, declares[a], "that in lecturing upon Ariſtotle he did not think himſelf at liberty to give his own opinion, leſt he ſhould be thought to treat his maſter with contempt[b], and to trample upon the aſhes of the antients." This reverence for Ariſtotle was ſtill ſupported, in popiſh univerſities, by ſtatutes, which required the profeſſors to promiſe upon oath, that in their public lec-

[a] Præf. Circul. Piſan.

[b] Ne in magiſtrum deſpuere, et apolactizare, ut ait Plautus, velle videar.

tures

tures on philoſophy they would follow no other guide. It is eaſy to perceive, that, if freedom of ſpeech, even at the very fountain head of inſtruction, was thus reſtricted, there could be little ſcope for freedom of enquiry, and little probability of the advancement of knowledge.

Among Proteſtants, the errors and corruptions of the Peripatetic philoſophy met with oppoſition; but it was attended with little ſucceſs. Luther, whoſe independent ſpirit roſe ſuperior to all human authority in matters of opinion, and who was fully ſenſible of the miſchiefs which an injudicious reſpect for philoſophy had introduced into religion, was for the entire rejection of Ariſtotle. But the general prejudice in favour of the Stagyrite retained ſuch firm poſſeſſion of the mind of Melancthon, that he judged it the wiſer and ſafer way to adhere to his ſyſtem, except in thoſe particulars in which it directly militated againſt revelation, and thought, that the beſt ſervice he could render to the learned world, was to give a perſpicuous explanation of the Peripatetic philoſophy. His Philippics, which, as we have ſeen, were founded upon Peripatetic principles, obtained an extenſive and laſting authority in the ſchools. And when this ceaſed, the preceptors of philoſophy returned to their antient guide, and Scholaſtic barbariſm was in ſome meaſure revived. The freedom of enquiry, which at this time prevailed among proteſtants, would not, it is true, ſuffer the defects and errors of antient philoſophy to remain unnoticed. Several eminent men even ventured to inveigh againſt Ariſtotle himſelf, as the author of many pernicious errors. But ſtill, his ſyſtem, for the moſt part, retained its authority, and even thoſe who forſook this maſter, thought it neceſſary to make choice of ſome other antient guide; ſo that, after all, the queſtion was, what Ariſtotle, Plato, or Pythagoras had taught, rather than what was truth *.

* Vidend. Adami Vit. Theol. Reimann. Hiſt. Lit. Germ. p. iv. v. Apini Vit. Prof. Phil. Altdorf. Zeltner. Vit. Theol. Altdorf. Matthefii Vit. Luther. Budd. Iſag. l. i. c. 4. Philoſophia Altdorfina, Norimb. 1614. Creni Animadv. Phil. p. 13. Mayer Diſſ. de nimia lenitate, 1707. Arnold Hiſt. Eccl. p. ii. l. xvi. c. 10. Vogtii Catal. Lib. rar. p. 539, 562, &c. Sandii Bibl. Antitrinit. Boecler. Bibl. Crit. c. 40. Morhoff. Polyhiſt. t. ii. l. i. Bayle.

## SECT. 3.

### OF THE REVIVAL OF THE PLATONIC PHILOSOPHY, MIXED WITH THE PYTHAGOREAN AND CABBALISTIC.

THE doctrines of the later Platoniſts having been revived, as we have already related, by the Greek exiles in Italy, their further ſpread is chiefly to be imputed to the averſion, which many good men entertained againſt the Peripatetic philoſophy, on account of the ſhameful impieties to which it had given birth. Perceiving that they could not commit themſelves to the direction of Ariſtotle, without hazarding their religious principles, and not having ſtrength of mind ſufficient to form a ſyſtem of opinions for themſelves, they adopted the philoſophy of Plato, in the corrupted ſtate in which it had been tranſmitted, through the Alexandrian and Chriſtian ſchools, to modern times. This philoſophy was the more readily embraced, becauſe it was believed, that the myſteries of Pythagoras, than which none appeared to approach nearer to thoſe of true religion, had been long ſince united with the wiſdom of Plato. Men hoped to find in this ſchool much divine inſtruction; and they were confirmed in this expectation by the perſuaſion, that its doctrines had been, immediately or remotely, derived from divine revelation. And, as one error naturally produces another, theſe learned men united with this ſyſtem the ſecret or cabbaliſtic philoſophy of the Jews, which, for want of a thorough examination, they conceived to have been the pure doctrine of the antient Hebrews. Hence a new compound of tenets aroſe, ſufficiently myſterious and paradoxical, which was received by this claſs of philoſophers as the ſum of antient wiſdom.

After Pletho, who, as we have related, made uſe of the Jewiſh Cabbala as a key to unlock the Pythagorean myſteries, flouriſhed

JOHN

JOHN REUCHLIN[a], a native of Pforzheim, in Suabia, born in the year one thouſand four hundred and fifty five. In his youth, when he was a ſtudent at Paris, and afterwards when he was a preceptor of languages, firſt at Baſil, and afterwards at Orleans, he was a follower of Ariſtotle. But upon a tour through Italy, which he made with Eberhard, count of Wirtemberg, he became acquainted with Ficinus, Politian, Picus, and other Platoniſts, who reſided at Florence, and embraced their opinions. At Rome, a friend who was offended with the harſhneſs of the German name Reuchlin, prevailed upon him to exchange it, after the common practice of the age, into CAPNIO, a Greek name of the ſame ſignification; whence he was chiefly known among foreigners by that name. Capnio, at Vienna, during an embaſſy to the emperor Frederic III. upon which he was ſent by Count Eberhard, and afterwards at Rome while he was upon an embaſſy to the Pope from the Elector Palatine, proſecuted the ſtudy of the Hebrew language under the direction of certain learned Jews, chiefly that he might have acceſs to the Jewiſh Cabbaliſtic writings, whence he hoped to caſt new light upon the Pythagorean and Platonic doctrines. His knowledge of the Hebrew language unfortunately brought him into great trouble and hazard.

A certain Jewiſh convert, John Pfefferkorn, of Cologne, to ſhew his zeal for Chriſtianity, adviſed the guardians of the Chriſtian faith to burn all the Jewiſh Books, except the Bible, as full of blaſphemy againſt Chriſt; and, through the influence of the monks and theologians of Cologne, obtained from the emperor an edict for this purpoſe. Pfefferkorn himſelf was employed to collect them, and they were brought to Frankfort, to be publicly committed to the flames. The Jews, who juſtly conſidered this proceeding as a grievous perſecution, earneſtly intreated the emperor to ſuſpend the execution of the order, till the books had paſſed under the examination of the learned. The emperor conſented; and Capnio, who

[a] Melancthon Vit. Reuch. Declam. t. iii. p. 280. Reuchl. Delic. libr. de Accentibus. Maii Vit. Reuch. Fr. 1687. 8vo. Reuch. Epiſt. Ed. Tigur. 1558. 8vo. Trithem. c. 920.

was univerſally acknowledged to excel in this kind of learning, was appointed by the elector of Mentz, under the authority of the emperor, to paſs a judgment upon theſe writings. Capnio, though he had not the liberality, or more probably the courage, to oppoſe the whole project, as a violation of an important natural right, and as a diſgrace to Chriſtianity, had, nevertheleſs, too much good ſenſe to adopt, in its full extent, the wretched policy of the authors and promoters of this deſign. He therefore gave it as his opinion, that no other books ſhould be deſtroyed, but thoſe which were found to be written expreſsly againſt Jeſus Chriſt, leſt, with the Jewiſh books on liberal arts and ſciences, their language itſelf, ſo important to the church, ſhould periſh. This opinion was approved by the emperor, and the books were by his authority reſtored to the Jews. Pfefferkorn and his ſupporters were exceedingly enraged againſt Capnio, and purſued him with invectives and accuſations even to the court of Rome. His high reputation in the learned world, however, protected him; and bigotry met with a moſt mortifying defeat in his honourable acquittal.

The ſpleen of the eccleſiaſtics againſt Capnio was ſtill further increaſed by a comedy abounding with keen ſatire, which this writer, whoſe genius was not inferior to his learning, produced; the chief deſign of which was to expoſe the ignorance of the monks. It was at firſt only circulated in manuſcript, but afterwards found its way into the preſs[a].

In the latter part of his life, the adverſaries of Capnio had too much reaſon to exult over him; for notwithſtanding all his learning and celebrity, he was ſcarcely able, by teaching the Greek and Hebrew languages (which he did in ſeveral different ſchools) to preſerve himſelf from abſolute want. He ſpent his laſt days at Trebingen, where he died in the year one thouſand five hundred and twenty-two. His faculties, which were naturally vigorous, were cultivated with great induſtry. His mind was richly ſtored with

[a] Pforzhem, 1507.

various

various erudition, and his character was eminently diſtinguiſhed by probity and urbanity [a].

Whilſt Ficinus was reviving the Platonic philoſophy in Italy, and Faber the Ariſtotelian in France, Capnio profeſſed and taught a myſtical ſyſtem, compounded of Platonic, Pythagoric, and Cabbaliſtic doctrines. He wrote ſeveral profound treatiſes on philoſophy, of which the principal are theſe; *De Verbo Mirifico*, "On the Wonderful Word," and *De Arte Cabbaliſtica*, "On the Cabbaliſtic Art." On the whole, Reuchlin, or Capnio, is certainly to be ranked in the claſs of Myſtics, and deſerves more praiſe for his aſſiduous and ſucceſsful attempts towards the revival of learning, than for any ſervice which he rendered to ſcience. His epiſtles are full of valuable information concerning the literary hiſtory of this period.

A ſimilar track was purſued by GEORGE VENET [b], an obſcure and enthuſiaſtic writer, who mixed ſundry Peripatetic notions with the Platonic and Cabbaliſtic ſyſtems. He was of opinion that Pythagoras and Plato, Orpheus and Zoroaſter, Job and Solomon, St. John and St. Paul, Origen and Dionyſius, all derived their wiſdom from one common ſource, the divine Logos. His chief works are, *Harmonia Mundi*, "The Harmony of the World;" and *Problemata in Scripturam ſacram*, "Problems upon the Sacred Scriptures."

The Myſtic ſyſtem of Cabbaliſtic Platoniſm was ſupported with great ability, and not without a vaſt diſplay of erudition, by HENRY CORNELIUS AGRIPPA [c], a man of wonderful genius, whoſe life was diſtinguiſhed by much viciſſitude of fortune. Agrippa was born at Nettesheym, in Cologne, in the year one thouſand four hundred and eighty-ſix. Whilſt young, he was employed for ſeven years in the ſervice of the emperor Maximilian, firſt as his ſecretary, and after-

[a] Op. Reuchlin. ed. Hag. 1519. Tigur. 1558.

[b] Wadding. Scr. Ord. Min. p. 119. Wharton App. Cave, p. 151. Olear. de S. E. p. 259. Sext. Senens Bib. S. p. 287. Index Exp. Hiſp. p. 406. 421.

[c] Adami Vit. Med. p. 16. Niceron. t. xix. xx. Amœnit. Liter. t. ii. p. 553. Bayle.

wards

wards in a military capacity: notwithſtanding which, he found leiſure to learn ſeveral languages, and to gain an extenſive knowledge of ſcience. He very early engaged in the ſtudy and practice of medicine, and formed a romantic expectation of recommending himſelf to the patronage of princes, by pretending to an intimate acquaintance with the ſecrets of nature, and particularly to the power of converting inferior metals into gold. Full of this wild project, he viſited Spain, France, and ſeveral other countries, every where paſſing himſelf upon the world as a wonderful maſter of occult arts, that is, acting the part of an impoſtor. His pretenſions obtained ſuch a degree of credit, that at twenty-three years of age he obtained a profeſſorſhip at Dole, in Burgundy, where he read lectures on the myſtical work of Reuchlin, *De Verbo mirifico*. But the novelty and boldneſs of his doctrine, at the ſame time that it brought him many hearers, ſubjected him to ſevere perſecutions from the monks; ſo that he found it neceſſary to leave Dole, and paſs over into England.

After a ſhort ſtay in London, he returned, in compliance with the intreaties of his friends, to Cologne, and began to read lectures; but his reſtleſs ſpirit, which would not ſuffer him to remain long in the ſame place, ſoon carried him into Italy. Here he reſumed for a while the military character in the emperor's army, and at the ſame time taught the myſtical philoſophy at Pavia, not without pretenſions to divine inſpiration. From ſome cauſe, of which we are not informed, he loſt his property, and lived for a while in great poverty, till, in one thouſand ſix hundred and eighteen, his friends procured for him a civil office in the city of Mentz. But his unreſtrained freedom of ſpeech, and the ſeverity with which he ſtill continued his attacks upon monkiſh ſuperſtition, ſoon created him enemies in this city, and obliged him to return to Cologne; whence, after a ſhort interval of time, he removed to Geneva, then to Friberg, where he practiſed phyſic, and afterwards to Lyons. In this city he was appointed phyſician to the mother of Francis the Firſt, and obtained great influence with her by means of his pretended ſkill in aſtrology; but upon her departure from Lyons he was diſmiſſed

from his office, and it was with great difficulty that he obtained his ſtipulated ſalary.

Agrippa next removed to Antwerp, and put himſelf under the patronage of Margaret of Auſtria, who appointed him hiſtoriographer to the emperor Charles V. But his reſtleſs and cynical humour would not ſuffer him to enjoy the tranquillity, which this ſituation might have afforded him. He continued to ſatirize men of every deſcription, particularly eccleſiaſtics; and he wrote a treatiſe "On the Vanity of the Sciences," and another "On Occult Philoſophy;" which brought upon him the diſpleaſure of the clerical body, and alienated the affections of the emperor, ſo that he was diſmiſſed from his office, was reduced to poverty, and at Bruſſels, in the year one thouſand five hundred and thirty-one, was thrown into priſon for debt. Regaining his liberty through the interpoſition of his friends, he viſited the archbiſhop of Cologhe, to whom he had dedicated his treatiſe on the occult philoſophy, and republiſhed the work with numerous corrections and additions. This, together with his "Apology for himſelf to the Senate of Cologne," which was full of ſpleen and invective, rekindled ſuch a general ſpirit of hoſtility againſt him, that he found it neceſſary once more to withdraw into France. When he arrived at Lyons, he was impriſoned for ſome ſatirical papers, which he had formerly written againſt the king's mother, and it was not without much importunity, that his friends obtained his releaſe from this confinement. He ſpent his laſt days with a friend at Grenoble, where he died in the year one thouſand five hundred and thirty-five.

From the whole hiſtory of Agrippa it appears, that he was a man of eccentric genius, and reſtleſs ſpirit. In the midſt of ſuch numerous changes of ſituation and fortune, it is ſurpriſing that he was able to acquire ſuch extenſive erudition, and to leave behind him ſo many proofs of literary induſtry. There can be no doubt that he poſſeſſed a vigorous underſtanding, which roſe ſuperior to vulgar ſuperſtitions, and which prompted him to maintain a conſtant warfare with prieſtcraft. Though he did not chuſe to offend thoſe princes to whom he looked up for patronage, by deſerting the church

of

of Rome, he ſaw with great ſatisfaction the bold attack made upon its corruptions by Martin Luther; and he himſelf, like Eraſmus, Faber, and others, perpetually harraſſed the monks by ſatirical writings [a]. His cynical ſeverity, and above all the diſpoſition which he diſcovered to make his fortune by practiſing upon vulgar credulity, muſt not paſs without cenſure. His occult philoſophy is rather a ſketch of the Alexandrian, mixed with the Cabbaliſtic, theology, than a treatiſe on magic. It explains the harmony of nature, and the connection of the elementary, celeſtial, and intellectual worlds, on the principles of the Emanative Syſtem. His treatiſe "On the Vanity of the Sciences," is not ſo much intended to traduce ſcience itſelf, as to ridicule the follies of the learned, and expoſe the numerous abſurdities of the eſtabliſhed modes of education [b].

Very different was the method of reſtoring the Platonic philoſophy which was purſued by FRANCISCUS PATRICIUS [c], born at Cliſſa, in Illyricum, in the year one thouſand five hundred and twenty-nine. In the ſchools of Italy he profeſſed to unite the doctrines of Ariſtotle and Plato, but in reality undermined the authority of the former. He wholly deſerted the obſcurity of the Jewiſh Cabbala, and in teaching philoſophy cloſely followed the antient Greek writers. He was appointed by Pope Clement VIII. a preceptor in philoſophy at Rome; after which he more openly diſcovered his averſion to the Ariſtotelian ſyſtem, and adviſed the pope to prohibit the teaching of this philoſophy in the ſchools, and to introduce the doctrine of Plato, as more conſonant to the Chriſtian faith. His *Diſcuſſiones Peripateticæ*, "Peripatetic Diſquiſitions," a learned, perſpicuous, and elegant work, fully explains the reaſon on which his diſapprobation of the Peripatetic philoſophy was founded. Patricius alſo wrote ſeveral hiſtorical tracts, which have been much admired.

[a] Fabr. Hiſt. Bib. ſuæ, t. vi. p. 270. Ed. Lugdun. ſine ann.

[b] Naud. Apol. p. 285. Webſter de Magia.

[c] Erythr. Pinacoth. i. p. 203. Bayle. Tieſſer. Elog. t. iv. p. 218. Laun. de Fort. Ariſt. c. 14. p. 281. Morhoff. t. ii. l. ii. p. i. c. 14. § 1.

In

In the ſeventeenth century, Platoniſm found many advocates in Great Britain, owing, in a great meaſure, to the deſire which many learned and able divines at this time entertained of refuting the tenets of Hobbes, whoſe doctrine will be afterwards noticed. For, although they were aware that the writings of Plato afforded little information on ſubjects of natural philoſophy, in which phyſical experiment now began to take the place of metaphyſical ſpeculations, they thought that in theology and morals he had written ſublimely, and not without ſome rays of divine illumination; and hence concluded, that they could not more effectually oppoſe the Hobbeſian impieties, than by reviving an attention to the doctrine of Plato, both in his own works, and in thoſe of his followers. A numerous band of learned advocates for religion at this time ranged themſelves under the banners of Plato, among whom the moſt celebrated are Gale, Cudworth, and More [a].

THEOPHILUS GALE [b], a non-conformiſt of the Preſbyterian ſect, born in one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-eight, a writer of great erudition, was induced to become a zealous advocate for Platoniſm through a violent antipathy to the Carteſian ſyſtem, which he thought unfriendly to morals, and contradictory to the doctrine of revelation. He undertook to trace back philoſophy to its origin, and maintained, that there was a wonderful agreement between the antient Barbaric philoſophy, and the Jewiſh and Chriſtian theology. He brought every philoſophical tenet to the teſt of the ſcriptures, and thought that it would not be a difficult undertaking, to ſeparate from the Pagan philoſophy thoſe doctrines which originated in divine revelation, and had been tranſmitted by tradition from the Hebrews to the Gentiles. Having perſuaded himſelf that theſe doctrines had paſſed in a direct line, and without material corruption, from the Hebrew fountain to Plato, he recommended his philoſophical writings as, next to the ſcriptures, the moſt valuable remains

[a] Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, v. ii. p. 187. Parker on the Platonic Philoſophy, Oxon. 1664.

[b] Act. Phil. v. iii. p. 793.

of antient wiſdom. The chief point which he labours to maintain in his treatiſe "On Philoſophy[a]," is, that Plato received his knowledge of theology from the Hebrews, and that the doctrine on this ſubject taught by him and his followers, for the moſt part, agrees with that of the holy ſcriptures. This opinion he implicitly adopts from the antient fathers, whoſe authority, with reſpect to this matter, we have had frequent occaſion to call in queſtion. His account of other philoſophers is given, without much appearance of accurate diſcrimination, chiefly from Laertius. He divides the Ariſtotelian philoſophy into *pure* and *impure*, and ſuppoſes, gratuitouſly enough, that the former paſſed from Moſes to the Stagyrite through the channel of Plato's inſtruction. His favourite notion frequently occurs in his other learned work, "The Court of the Gentiles[b]."

The Platonic philoſophy was, with greater accuracy and ſounder judgment, applied to the refutation of impiety by RALPH CUDWORTH[c], the learned author of a valuable work, entitled, "The True Intellectual Syſtem of the Univerſe." He was born in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventeen, at Aller, in Somerſetſhire, and educated at Cambridge, in Emanuel college, where he took the degree of maſter of arts in one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-nine: he was afterwards choſen maſter of Clare Hall, and Regius Profeſſor of Hebrew. In one thouſand ſix hundred and fifty-four, having taken the degree of Doctor of Divinity, he was choſen maſter of Chriſt's College. Cudworth, for thirty years, diſcharged with great ability and fidelity the office of Hebrew profeſſor in Cambridge; and continued his reſidence in that univerſity till his death, which happened in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-eight. The deſign of his "Intellectual Syſtem" is to refute the principles of atheiſm. In this important undertaking, he very ſucceſsfully employed a vaſt fund of erudition. But his partiality for the Platonic philoſophy, in judging of which, after the

[a] Ed. Lond. 1676. 8vo. [b] Lond. 1672.
[c] Moſheim. Præf. et Annot. ad Syſt. Int.

example

example of his contemporaries, he paid too much reſpect to the writings of the modern Alexandrian Platoniſts, led him into frequent miſtakes. In phyſics he adopted the Atomic ſyſtem, but abandoning Democritus and Epicurus as the firſt patrons of impiety, he added to the doctrine of Atoms that of a certain middle ſubſtance between matter and ſpirit, to which he gave the appellation of Plaſtic Nature, which he ſuppoſed to be the immediate inſtrument of the divine operation. This hypotheſis gave riſe to a famous controverſy between Bayle and Le Clerc. The "Intellectual Syſtem" was firſt publiſhed in one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-eight, and, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirteen, was tranſlated into Latin by Moſheim, with many learned and judicious notes.

But no one defended the Platonic doctrine, combined with the Pythagorean and Cabbaliſtic, with greater learning and ſubtlety than Cudworth's friend and colleague, HENRY MORE[a], born in one thouſand ſix hundred and fourteen, and educated in Chriſt's College, Cambridge. After having laid a good foundation of claſſical learning at Eton, he diligently applied, at the univerſity, to the ſtudy of philoſophy. He early made himſelf perfect maſter of the doctrines of Ariſtotle and the Scholaſtics; but he met with ſo little ſatisfaction in their reſpective ſyſtems, that he determined to ſearch for better guides; and he perſuaded himſelf that he ſhould find them among the Platoniſts. Wholly occupied with the deſire of attaining that purity of mind, and divine illumination, which might raiſe him to a union with God, he devoted his life to the ſublime ſpeculation of myſtical philoſophy, and to the ſtudy of the ſcriptures. He ſpent his days in the univerſity of Cambridge, where, after having long enjoyed the higheſt academical honours, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-ſeven, he died, leaving behind him a name highly celebrated among theologians and philoſophers. His principal writings are, "The Myſtery of Iniquity;" "A Key to the Revelations;" *Enchiridion Ethicum*, "A Manual of Ethics;" *Enchiridion Metaphyſicum*, "A Manual of Metaphyſics;" "An Apology

[a] Præf. Op. Phil. Lond. 1676. Conf. Knorri Cabb. denud. t. i. p. ii. p. 14.

for Des Cartes," and " A Collection of Philoſophical Treatiſes, chiefly on the Jewiſh Cabbala."

More was ſtrongly under the bias of the opinion ſo common among his contemporaries, that the wiſdom of the Hebrews had been tranſmitted to Pythagoras, and from him to Plato; and conſequently, that the true principles of divine philoſophy were to be found in the writings of the Platoniſts. At the ſame time, he was perſuaded that the antient Cabbaliſtic philoſophy ſprang from the ſame fountain; and therefore endeavoured to lay open the myſtery of this philoſophy, by ſhewing its agreement with the doctrines of Pythagoras and Plato, and pointing out the corruptions which had been introduced by the modern Cabbaliſts. The Carteſian ſyſtem, which ſprang up at this time, was embraced by More, as on the whole conſonant to his ideas of nature; and he took much pains to prove that it was not inconſiſtent with the Cabbaliſtic doctrine. His penetrating underſtanding, however, diſcovered defects in this new ſyſtem, which he endeavoured to ſupply. In ſhort, the writings of this great man, though not without a deep tincture of myſticiſm, are eminently diſtinguiſhed by profound erudition, an inventive genius, and a liberal ſpirit.

A clear judgment may, after what has been ſaid, be without much difficulty formed, concerning this new race of Platoniſts. The peculiar reſpect which they paid to the doctrines of Plato and Pythagoras, as in ſome ſort of divine original, reſted upon ſuppoſitions which have never been eſtabliſhed. The ſtory of Pythagoras's journey into the Eaſt is extremly uncertain; and it is highly improbable that he ſhould ever have converſed with Hebrew prophets. Of his ſchool, which had failed at a very early period, little was known. The whole notion of the divine original of Plato's theology is built upon ſuch ſlight evidence, that it may, without heſitation, be pronounced viſionary. The Cabbaliſtic tenets, upon which theſe philoſophers laid ſo much ſtreſs, were not, as they ſuppoſed, the pure doctrines of the Hebrews, but myſtical fictions derived from Egyptian and Oriental ſources. The tenets of the Platonic and of the Cabbaliſtic ſyſtem differed eſſentially from the ſacred truths which

are taught in the Hebrew ſcriptures. It is not to be conceived, that the fanciful doctrine of Emanation, which lies at the foundation of both theſe ſyſtems, could have been derived by tradition from divine revelation. Yet, ſo much were theſe learned men blinded by prejudice in favour of an hypotheſis, that they could ſee nothing but a perfect harmony between Platoniſm and Chriſtianity, and miſtook the dreams of the Alexandrian philoſophers, and Jewiſh Cabbaliſtics, for the pure doctrine of religion. To this we muſt add, that they ſuffered themſelves, in ſome inſtances, to be deceived by impoſtors, and, with a degree of credulity not wholly to be excuſed, admitted ſpurious writings as genuine; ſuch for example, as the remains of Zoroaſter, Hermes, and Orpheus. From theſe and other cauſes they were led into ſo many miſconceptions and errors, that caution ſhould be exerciſed in acceding to their judgment concerning either Platonic or Chriſtian doctrines *.

* Vidend. Wierus de Præſtig. Dæmon. l. ii. c. 5. Natalis Comes Mythol. l. iii. c. 17. Naud. Apol. Mag. Accuſ. p. 285., Reimann. Hiſt. Lit. Germ. p. iii. p. 168. Gimma idea Della Storia Letterata d'Italia, t. ii. c. 39. Budd. Introd. in Hiſt. Ph. Heb. Morhoff. Polyh. t. ii. p. 186. Stoll. Introd. in Hiſt. Lit. p. ii. c. 1. Reimann. in Cat. Crit. t. i. 980.

## SECT. 4.

### OF THE REVIVAL OF THE DOCTRINE OF PARMENIDES.

THOSE circumſtances attending the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, which contributed towards the revival of the Grecian ſects, led in a ſingle inſtance to the reſtoration of the phyſical doctrine of Parmenides. Ariſtotle having obſcured the ſubject of natural philoſophy,

loſophy, by involving it in metaphyſical ſubtlety, Teleſius attempted to raiſe a new edifice of phyſics, on the foundation of principles, which Parmenides had long before taught in Greece.

Bernard Telesius [a], a Neapolitan, born in the year one thouſand five hundred and eight, received the firſt part of his education at Milan, where he acquired a perfect knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages. After paſſing two years at Rome, where he made great proficiency in polite learning, he removed to Padua, and applied with indefatigable aſſiduity to the ſtudy of mathematics and philoſophy. He very judiciouſly employed mathematical learning in explaining and eſtabliſhing the laws of phyſics, and was particularly ſucceſsful in inveſtigating truths before unknown in the doctrine of optics. Accuſtomed to mathematical accuracy, he grew diſſatisfied with the conjectural explanation of natural appearances given by Ariſtotle, and expreſſed great ſurpriſe, that this philoſopher ſhould have been, for ſo many ages, followed in his numerous errors by ſo many learned men, by whole nations, and almoſt by the whole human race. He purſued his reſearches with great ingenuity as well as freedom, and wrote two books "On Nature," in which he attempted to overturn the phyſical doctrine of the Peripatetic ſchool, and to explain the phenomena of the material world upon new principles. When this treatiſe was firſt publiſhed at Rome, it obtained great and unexpected applauſe, and Teleſius was prevailed upon, by the importunity of his friends at Naples, to open a ſchool of philoſophy in that city. The Teleſian ſchool ſoon became famous, not only for the number of its pupils, but for the abilities of its profeſſors, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their bold oppoſition to the doctrines of Ariſtotle, and by the judicious manner in which they diſtributed their labours, in order to enlarge the boundaries of natural knowledge. The founder of the ſchool was highly eſteemed by all who were deſirous of ſtudying nature rather than dialectics; and he was patronized by ſeveral great men, particularly by Ferdi-

[a] Toppii Bibl. Neap. p. 344. Pantapolog. Calab. Neap. 1715. Imp. Muſ. p. 70. Comnen. Papadopol. Hiſt. Gymn. Patav. p. ii. c. 32. Lotter. de Vit. Teleſii, Lipſ. 1733. Tieſſer. Elog. t. iii. p. 449.

nand Duke of Nuceri. But his popularity ſoon awakened the jealouſy and envy of the monks, who loaded him and his ſchool with calumny, for no other offence, than that he ventured to call in queſtion the authority of Ariſtotle. The vexations which he ſuffered from this quarter brought on a bilious diſorder, which, in one thouſand five hundred and eighty-eight, terminated in his death.

Although, during the life of Teleſius, his innovations were patiently borne, both in Rome and Naples, after his death his writings were proſcribed in the *Index Expurgatorius* of the holy inquiſition. Notwithſtanding which, his philoſophy continued to have many admirers, and his works were republiſhed at Venice, in the year one thouſand five hundred and ninety, by his friend Antonius Perſius, who alſo wrote a compendium of his philoſophy in the vernacular tongue. Beſides his principal work, *De Natura Rerum*, "On the Nature of Things," he wrote on the Air, the Sea, Comets, the Milky Way, the Rainbow, Colours, Reſpiration, Sleep, and other ſubjects. Lord Bacon has given a brief explanation of the philoſophy of Teleſius *.

The phyſical ſyſtem, which Teleſius attempted to ſubſtitute in the room of the ſubtleties and fictions of the Stagyrite, was founded upon the Parmenidean doctrine, that the firſt principles in nature, by means of which all natural phenomena are produced, are Cold and Heat. The ſum of his theory is this: Matter, which is in itſelf incapable of action, and admits neither of increaſe nor diminution, is acted upon by two contrary incorporeal principles, Heat and Cold. From the perpetual oppoſition of theſe, ariſes the ſeveral forms in nature; the prevalence of cold in the lower regions producing the earth and terreſtrial bodies; and that of heat in the ſuperior, the heavens and celeſtial bodies. All the changes of natural bodies are owing to this conflict; and according to the degree in which each principle prevails, are the different degrees of denſity, reſiſtance, opacity, moiſture, dryneſs, &c. which are found in dif-

* De Principiis Parmenidis et Teleſii.

ferent

ferent ſubſtances. In the heavens, heat has its fixed reſidence, without any oppoſition from the contrary principle; and within the earth, and in the abyſs of the ſea, cold remains undiſturbed, heat not being able to penetrate thither. At the borders of each of theſe regions, that conteſt between the oppoſite principles begins, which is carried on through all the intermediate ſpace. All animal and vegetable life is from God [a].

This ſyſtem, which Teleſius evidently borrowed from Parmenides, whoſe doctrine is particularly deſcribed in Plutarch's treatiſe *De Primo Frigido*, "On the Principle of Cold," was exceedingly ingenious; but it is, after all, nothing more than a baſeleſs fabric, raiſed upon a fanciful converſion of mere attributes and properties into ſubſtantial principles. For, as Lord Bacon well obſerves, Teleſius, no leſs than Plato or Ariſtotle, places abſtract notions at the foundation of his ſyſtem, and produces his world of real beings from non-entities. We readily admit that this philoſopher was a lover of truth, and a friend to ſcience; but we think him chiefly commendable for the boldneſs of his attack upon the principles of Ariſtotle, in which he ſucceeded much better than in his attempt to raiſe a new ſtructure of natural philoſophy; for, in changing the attributes of matter into incorporeal principles, he left his doctrine expoſed to the ſame objection, which he himſelf had brought againſt that of Ariſtotle. It was probably owing to this cauſe, that the Teleſian ſyſtem did not long ſurvive its author [*].

[a] Teleſ. de Natura rerum juxta propria Principia. Neap. 1586. Morhoff. Polyhiſt. t. ii. l. ii. p. i. c. 13.

[*] Vidend. Bacon's Hiſt. of Winds, Præf. and on the Fable of Cupid. v. iii. p. 238. Gimma Idea Hiſt. Lit. Ital. t. ii. c. 38. Campanell. Philoſ. Senſibus demonſt. Sorell. de Perfect. Homin. p. iii. p. 413. Arnold Diſſ. de Novitate Philoſophandi. § 11.

SECT.

## SECT. 5.

### OF THE REVIVAL OF THE IONIC PHILOSOPHY.

THE Ionic philoſophy, notwithſtanding the celebrity of its firſt profeſſors, ſoon failed in the Grecian ſchools, and never afterwards recovered its antient reputation and authority. This was owing to the ſuſpicion of impiety under which it lay in Athens, to the early growth of new branches from the Socratic ſtock, and to the riſe and ſpread of the Eleatic and Epicurean philoſophy. In later times, the univerſal prevalence of the Platonic and Ariſtotelian ſyſtems prevented every idea of reviving the phyſiology of the Ionic ſchool, till, in the ſeventeenth century, an attempt was made for this purpoſe by Berigard, but in ſo circumſpect and covert a manner, that this philoſopher was commonly ranked among the followers of Ariſtotle, and even ſuppoſed to be deeply tinctured with the impiety of his ſyſtem.

CLAUD BERIGARD[a] was born at Molena, in Spain, in the year one thouſand five hundred and ninety-two, and ſtudied firſt at Aix, then at Paris, and afterwards at Piſa. In this latter ſchool he was, through the favour of the Duke of Tuſcany, appointed profeſſor of mathematics and botany. The fame of his learning, which was ſpread through Italy, induced the republic of Venice, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and forty, to appoint him, with a liberal ſtipend, profeſſor of philoſophy in Padua. He was afterwards raiſed to the dignity of firſt profeſſor, and received a large augmentation of his ſalary. He remained in this ſituation till his death, which happened about the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-eight, and was eſteemed one of the moſt eminent of the Italian philo-

[a] Bayle. Niceron. Mem. t. xxxi. p. 123. Præf. Circ. Piſ. Epiſt. Welſchii ad Boſium apud Ep. Reineſ. et Boſ. p. 470.

ſophers. He publiſhed, in one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-two, under a fictitious name, a work entitled *Dubitationes in Dialogos Galilæi de Terræ Immobilitate*[a], "Doubts on the Dialogues of Galileo in Defence of the Immobility of the Earth;" but his principal work is his *Circuli Piſani*, "Piſan Circles," in which he relates the diſputations which were held at Piſa on the phyſical writings of Ariſtotle, and gives his own ſentiments upon them.

Berigard, during his education at Paris, where the defects of the Peripatetic ſyſtem were now freely examined, had been led to compare the doctrines of the Stagyrite with thoſe of other philoſophers both antient and modern, and had perceived the folly of that implicit obedience which had been ſo long paid to his authority. Hence he became a determined opponent of his philoſophy, not indeed openly, for he could not have done this without great hazard, but in the indirect and concealed method of dialogue. Adopting the Ionic ſyſtem, as it was firſt inſtituted by Thales, and afterwards improved by Anaxagoras, he framed a diſputation between the Ariſtotelians and Ionics, in which he made Ariſtæus refute the reaſoning of Charilaus, and ſupport the doctrine of the Ionic ſchool, by an appeal to experience, as well as by many ingenious arguments. This acute reaſoner ſaw indeed, and confeſſed, that both the Peripatetic and the Ionic ſyſtems were materially defective, and in many particulars erroneous, and was on this account much inclined to philoſophical ſcepticiſm. But he endeavoured to prove, that the followers of Thales approached nearer to truth than thoſe of Ariſtotle, the dangerous tendency of whoſe tenets, in ſeveral particulars, he clearly expoſed. Among the doctrines of the Stagyrite, thoſe which he chiefly reprobated were theſe: That the world is eternal; that the reſidence of the firſt mover is confined to the outer ſphere of the univerſe; that neither the world, nor any being, can properly be ſaid to have been created; and that there is one ſoul common to the whole human ſpecies. In oppoſition to theſe opinions, which he rejected as capital errors whence many others muſt ariſe, Berigard maintained the Ionic doctrine of the eternity of the primary par-

[a] Ed. Amſt. 1649.

ticles

ticles of matter; of a forming and preſiding mind, by whoſe agency theſe particles were collected into diſtinct bodies; and of the combination and diſperſion of theſe, as conſtituting the formation and diſſolution of all things. In ſhort, Berigard ſeems to have prepared the way for the revival of the Atomic ſyſtem of Epicurus, which was, ſoon after this time, reſtored and defended by Gaſſendi *.

* Vidend. Morhoff. Polyh. t. ii. p. 154. Laun. de Fortuna Ariſt. in Acad. Par. c. 15. Seb. Baſſon. Præf. Nat. Phil. Ed. Genev. Sorell. de Perfect. Hom. p. iii. p. 484. Reimann. Hiſt. Ath. ſ. iii. c. 5. Villemandy Scept. debell. p. 11.

## SECT. 6.

### OF THE REVIVAL OF THE STOIC PHILOSOPHY.

AS the poverty of the Peripatetic phyſics occaſioned the revival of the Parmenidean and Ionic ſects, ſo the barrenneſs of the Ethical doctrine taught in the ſchool of Ariſtotle prompted the deſign of renewing the Stoic philoſophy. Finding little ſatisfaction in Ariſtotle's moral precepts, which extend no further than to the conduct of civil life, and diſguſted with the thorny diſputations of the Scholaſtics, Lipſius, a name celebrated among the critics of the ſixteenth century, determined to paſs over into a field of philoſophy, in which he hoped to exerciſe his faculties with greater advantage.

JUSTUS LIPSIUS [a] was born near Bruſſels, in the year one thou-

[a] Lips. Vit. a Miræo. Antw. 1608. Adami Vit. Phil. p. 465. Euryth. Pinacoth. iii. c. 1. Bayle. Teiſſier. Elog. t. iv. p. 524. Blount, p. 840. Patin Lettres, t. ii. Lett. 294.

ſand five hundred and forty-ſeven, and received the firſt rudiments of learning under his uncle, Martin Lipſius, a learned friend of Eraſmus, who was engaged with him in editing ſeveral eccleſiaſtical writings. At twelve years of age, Lipſius was ſent to the Jeſuit's college at Cologne, where he proſecuted his literary and philoſophical ſtudies. Among the antients, he learned the precepts of morality from Epictetus and Seneca, and the maxims of civil prudence from Tacitus. From Cologne he removed to Louvain, where he ſtudied civil law, and at nineteen wrote his *Variæ Lectiones*, "Various Readings," which laid the foundation of his literary fame. Travelling into Italy, he obtained the patronage of the Cardinal Antonius Perenettus, and was appointed his ſecretary. This ſituation afforded him leiſure and opportunity for proſecuting his philological ſtudies, and gave him acceſs to many learned men, and to the Vatican and other public libraries. After two years, he returned to Louvain, enriched with new ſtores of learning, but by no means improved in his manners; for at Rome he acquired a fondneſs for pleaſure, which led him, for a time, into many exceſſes. The public diſturbances induced him, about the twenty-fifth year of his age, to leave his native country, and viſit Vienna, where he became acquainted with Buſbequius, and other learned men. On his return, he ſuffered himſelf to be detained at Jena, in Thuringia, where he accepted the profeſſorſhip of eloquence, and became a diſciple of Luther. This latter circumſtance obliged him, after a year's reſidence, to leave Jena; and he removed to Cologne, where he married a widow, whoſe ill temper occaſioned him much uneaſineſs. At Cologne, where he remained only a few months, he wrote his *Antiquæ Lectiones*, "Antient Readings." He now determined to return to his native place, and devote himſelf wholly to ſtudy; but the civil commotions of the country obliged him to remove firſt to Louvain, and afterwards to Leyden, where he ſpent thirteen years in literary labours. Here, though nominally a convert to the reformation, he publicly maintained the principles of perſecution, and wrote a treatiſe On Politics, in which he inveighed againſt toleration, and maintained, that one religion only ſhould be profeſſed in

one ſtate, and that thoſe who oppoſed that religion ought to be purſued with fire and ſword, it being better that one member ſhould be deſtroyed, than that the whole body ſhould periſh. This doctrine, ſo favourable to the cruel perſecution at this time exerciſed by the Spaniards againſt the Proteſtants, excited a juſt indignation againſt Lipſius, in a ſtate which owed its exiſtence to a brave and ſucceſsful aſſertion of the rights of conſcience. The reſentment which on this account fell upon him from various quarters, created him ſo much vexation, that upon republiſhing his works, he ſubjoined a note to one of his moſt offenſive paſſages, in which he ſays, *Verba nata in turbas! periiſſent illa et calamus, cum hæc ſcripſi!* "Miſchievous words! Oh that they had periſhed with the pen that wrote them[a]!" It does not appear, however, that Lipſius ever abandoned his intolerant principles; for after a ſhort time he left Leyden, and, through the ſolicitation of the Jeſuits, or, as ſome ſay, through the importunity of his wife, he returned into the boſom of the Roman church. He ſpent the remainder of his life at Louvain, and tarniſhed his literary reputation by writing ſeveral books, which were tinctured with the weakeſt credulity and ſuperſtition, particularly his *Laudes divæ Virginis Halenſis*, "Praiſe of the Holy Virgin of Hall," in which he celebrates the miracles of that famous image. After giving theſe and other unequivocal proofs of anility, Lipſius died in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ſix.

It appears both from the life and writings of Lipſius, that he had more learning than either genius or judgment. His ambition diſturbed the tenor of his life with various viciſſitudes; and he had a degree of fickleneſs in religious principles, which carried him at one time to the verge of ſcepticiſm, and at another into the borders of enthuſiaſm. His writings, which are numerous, chiefly turn upon ſubjects of antiquity and criticiſm. In his early pieces he imitated, with tolerable ſucceſs, the ſtyle of Cicero; but afterwards choſe rather to adopt the conciſe and pointed manner of Seneca and Tacitus. For this corruption of taſte he was ſeverely cenſured by

[a] Politic. l. iv. c. 3. Not.

Scioppius

Scioppius and Henry Stephens; but his example was followed by ſeveral contemporary writers. On this innovation Huet juſtly remarks [a], that although the abrupt and antithetical ſtyle may obtain the applauſes of unſkilful youth, or an illiterate multitude, it cannot be pleaſing to ears which have been long inured to genuine Ciceronian eloquence.

Captivated with the appearance of ſuperior wiſdom and virtue which he obſerved in the antient ſchool of Zeno, Lipſius ſought for conſolation from the precepts of the Stoic philoſophy, and attempted to reconcile its doctrines with thoſe of Chriſtianity. But he was impoſed upon by the vaunting language of this ſchool concerning fate and providence; and explains its tenets in a manner which cannot be reconciled with the hiſtory and general ſyſtem of Stoiciſm. In order to revive an attention to the doctrines of this antient ſect, he wrote two treatiſes, *Manuductio ad Philoſophicam Stoicam*, "An Introduction to the Stoic Philoſophy;" and *Diſſertationes de Phyſiologia Stoica*, "Diſſertations on Stoic Phyſiology;" to which he intended to have added a treatiſe on the moral doctrine of the Stoics, but was prevented by death. His edition of Seneca is enriched with many valuable notes, but he was too much biaſſed by his partiality for Stoiciſm to perceive the feeble and unſound parts of the ſyſtem, and gave too eaſy credit to the arrogant claims of this ſchool, to be a judicious and uſeful interpreter of its doctrine. Beſides the philoſophical works already mentioned, he wrote a treatiſe *De Conſtantia*, "On Conſtancy," and *Politicorum Libri Sex*, "A Treatiſe on Politics, in ſix books". This latter work, though highly cenſurable for its intolerant ſpirit, is of ſome value as a compilation of the ſentiments of the antients on the ſubject of policy.

A few learned men followed the footſteps of Lipſius, and endeavoured to revive the credit of the Stoic philoſophy. Gasper Scioppius [b], a German writer, who flouriſhed about the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, more famous for the violence of his temper, and the ſeverity with which he cenſured the writings of others, than for

[a] De clar. Interp. p. 282. [b] Bayle. Reiman. Hiſt. Lit. Germ. p. v. p. 188.

any

any eſſential ſervice to learning or philoſophy, wrote *Elementa Philoſophiæ Stoicæ Moralis*, "Elements of the Moral Philoſophy of the Stoics." DANIEL HEINSIUS was a great admirer of the moral doctrine of the Stoics, and wrote an elegant "Oration in praiſe of the Stoic philoſophy." But the moſt able advocate for this ſyſtem among the moderns was THOMAS GATAKER, born at London, in the year one thouſand five hundred and ſeventy-four, and educated at St. John's College, Cambridge. He was afterwards fellow of Sydney College, and lecturer at Lincoln's Inn. Among other learned works, he wrote a "Commentary on the Meditations of Antoninus," containing every thing, which a moſt extenſive knowledge of the antients could furniſh, towards the illuſtration of his author, and of the Stoic ſyſtem. It is, however, to be regretted, that ſuch a learned and able writer ſhould have ſuffered himſelf to be ſo far blinded by partiality for the Porch, as to give a repreſentation of its doctrines by no means conſiſtent with the fundamental principles of the ſect *.

* Vidend. Budd. in Phil. St. in Analectis Hiſt. Ph. Thomas de Exuſtione Mundi. Boecler. Diſſ. de Polit. Lipſii.

## SECT. 7.

### OF THE REVIVAL OF THE EPICUREAN PHILOSOPHY.

THE Atomic doctrine concerning the origin of nature, which was taught by Democritus, and was reduced into a regular ſyſtem by Epicurus, through the general prevalence given in later times to the Platonic, or the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, had now for

many centuries lain dormant. But after the revival of letters there were not wanting ſeveral learned men, who, finding little ſatisfaction in the obſcure and ſubtle ſpeculations of metaphyſics, had recourſe to the doctrine of Epicurus, as the true key to the myſteries of nature.

The firſt reſtorer of the Epicurean ſyſtem among the moderns, was DANIEL SENNERT[a], an eminent phyſician of Wittemburg, who flouriſhed at the beginning of the ſeventeenth century. In a diſtinct chapter of his *Hypomnemata Phyſica*, "Heads of Phyſics," treating of atoms and mixture, he embraces the Atomic ſyſtem, which he derives from Mochus the Phœnician. He ſuppoſes that the primary corpuſcles not only unite in the formation of bodies, but that in their mutual action and paſſion they undergo ſuch modifications, that they ceaſe to be what they were before their union; and maintains, that by their combination all material forms are produced. Sennert, however, confounded the corpuſcles of the more antient philoſophers with the atoms of Democritus and Epictetus, and held that each element has primary particles peculiar to itſelf.

The ſame doctrine was taught, with ſome inconſiderable variations, by CHRYSOSTOM MAGNENUS[b], profeſſor of medicine in the univerſity of Pavia, who, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and forty-ſix, publiſhed "A treatiſe on the Life and Philoſophy of Democritus[c]." His ſyſtem is rendered obſcure by an attempt to unite the incompatible dogmas of Epicurus and Ariſtotle.

The ableſt and moſt ſucceſsful attempt towards the revival of the phyſical and moral philoſophy of Epicurus was made by PETER GASSENDI[d], who deſervedly holds an eminent place among the philoſophers of the laſt century. He was born in the year one thouſand five hundred and ninety-two, near Digne, in Provence, and ſtudied firſt at Digne, and afterwards at Aix, where, at the age of ſixteen, he was appointed teacher of rhetoric, and at nineteen, profeſſor of philoſophy. Although the authority of Ariſtotle was ſtill

[a] Ejus Hypomnemat. Phyſ. l. iii. c. 1. p. 86. Ed. 1638.
[b] Morhoff. t. ii. l. ii. p. ii. c. 27. [c] Lugd. Bat. 1648. Hag. Com. 1658.
[d] Sorbiere de Vit. Gaſſ. Præf. Synt. Phil. Epic. Blount. p. 965. Bayle.

acknowledged

acknowledged in almoſt all public ſchools, Gaſſendi, after the example of Vives, Ramus, and others, ventured publicly to expoſe the defects of his ſyſtem. The lectures which contained his cenſures of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, delivered in the indirect form of paradoxical problems, were publiſhed under the title of *Exercitationes paradoxicæ adverſus Ariſtotelem*[a], "Paradoxical Exerciſes againſt Ariſtotle." This work, at the ſame time that it gave great offence to thoſe who ſtill retained their predilection for Scholaſtic ſubtlety, obtained the author no ſmall degree of reputation with ſeveral learned men, particularly with Nicolas Pierefc, the preſident of the univerſity at Aix, through whoſe intereſt Gaſſendi was admitted to the degree of doctor of divinity, and created a canon of the church of Digne. A ſecond volume of this work was afterwards publiſhed, the immediate deſign of which was to expoſe the futility of the Ariſtotelian logic. It was his firſt intention to purſue the plan ſtill further, but the violent oppoſition which he met with from the zealous and powerful advocates for the authority of Ariſtotle, induced him to deſiſt from all direct attacks upon his philoſophy. He ſtill, however, profeſſed his attachment to the ſyſtem of Epicurus, and defended it with great learning and ability.

In order to extend his acquaintance with the learned, Gaſſendi viſited Holland, where his philoſophical and literary merit ſoon procured him many admirers and friends: he formed an intimacy with the learned Merſenus, and wrote an elegant and judicious apology for him in reply to the cenſures of Robert Fludd, on the ſubject of the Moſaic philoſophy. On his return to France, he was, through the intereſt of Cardinal Richlieu's brother, appointed Regius Profeſſor of mathematics at Paris. In this univerſity he alſo read lectures on aſtronomy, a ſcience which he had ſtudied from his earlieſt years. In this ſituation Gaſſendi acquired great popularity, and roſe to high expectations; but after a few years, the fatigues of his office brought an inflammation upon his lungs, which obliged him to leave Paris, and return to Digne. Here he obtained ſome relief, and came back to Paris; but his complaint ſhortly re-

[a] Amſt. 1649. Hag. Comet. 1656. 8°.

turned, and he died in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and fifty-five. Juſt before he expired, he laid his hand upon his heart, and remarking the feeble ſtate of its pulſation, he ſaid to his attendant, "See how frail is the life of man!"

The ſound judgment, extenſive reading, and capacious memory of Gaſſendi, qualified him to attain great diſtinction among philoſophers. He is ranked by Barrow among the moſt eminent mathematicians of the age, and mentioned with Galileo, Gilbert, and Des Cartes. His commentary on the tenth book of Diogenes Laertius is a ſufficient proof of his erudition. With uncommon abilities for the taſk, he undertook to frame from Lucretius, Laertius, and other antient writers, a conſiſtent ſcheme of Epicurean doctrine, in which the phænomena of nature are immediately derived from the motion of primary atoms. But he was aware of the fundamental defect of this ſyſtem, and added to it the important doctrine of a Divine Superintending Mind, from whom he conceived the firſt motion, and ſubſequent arrangement of atoms to have been derived, and whom he regarded as the wiſe Governor of the world. Gaſſendi ſtrenuouſly maintained the Atomic doctrine in oppoſition to the fictions of the Carteſian philoſophy, which were at that time obtaining great credit; and particularly aſſerted, in oppoſition to Des Cartes, the doctrine of a Vacuum. On the ſubject of morals, Gaſſendi explained the permanent pleaſure or indolence of Epicurus, in a manner perfectly conſiſtent with the pureſt precepts of virtue.

Gaſſendi wrote many treatiſes, which were, after his death, collected, and publiſhed in ſix volumes [a], by Sorbiere. Among theſe, one of the moſt valuable is his "Life of Epicurus," in which he undertakes to reſcue that philoſopher from the load of calumny under which his memory had for many ages lain, as well as to give a fair and impartial repreſentation of his doctrine.

The moſt celebrated followers of Gaſſendi were FRANCIS BERNIER [b], a phyſician of Montpelier, who, beſides his "Travels into

[a] Lugd. 1658. Budd. Hiſt. Ph. p. 376. Morhoff. t. II. p. 273.

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the East," wrote an "Abridgment of Gaſſendi's philoſophy[a];" and WALTER CHARLTON, an Engliſhman, who wrote a treatiſe entitled *Phyſiologia Epicuro-Gaſſendo-Charletoniana*[b], in which he attempts to eſtabliſh natural ſcience upon atomic principles. A ſimilar treatiſe was publiſhed by G. B. DE SANCTO ROMANO, a phyſician at Paris, under the title of *Phyſica á Scholaſticis Tricis liberata*[c], "Phyſics reſcued from Scholaſtic Jargon."

The doctrine of atoms and a vacuum has been embraced by the moſt eminent modern philoſophers. Hugyens applies it to explain the cauſe of gravitation, and Newton admits it into his theory of natural philoſophy *.

[a] Par. 1678. [b] Lond. 1654. [c] Lugd. Bat. 1684. 12°.

* Videnda. Mercklin. Linden. Renov. p. 554. Lettre critique et hiſtorique de la Vie Gaſſendi, Par. 1737. 12°. Deſſelii Bibl. Belg. Miræus de Scr. Sec. xvi. c. 237. Simon. Bibl. crit. P. iv. p. 100. Stoll. Hiſt. Lit. P. ii. c. 2. § 48. Gerard. de Vries. Diſſ. de Gaſſend. Traj. ad Rhen. 1691. Regnaut Entretiens d'Ariſte et Eudoxe. Bayle Lettres, t. iii. p. 829.

# BOOK IX.

## OF MODERN PHILOSOPHERS, WHO HAVE ATTEMPTED NEW METHODS OF PHILOSOPHISING.

### CHAP. I.

#### OF MODERN SCEPTICS.

FROM the firſt revival of letters, the philoſophical world was, as we have ſeen, almoſt entirely occupied in reſtoring the Sectarian philoſophy of the antients. Learned men were either too diffident of their talents to ſuppoſe themſelves capable of any new diſcoveries, too indolent to attempt them, or too much prejudiced in favour of antiquity to ſuppoſe it poſſible that any improvement could be made upon Grecian wiſdom. During the courſe of ſeveral centuries, only a few enterpriſing or eccentric geniuſes aroſe, who ventured to diſengage themſelves from the yoke of authority, and preſumed to think it poſſible, that with the ſame natural faculties which the antients enjoyed, and with the example before them both of their ſucceſſes and failures, new and important advances might be made in knowledge. Of theſe, ſome, availing themſelves of all that was valuable in the ſtores of antient philoſophy, and at the ſame

time exerting their own talents with a happy union of freedom and caution, made important improvements in philoſophy. Whilſt others, either on the one ſide through an exceſſive confidence in the powers of the human mind, or on the other through too much diſtruſt of their weakneſs, forſook the ſtrait path of rational enquiry, and loſt themſelves in the mazes of ſcepticiſm or enthuſiaſm. Vanity has inclined ſome to contradict every deciſion of philoſophy, and haſtily to conclude the objections againſt received opinions, which their fertile imaginations have ſuggeſted, to be unanſwerable; and it has prompted others to make high pretenſions to divine illumination, and to forſake plain and ſimple truth in the ſearch of the obſcurities of myſticiſm. On the contrary, a timid, indolent, or volatile temper has often diſpoſed men to prefer the eaſy taſk of raiſing difficulties and cavils, to the more laborious undertaking of inveſtigating truth by a continued courſe of patient ſtudy. And the ſame temper, united with a gloomy caſt of imagination, has led many to miſtake the dreams of myſticiſm for divine wiſdom. From theſe fountains have ariſen the two principal errors of the human underſtanding, ſcepticiſm and enthuſiaſm.

Modern ſcepticiſm differs in many reſpects from antient pyrrhoniſm, and appears in ſeveral different forms. Some writers have wholly denied the power of the human underſtanding to inveſtigate truth; and, with the antient Pyrrhoniſts, have attempted to bring into diſcredit both the principles, and the method of reaſoning, which have been commonly employed in the purſuit of knowledge. Others have buſied themſelves in ſtarting doubts and difficulties on particular topics of enquiry, and endeavoured to involve every ſubject in uncertainty. Whilſt others, more cautious than the reſt, have made uſe of the weapons of ſcepticiſm againſt the hypothetical method of inveſtigating truth, for the general purpoſe of curbing the arrogance of dogmatiſm, or with the particular deſign of turning the ſtudy of nature out of the channel of conjecture into that of experiment. In theology, ſcepticiſm is ſometimes labouring, on the one hand, to overturn the ſacred edifice of divine revelation, and ſometimes, on the other, to ſupport the intereſt of ſuperſtition, or of fanaticiſm, by declaiming

declaiming on the imbecility of human reaſon. Though our limits will not permit us to relate at full length the hiſtory of modern ſcepticiſm [a], we cannot, conſiſtently with our plan, omit to mention ſome of the more celebrated Sceptics who have appeared ſince the revival of letters.

FRANCIS SANCHEZ [b], a Portugueſe phyſician, born in the year one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-two, after having ſtudied in France and Italy, became a preceptor in philoſophy in the college of Thoulouſe. According to the eſtabliſhed law of the college, he lectured upon Peripatetic principles; but his penetrating genius, ſuperior to vuglar prejudices, could not ſatisfy itſelf with a kind of philoſophy replete with vague opinions, and rather fitted to obſtruct than facilitate the purſuit of knowledge. The fate of Peter Ramus, who, about this time, fell a victim to the reſentment of the Ariſtotelians, prevented him, however, from hazarding a direct attack upon their ſyſtem; and he determined to take the more general ground of ſcepticiſm, in oppoſition to dogmatiſts of every ſect. In a work, *De multum nobili et prima univerſali Scientia, quod nihil ſcitur* [c], "On the very excellent and firſt univerſal Science, that nothing is known," he reprobates the confidence of thoſe philoſophers who advance, as indubitable and fundamental truths, ſuch principles as are in their nature exceedingly doubtful. This treatiſe, which was chiefly intended as an attack upon the Scholaſtic philoſophy, but extends its hoſtilities even to the foundations of ſcience, diſcovers much learning and ingenuity.

With different views was the cauſe of Scepticiſm eſpouſed by JEROM HERNHAYM, a learned abbot of Prague, who wrote a book *De Typho Generis Humani* [d], "On the vain Glory of Human Nature," in which he endeavours to expoſe the preſumption, uncertainty, and falſhood of human ſcience; a work, as the

[a] Fabric. Syllab. Scr. de Ver. Rel. Chr. c. 23. Merſen. de Scepticiſmo.
[b] Raymund. Delaſſ. Præf. Op. N. Anton. Bibl. Hiſp. p. 262. Bayle.
[c] Frankf. 1618. Rotterd. 1649. [d] Prague, 1676. 4to.

author profeſſes, written for the relief of the unlearned, and for the admonition of the learned. The evident deſign of this writer was to depreciate human learning as inimical to divine wiſdom, and to recommend an indolent life as the only way to attain perfection and felicity. As the moſt effectual cure of philoſophical vanity, he endeavours to prove, that all the vices of mankind are to be ultimately traced up to human ſcience. He maintains the abſolute imbecility of the human underſtanding, and the uncertainty of all information from the ſenſes, and aſcribes every appearance of wiſdom among men to ſupernatural divine illuminations. The ſcepticiſm of this writer appears to have been the effect of perverted piety, and may ſerve to prove, that religion itſelf is no ſure guide to men who diſclaim the uſe and authority of reaſon.

Scepticiſm found a much more able and elegant advocate in FRANCIS VAYER DE LA MOTHE[a], juſtly reckoned one of the moſt learned men of his age. He was born at Paris, in the year one thouſand five hundred and eighty-ſix. His literary merit recommended him to the attention of the great, and he was appointed preceptor to the Dauphin in one thouſand ſix hundred and fifty-two. He enjoyed the friendſhip of the celebrated French miniſters, the Cardinals Richlieu and Mazarin. He lived to the age of eighty-ſix. In the writings of Vayer are found an elegance of genius, and extent of reading, which has obtained him the appellation of the modern Plutarch. Of his numerous works, thoſe which chiefly mark his ſceptical turn are, his treatiſe "On the Philoſophy of the Heathens," in which he treats of the uncertainty of the ſenſes; and his "Five Dialogues," under the name of *Oratius Tubero*, in which he applauds the Sceptic philoſophy. To theſe were afterwards added four other dialogues, which breathe the ſame ſpirit. Vayer was an avowed advocate for ſcepticiſm in every branch of ſcience; and though, like many other writers of the ſame ſchool, he profeſſed great reverence for the authority of the church, and inferred the neceſſity of revelation from the uncertainty of all human knowledge,

[a] Pelliſſon. Hiſt. de l' Ac. Fr. p. 234. Bayle. Boileau, Sat. iv.

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he nevertheleſs fell under the cenſure of impiety. Among his diſciples were SORBIERE, who tranſlated part of Sextus Empiricus into French; and FOUCHIER, who wrote a "Hiſtory of the Academic philoſophy[a]."

Another celebrated defender of Scepticiſm was PETER DANIEL HUET[b], born of an illuſtrious family at Caen, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty. After paſſing through the uſual courſe of juvenile learning, in which he diſcovered no inconſiderable talent for poetry, he applied with great diligence to the ſtudy of mathematics and philoſophy under a jeſuit, Peter Mambrun. The Carteſian philoſophy being now generally received, Huet eagerly embraced it, and for ſeveral years continued zealouſly attached to this new ſyſtem. At a more mature age, however, when he came to examine its foundations more accurately, he ſaw reaſon to abandon it as a viſionary fabric. At the age of ſeventeen, in order to qualify himſelf for the ſtudy of antiquity, the deſire of which was excited by reading *Geographia ſacra*, the "Sacred Geography" of the learned Bochart, whoſe perſonal friendſhip he enjoyed, the ſtudy of the Greek and Hebrew languages became the principal object of his attention. In the univerſity of Paris, to which he removed about the age of twenty, he devoted himſelf almoſt entirely to ſociety, and formed an intimate acquaintance with many learned men, among whom were Petau, Labbe, Coſſart, Vavaſſor, and Rapin. With Petau, in particular, he paſſed much of his time. He was a great admirer of the ſplendour of his diction, and the variety of his erudition; but he confeſſes, that in weighing the arguments which he offered in ſupport of his dogmas, he perceived in them a degree of weakneſs and ambiguity, which obliged him to ſuſpend his aſſent, and inclined him towards ſcepticiſm. Naturally excelling rather in genius than in judgment, and the vigour of his underſtanding having been rather repreſſed than improved by an immenſe variety of reading, Huet found his mind too feeble to

[a] Op. Ed. Sex Tomis, Par. 1669.

[b] Huet. de Rebus ad eum pertinentibus, Ed. 1718. Hag. Niceron. Mem. t. 1.

maſter the difficulties of metaphyſical and theological ſtudies, and concluded that his want of ſucceſs in the ſearch after truth was owing, not to any peculiar infelicity in his own caſe, but to the general imbecility of the human mind.

With this bias towards ſcepticiſm Huet entered upon his travels. His friend Bochart having, through the recommendation of Iſaac Voſſius, been invited by that celebrated patroneſs of learning, Chriſtina, daughter of Guſtavus Adolphus, Huet accompanied him. On their way, they paſſed through Holland and Denmark, and became acquainted with the moſt celebrated ſcholars of theſe countries. The queen, upon their arrival, received them with every mark of attention. Huet, during his ſtay in Stockholm, was uſually occupied in examining the antient manuſcripts in the royal library, and made ſuch uſe of his time, as proved very advantageous to the learned world. He copied certain commentaries of Origen, which he afterwards publiſhed and illuſtrated with excellent notes, explaining the hiſtory and opinions of that celebrated father. Having viſited on his way ſeveral ſeminaries of learning, he returned to Caen; where he remained for a time, and after completing his *Originenia*, wrote his dialogue *De Interpretatione et claris Interpretibus*, "On Tranſlations and famous Tranſlators," which was well received in the learned world. Here he alſo inſtituted a ſociety for the improvement of natural philoſophy and anatomy, which, through the intereſt of Colbert, was liberally endowed by the king, for the purpoſe of defraying the expences of philoſophical experiments and anatomical diſſections. About this time Huet formed a friendſhip with Cormis, preſident of the ſenate of Aix, who came to reſide at Caen. This new intimacy very much contributed to confirm Huet in his propenſity towards ſcepticiſm. For Cormiſſus, who was well read in antient philoſophy, was a great admirer of the Pyrrhonic ſect, and earneſtly recommended to his friend the ſtudy of Pyrrhoniſm in the inſtitutes of Sextus Empiricus.

The literary reputation of Huet procured him the notice of Louis the Fourteenth, who, by the advice of Colbert, appointed him, together with Boſſuet, preceptor to the Dauphin. Upon this he removed

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to Paris, where the labours of his new office did not prevent him from proſecuting his private ſtudies. It was in this ſituation that he wrote his celebrated defence of the Chriſtian religion, entitled *Demonſtratio Evangelica*, "A Demonſtration of the Truth of Chriſtianity," in which he undertakes to exhibit the evidences of Chriſtianity in a geometrical form; a work, which indeed diſcovers great erudition, but in which the judicious reader will perceive, that the writer was more deſirous to diſplay his learning, than to eſtabliſh the Chriſtian faith upon rational grounds. In his preface to this work, he maintains at large the uncertainty of all human knowledge, whether derived from the ſenſes or from reaſon, and declares it as his opinion, that thoſe methods of philoſophiſing which lead to a ſuſpenſion of judgment are by no means hoſtile to Chriſtianity, but ſerve to prepare the mind for an implicit ſubmiſſion to divine revelation, which it is in vain to attempt to eſtabliſh by argumentation without the grace of God. Accordingly he profeſſes to write his "Demonſtration," merely as an extraneous and adventitious ſupport to faith, by means of which the mind may be more eaſily inclined to ſubmit itſelf to the authority of Chriſt.

After having paſſed ten years at court, Huet, at the age of forty-five, retired into monaſtic life, and was choſen abbot of the monaſtery of Alnet. In this tranquil retreat he proſecuted the deſign he had long formed of defending the Sceptic philoſophy, and wrote a work entitled *Queſtiones Alnetanæ*[a], "Alnetane Queries," in which he endeavours to fix the reſpective limits of reaſon and faith, and maintains, that the dogmas and precepts of each have no alliance, and that there is nothing, however contradictory to common ſenſe, or to good morals, which has not been received, and which we may not be bound to receive, as a dictate of faith. He honeſtly confeſſes, that he wrote this work to eſtabliſh the authority of tradition againſt the empire of reaſon. On the ſame principle, and with no better ſucceſs, he attempted to refute the principles of the Carteſian

[a] Ed. Lipſ. 1719. 4to.

philoſophy, in his *Cenſura Philoſophiæ Carteſianæ*[a], "Cenſure of the Carteſian Philoſophy;" he alſo wrote a treatiſe, *De Fabulis Romanenſibus*[b], "On Romance;" and another, *De Navigationibus Solomonis*, "On the Voyages of Solomon," which obtained him much applauſe among the learned.

In the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ninety-two, Huet was advanced to the epiſcopal ſee of Avranches; but after a few years he reſigned this honour, and retired to the abbey of Fontenay. He ſpent his laſt days in the Jeſuit's college at Paris, and left his valuable library as a legacy to their ſociety. He died in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-one. After his death appeared minutes of his life, under the title of *Commentarium de Rebus ad eum pertinentibus*, "A Commentary on his own Affairs," written by himſelf in his old age, and "A Diſſertation on the Weakneſs of the Human Underſtanding," in which the ſceptical ſpirit, which followed Huet through every change of ſituation, appears in its full vigour. Of this work, which was originally written in French, the author left behind him a Latin tranſlation. Little is done in this treatiſe more than to exhibit the chief heads of the ſceptic philoſophy, as given by Sextus Empiricus, and to collect from the hiſtory of philoſophy ſuch particulars as might ſeem to recommend the Pyrrhonic method of philoſophiſing, and prove the inſufficiency of the human mind to arrive at the knowledge of truth.

On the whole, though it cannot be queſtioned that Huet, on account of his great learning and fertile genius, may juſtly claim to have his name preſerved with honour in the republic of letters, ſeveral circumſtances muſt prevent us from ranking him among the firſt philoſophers of the ſeventeenth century. Better qualified to accumulate teſtimonies than to inveſtigate truth, and more diſpoſed to raiſe difficulties than to ſolve them, he was an injudicious advocate for a good cauſe. If we are not very much miſtaken, Huet did not ſtrictly adhere to the Scholaſtic art of reaſoning which he had learned in the ſchools of the Jeſuits; otherwiſe, he muſt have ſeen, that

[a] Paris, 1670. [b] Par. 1694.

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there can be no room for faith, or for, what he artfully conceals under that name, the authority of the church, if every criterion of truth be rejected, and human reaſon be pronounced a blind and fallacious guide.

Not inferior to Huet in learning, and much his ſuperior in ſtrength of judgment, and keenneſs of wit, was PETER BAYLE[a], juſtly reckoned one of the moſt powerful advocates for Pyrrhoniſm. He was born at Carlat in Foix, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and forty-ſeven. His father was a member of the reformed church, and inſtructed him in the Greek and Latin languages, and in other branches of learning, till he was nineteen years of age, when he entered upon his academic ſtudies in the Jeſuit's college at Thouloufe. So inſatiable was his thirſt for knowledge, that by inceſſant application he impaired his conſtitution, and was twice in danger of loſing his life; notwithſtanding which, with the return of health, his love of ſtudy returned, and he read with great avidity authors both antient and modern in every branch of learning. Among the antients his principal favourite was Plutarch; among the moderns, Montaigne; and from theſe writers he probably derived his firſt bias towards ſcepticiſm. About the age of twenty he engaged in the ſtudy of logic, and afterwards expreſſed his regret that he had not ſooner made himſelf maſter of this art. One of his college companions, a Romiſh prieſt, obſerving the unſettled ſtate of his mind, prevailed upon him to ſubmit his judgment to the authority of the church; and not without much ſurprize and regret on the part of his friends, he made a public profeſſion of the Catholic faith. Not long afterwards, however, he was induced by the arguments and perſuaſions of his brother, a Proteſtant eccleſiaſtic, to recant his precipitate converſion, and return to the profeſſion of the reformed religion. As apoſtacy from the Catholic faith was at that time a capital offence in France, Bayle found it neceſſary to leave the kingdom, and in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy, retired to Geneva. Here he ſtudied the Carteſian philoſophy, and ſaw reaſon to adopt

[a] Vit. a Des Maizeaux. Baſnag. Reueſt. Maſſon. Limier. Niceron. Conf. Epiſt. et Diction.

it in preference to the barren ſubtleties of the Scholaſtic doctrine, which he had learned in the ſchools of the Jeſuits; ſtill, however, retaining that freedom of thought, which led him, with Horace, to examine all ſects, but adhere tenaciouſly to none.

Through the interceſſion of his friends, Bayle, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-five, obtained permiſſion to viſit Paris, where the ſociety of the moſt learned men, and the uſe of the beſt libraries, enabled him to proſecute his ſtudies with great advantage. Through the intereſt of Baſnage, who was his intimate friend, he obtained the philoſophical chair in the univerſity of Paris, and, within two years from that time, wrote a ſyſtem of philoſophy for the uſe of his pupils. In this ſituation he entered into a controverſy with Poiret, on the ſubject of his treatiſe, entitled *Cogitationes rationales de Deo, Anima, et Malo*, "Rational Thoughts on God, the Soul, and Evil." Whilſt Poiret continued a Carteſian, he treated his antagoniſt with temper; but when he became a Myſtic, he inveighed againſt him with the utmoſt rancour. In one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty, Bayle engaged in a diſpute with Valeſius, a Jeſuit, on the Carteſian notion of Extenſion, in which he oppoſed, with great ingenuity, the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation.

The ſevere perſecution which at this time fell upon all Proteſtants in France, obliged Bayle, with many other learned men, to leave the country and ſettle in Holland. At the entreaty of one of his former pupils, he made choice of Rotterdam as his place of reſidence, where, with Jurieu, he founded a new ſchool. He now publiſhed a treatiſe, which, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-one, he had written, but could not obtain licence to print at Paris, his "Thoughts on Comets;" a work replete with various learning, and well adapted to expoſe the folly of ſuperſtition. This was ſucceeded by a "Critical Diſſertation on Maimburg's Hiſtory of Calviniſm;" in which the author employs the Carteſian weapons againſt the Romiſh church. Although the work was ſo well written, that the Prince of Condé confeſſed himſelf delighted with it, and even Maimburg acknowledged it to be an excellent book, it was ordered

ordered to be publicly burnt at Paris. Nevertheleſs it had many readers and admirers.

The reputation which Bayle had now acquired as a writer, encouraged him to undertake a literary journal, under the title of *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, "Intelligence from the Republic of Letters," in which he undertook to review the moſt important new publications. He did not content himſelf, in this work, with a barren detail of contents, but freely paſſed his judgment upon the merit of authors, and often illuſtrated the ſubject on which they treated by original obſervations. This work, which was begun in one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-four, is juſtly eſteemed one of the moſt valuable literary journals extant. It was afterwards continued by Baſnage under the title of *Hiſtoire des Ouvrages des Savans*, "The Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned." In a metaphyſical diſpute which aroſe in France, between Arnaud and Mallebranche, on Pleaſure, Bayle defended Mallebranche. He wrote a treatiſe on toleration, entitled "A Philoſophical Commentary on the Words of Chriſt, Compel them to come in," in which he defended the cauſe of the Proteſtants with great eloquence, but with ſo much freedom as to offend the more orthodox of the Proteſtants themſelves, and among the reſt his friend and colleague Jurieu, with whom he had a long and ſevere conteſt. To conſole himſelf under the vexations which he experienced from this and other cauſes, Bayle undertook the deſign of writing "An Hiſtorical and Critical Dictionary;" a work which he lived to complete, and which remains as the chief monument of his learning, genius, and wit, and an indiſputable proof of his propenſity towards Scepticiſm. The two firſt volumes of this work appeared in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ninety-ſeven, and, contrary to the author's uſual manner, they were publiſhed with his name. This work contains innumerable illuſtrations of the hiſtory of philoſophy, both antient and modern; and treats many difficult points with the hand of a bold and able critic. But the author is juſtly cenſured for indulging a degree of latitude, inconſiſtent with good morals and decency. In the ſecond edition of this work, publiſhed in one thouſand ſeven hundred

dred and two, the author ſent it forth *chaſtiſed*, amended, and enlarged. It was publiſhed in Engliſh by P. de la Roche, in one thouſand ſeven hundred and nine. Bayle's ſceptical ſpirit further appears in a controverſy which he held towards the cloſe of his life with Le Clerc, and others, on the doctrine advanced by Cudworth, of "Plaſtic Nature," and "On the Origin of Evil," and "On the Manichæan Syſtem." The principal works, in which theſe controverſies are carried on, are *Reſponſiones ad Provincialem quendam*, "Anſwers to a certain Provincial;" and *Entretiens de Maxime et Themiſte*, "Dialogues of Maximus and Themiſtius." In the midſt of theſe conteſts and labours Bayle died, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſix.

Every impartial judge will acknowledge that Bayle was a man of ſtrong judgment, lively imagination, ready invention, and extenſive learning. His friends extol him, too, for many perſonal virtues. At the ſame time it muſt be confeſſed, that his writings betray a mind impreſſed with little reverence for religion, and tend to foſter that kind of ſcepticiſm which is moſt pernicious.

Upon a compariſon of the writings of modern Sceptics, it will appear, that they have adopted this method of philoſophiſing upon very different grounds, and for very different purpoſes: but in whatever form ſcepticiſm appears, or from whatever cauſe it ſprings, it may be confidently pronounced hoſtile to true philoſophy; for its obvious tendency is to invalidate every principle of human knowledge, to deſtroy every criterion of truth, and to undermine the foundations of all ſcience, human and divine.

* Vidend. Ulric. Wild. Diſſ. quod aliquid ſciatur. Lipſ. 1664. Marville Melanges de Lit. t. ii. p. 328. Croix du Maine Bibl. de France, p. 84. Budd. Iſagog. l. i. c. 4. Le Clerc. Bibl. Univ. t. xv. p. 330. Crouſaz. Examen Pyrrhoniſmi.

CHAP.

# CHAP. II.

## OF SCRIPTURAL PHILOSOPHERS.

IF philoſophy has its Scylla of Scepticiſm, it has alſo its Charybdis of Credulity. Whilſt ſome, in ſhaking off the antient prejudice in favour of the Grecian dogmatiſts fell into the pernicious error of rejecting at once the authority both of reaſon and revelation, others were of opinion, that the only remedy for the weakneſs of the human underſtanding was to have recourſe to divine revelation for all philoſophical, as well as theological knowledge. Deſpiſing the light of reaſon, as a dim taper, wholly incapable of diſcovering the path of truth, theſe philoſophers have confounded reaſon and revelation, two ſources of knowledge, which though they proceed from the ſame Author, have their diſtinct limits and uſes. Among thoſe who have choſen this method of philoſophiſing, ſome have profeſſed to confine themſelves to the literal meaning of ſcripture, and undertaken to derive a ſyſtem of phyſics from the writings of Moſes, and from other parts of the Sacred Volumes; and others, diſdaining to employ reaſon, even as a handmaid to revelation, have pretended to derive their knowledge of philoſophy from immediate inſpiration; and, neglecting the literal ſenſe of ſcripture have, by the help of allegory, adapted its language to their enthuſiaſtic notions. The former may be called SCRIPTURAL PHILOSOPHERS, the latter THEOSOPHISTS.

In the claſs of SCRIPTURAL PHILOSOPHERS we do not mean to include thoſe, who have applied the Sectarian philoſophy to the explanation of ſcripture, or the illuſtration of its doctrine, which was done very ſucceſsfully, both in logic and phyſics, by Alſted, Glaſs, Valeſius, Bochart and others[a]; nor thoſe who have endeavoured to

[a] Kahl. Bibl. Phil. c. 7. § 7.

ſhew the agreement of their ſyſtem of philoſophy, or of the general principles of reaſon, and the natural law of morality, with the doctrine of ſcripture. Under the appellation of Scriptural philoſophers we only mean to comprehend thoſe who, after the example of Philo, and all the Jewiſh cabbaliſts, as well as many of the Chriſtian fathers, have ſuppoſed all philoſophy to be derived from divine revelation, and who, deſpairing of being able to arrive at any true knowledge of nature, by the light of reaſon, have had recourſe to the ſacred oracles, and particularly to the Moſaic hiſtory of the creation, and endeavoured upon this foundation to raiſe a new ſtructure of philoſophy. From a great multitude of writers who have purſued this track, many of them with little reputation to themſelves or benefit to ſcience, it may ſuffice to ſelect a few, who have been more diſtinguiſhed than the reſt for their learning or ability.

The firſt writer of this claſs, who deſerves diſtinct mention, is Otto Casman[a], preſident of the college of Stade, who flouriſhed about the cloſe of the ſixteenth century. He was diſſatisfied with the unprofitable ſubtleties of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, and determined, in the ſtudy of nature, rather to rely upon the deciſion of the ſacred writings, than upon the doctrine of the antient Heathen philoſophers. Even in his explanation of ſcripture he refuſed to call in the aſſiſtance of philoſophical rules of interpretation. In a work entitled *Coſmopœia*, "On the Formation of the World," he derives his phyſical doctrine from the ſcriptures; and in his *Modeſta Aſſertio Philoſophiæ et Chriſtianæ et Veræ*[b], "Modeſt Aſſertion of true and Chriſtian Philoſophy," he profeſſes to write Chriſtian Inſtitutes of grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, &c. With Caſman may be joined Henry Alsted[c], profeſſor of divinity at Alba-Julia till one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-eight, when he died, in his fiftieth year. In his *Encyclopedia Biblica*[d], he undertakes to deduce the elements of philoſophy, juriſprudence, and medicine from the ſacred ſcriptures; a work which ſhews more good intention, than

[a] Budd. Intr. ad Hiſt. Phil. Heb. § 36. [b] Francof. 1601. 8vo.
[c] Baillet Jugemens des Savans, t. ii. p. 328. Reimm. Hiſt. Lit. Germ. p. iii. p. 185.
[d] Francof. 1625. 8vo.

found

ſound judgment. Theſe writers have treated the books of the ſacred ſcripture as ſome antient critics treated Homer, who, whilſt they pretended to find in him every kind of ſcience and wiſdom, ſuffered the true meaning and ſpirit of his poems to eſcape their attention. The *Philoſophia Moſaica*, "Moſaic Philoſophy," of Pfeiffer is liable to the ſame cenſure.

What theſe writers attempted with reſpect to philoſophy in general others undertook, but with no better ſucceſs, in particular branches of ſcience. CONRAD ASLACH, of Bergen, in Norway, after having been inſtructed in the family of the celebrated aſtronomer Tycho Brahe, and viſited many of the principal ſchools of Europe, was, at the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, made profeſſor of philoſophy and theology in the univerſity of Copenhagen, and was the author of "A Syſtem of Chriſtian Ethics and Phyſics." LAMBERTUS DANÆUS, a celebrated Proteſtant divine, who was a profeſſor of theology at Geneva, wrote a treatiſe of the ſame kind, entitled *Phyſica Chriſtiana*, "Chriſtian Phyſics." A Scriptural Syſtem of Politics was alſo written by SCRIBANUS; and of Natural Law, by VALENTINE ALBERT: writers, whoſe works are more calculated to confound than to diſcover truth.

Among the ſcriptural philoſophers muſt alſo be reckoned thoſe who have written Moſaic Coſmogonies, or attempted to give a philoſophical explanation of the origin of the world, on the ground of the Moſaic hiſtory of the creation. Of theſe the two principal are Dickinſon and Burnet.

EDMUND DICKINSON, an Engliſh phyſician, born in one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-four, wrote a treatiſe *De Phyſica veteri et vera*, "On true and antient Phyſics[a];" in which he attempts, from the ſcriptural account of the creation, to explain the manner in which the world was formed. Aſſuming, as the ground of his theory, the Atomic doctrine, and the exiſtence of an Immaterial Cauſe of the concourſe of indiviſible atoms, he ſuppoſes the particles of matter agitated by a double motion; one gentle and tranſverſe, of

[a] Lond. 1702. 4to.

the particles among themſelves, whence elementary corpuſcles are formed; the other circular, by which the whole maſs is revolved, and the regions of heaven and earth are produced. By the motion of the elementary corpuſcles of different magnitude and form, he ſuppoſes the different bodies of nature to have been produced, and attempts, upon this plan, to deſcribe the proceſs of creation through each of the Six Days. He explains at large the formation of human nature, ſhewing in what manner, by means of a plaſtic ſeminal virtue, man became an animated being. The theory, though founded upon conjecture, and loaded with unphiloſophical fictions, the author not only pretends to derive from the Moſaic narrative, but maintains to have been conſonant to the moſt antient Hebrew traditions. The uſe which this Theoriſt makes of the doctrine of atoms, ſhews him to have been wholly unacquainted with the true notion of the antients on this ſubject; and indeed the whole work ſeems to have been the offspring of a confuſed imagination, rather than of a ſound judgment.

The ſame deſign was undertaken and executed with much more learning and ability, by Thomas Burnet[a], born in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-five, and educated at Cambridge, under Cudworth, and other followers of the Platonic philoſophy. Burnet ſoon diſcovered, that whatever praiſe might be due to Plato in theology and morals, he was a very inſufficient guide in phyſics and coſmology. During the courſe of a literary tour through France, Italy, Holland, and part of Germany, he formed the deſign of delineating the ſyſtem of the world according to the Moſaic hiſtory of the creation and deluge, and upon his return wrote in Latin the firſt part of his Theory of the Earth. The novelty of his ideas, and the perſpicuity and elegance of his ſtyle, recommended his work to the attention of the learned; and he obtained ſuch a degree of literary reputation, that in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-four, he was appointed by Charles the Second, maſter of the Charter-houſe, with a ſplendid endowment. Here he employed his firſt leiſure in completing his Theory; the ſecond part of which

[a] Acta Phil. vol. iii. p. 434.

was

was dedicated to William the Third; and in writing his *Archælogia Philoſophica*, "Philoſophical Antiquities," a work replete with learning, and abounding with judicious obſervations. It muſt, however, be confeſſed that Burnet's partiality to his theory led him to find in the antient theogonies, and in the phyſical doctrine of the antient philoſophers, things which others have not diſcovered. His ſingular opinions concerning the origin of the world, the fall, the deluge, and other ſubjects, brought upon him the charge of hereſy, and involved him in troubleſome controverſies. He lived to the age of eighty-five. Before his death he committed to the flames all the manuſcripts which he had drawn up for the preſs, except two treatiſes, *De Statu Mortuorum et Reſurgentium*, "On the State of the Dead, and of the Reſurrection," and *De Fide et Officiis Chriſtianorum*, "On the Faith and Duties of Chriſtians;" of which only a few copies were at firſt printed for the uſe of his friends.

The Moſaic coſmogony Burnet thus explains. Between the beginning and end of the world he ſuppoſes ſeveral intermediate periods, in which he conceives that nature undergoes various changes. Thoſe which reſpect this terraqueous globe, he believes to have been recorded in the ſacred ſcriptures. From theſe, compared with profane hiſtory, he attempts to prove, that the primæval earth, as it roſe out of chaos, was of a different form and ſtructure from the preſent, and was ſuch, that from its diſſolution would naturally ariſe an univerſal deluge. Such a change in the ſtate of the globe he infers from the general aſpect of its ſurface in the preſent day; and he argues, that ſince it is the nature of fluids to form a ſmooth ſurface, the earth, which was at firſt a chaotic maſs in a fluid ſtate, as it gradually became ſolid by the exhalation of the lighter particles of air and water, would ſtill retain its regular ſuperficies, ſo that the new earth would reſemble an egg. The earth, in this paradiſaical ſtate, he ſuppoſes to be capable of ſending forth its vegetable productions without rain, and to enjoy a perpetually ſerene and cloudleſs atmoſphere. In proceſs of time, he conceived that the ſurface of the earth, by the continual action of the rays of the ſun, would become ſo parched, as to occaſion vaſt fiſſures, through which the

the waters of the great abyſs, contained within the bowels of the earth, would be ſent forth by means of elaſtic vapours, expanded by heat, and acting with irreſiſtible force upon their ſurface; whence a univerſal deluge would enſue, and in the violent concuſſion, lofty mountains, craggy rocks, and other varieties in the external form of the earth, would appear. Our Theoriſt alſo conjectures, that the earth, in its original ſtate, owed its univerſal ſpring to the coincidence of the plane of the ecliptic with that of the equator; and ſuppoſes that, at the deluge, the pole of the ecliptic changed its poſition, and became oblique to the plane of the equator. From ſimilar cauſes he conceives, that the final conflagration will be produced. This theory is well imagined, ſupported with much erudition, and deſcribed with great elegance of diction: but it can only be conſidered as an ingenious fiction, which reſts upon no other foundation than mere conjecture. WHISTON [a], CLUVERIUS [b], and others, have alſo, upon the ground of the Moſaic coſmogony, formed theories of the earth: but theſe Philoſophical Romances have contributed little towards the improvement of knowledge.

Another writer who claims a place among the Scriptural philoſophers is JOANNES AMOS COMENIUS [c], a native of Moravia, born in the year one thouſand five hundred and ninety-two, the author of a celebrated and uſeful grammatical work, entitled *Janua Linguarum*, "The Porch of Languages." His proteſtant principles (for he was a miniſter of the reformed church, firſt in his native country, and afterwards in Poland) led him to enquire freely into the grounds of opinions both philoſophical and theological; and he ſoon diſcovered the futility of the Peripatetic philoſophy, and reſolved, if poſſible, to ſubſtitute ſomething better in its ſtead. Taking Senſe, Reaſon, and Scripture for his guides, he framed a ſyſtem of phyſics, which he entitled, *Synopſis phyſica ad Lumen divinum reformata*, "A Synopſis of Phyſics reformed according to Divine Light." Comenius ſuppoſes three principles of nature, matter, ſpirit, and light; the firſt a dark, inactive, corporeal ſubſtance, which receives forms; the ſecond,

[a] A new Theory of the Earth. Lond. 1698.
[b] Geologia. Hamb. 1700. 4to. [c] Bayle. Præf. Op. Didact.

the

the ſubtle, living, inviſible ſubſtance, which animates material bodies; the third, a middle ſubſtance between the two former, lucid, viſible, moveable, capable of penetrating matter, which is the inſtrument by which ſpirit acts upon matter, and which performs its office by means of motion, agitation, or vibration. Of theſe three principles he conceived all created beings to be compoſed. This doctrine he attempts to derive from the Moſaic hiſtory of the creation; but the Scholaſtic fictions which men of this caſt aſcribe to Moſes, Moſes himſelf would probably never have owned.

The ſame track was purſued by JOANNES BAYER [a], an Hungarian divine, who flouriſhed about the middle of the laſt century. He adopted the three principles of Comenius, but introduced diſtinctions reſpecting each, which in ſubtlety may vie with the moſt ſubtle ſpeculations of the Scholaſtic doctors, and which it would be an unpardonable treſpaſs upon the reader's patience to detail. His work is entitled *Atrium Naturæ ichnographice delineatum* [b], "The Court of Nature ichnographically delineated."

Who does not perceive, from the particulars which have been related concerning theſe Scriptural philoſophers, that their labours, however well intended, have been of little benefit to philoſophy? Their fundamental error has conſiſted in ſuppoſing, that the ſacred ſcriptures were intended, not only to inſtruct men in all things neceſſary to their ſalvation, but to teach the true principles of phyſical and metaphyſical ſcience. Had theſe philoſophers duly conſidered that reaſon and revelation, though both from the ſame fountain, has each its proper office and end, which ought not to be confounded, they would have refrained from that miſapplication of revelation, which has led them to ingraft the fictions of their own imaginations upon the ſcriptures; a practice which has proved exceedingly injurious both to philoſophy and religion: to philoſophy, by giving more credit and authority to the conceits of fanciful men than they would otherwiſe have obtained; to religion, by encouraging writers of more imagination than judgment, to exerciſe their ingenuity

[a] Morhoff. Polyh. t. ii. l. ii. p. i. c. 3. § 5. Caſſov. 1662.

upon the ſcriptures, in a way which may not only expoſe themſelves, but even the ſacred writings, to ridicule *.

* Vidend. Reimann. Cat. Bib. Theol. p. i. p. 691—1108. Gundling. Hiſt. Phil. Mor. c. 7. Heuman. Act. Ph. v. ii. p. 26—31. v. iii. p. 434. Gonſalez de Salas Diſſ. Parad. de duplici viventium terra, Lugd. 1650. Abyſſinian Philoſophy confuted, Lond. 1697. Keil's Examination of Burnet's Theory, Ox. 1698. Whitby's Defence of the Moſaic Hiſtory of the Creation, Lond. 1705. Barini Mundus naſcens, Traj. 1686. Moyſes illuſtr. Amſt. 1707. Eſpagneti Compend. Phyſ. Theſes Phyſ. Comen. Berolin. 1702.

## CHAP. III.

### OF THE THEOSOPHISTS.

BESIDES the Scripturaliſts, there is another claſs of philoſophers who profeſs to derive their knowledge of nature from divine revelation, namely the THEOSOPHISTS. Theſe men, neither contented with the natural light of human reaſon, nor with the ſimple doctrines of ſcripture underſtood in their literal ſenſe, have recourſe to an internal ſupernatural light, ſuperior to all other illuminations, from which they profeſs to derive a myſterious and divine philoſophy, manifeſted only to the choſen favourites of heaven. They boaſt that, by means of this celeſtial light, they are not only admitted to the intimate knowledge of God, and of all divine truth, but have acceſs to the moſt ſublime ſecrets of nature. They aſcribe it to the ſingular manifeſtation of divine benevolence, that they are able to make ſuch a uſe of the element of fire, in the chemical art, as enables them to diſcover the eſſential principles of bodies, and to diſcloſe ſtupendous myſteries in the phyſical world. They even pretend to an acquaintance with thoſe celeſtial beings, which form the medium

of intercourſe between God and man, and to a power of obtaining from them, by the aid of magic, aſtrology, and other ſimilar arts, various kinds of information and aſſiſtance. This they affirm to have been the antient ſecret wiſdom, firſt revealed to the Jews under the name of the Cabbala, and tranſmitted by tradition to poſterity. Philoſophers of this claſs have no common ſyſtem; but every one follows the impulſe of his own imagination, and conſtructs an edifice of fanaticiſm for himſelf. The only thing in which they are agreed is, to abandon human reaſon, and pretend to divine illumination. The reader will eaſily perceive, that it muſt be a difficult taſk to decypher the ſyſtems of ſuch philoſophers, and will not be diſappointed if he find us unable to illuminate this region of obſcurity. In purſuit of our plan, we ſhall enumerate a few of the principal Theoſophiſts.

Many traces of the ſpirit of Theoſophiſm may be found through the whole hiſtory of philoſophy; in which nothing is more frequent, than fanatical and hypocritical pretenſions to divine illumination.

Among moderns, the firſt name which appears with diſtinction in this claſs of philoſophers is PHILIPPUS AUREOLUS THEOPHRASTUS PARACELSUS*, a man of a ſtrange and paradoxical genius. He was born at Einſidlen, near Zurich, in the year one thouſand four hundred and ninety-three. His family name, which was Bombaſtus, he afterwards changed, after the cuſtom of the age, into Paracelſus. He was inſtructed by his father, who was a phyſician, in languages and medicine. So earneſtly deſirous was he of penetrating into the myſteries of nature, that, neglecting books, he undertook long and hazardous journies through Germany, Italy, Spain, Denmark, Hungary, and Moſcovy, and probably ſeveral parts of Aſia and Africa. He not only viſited literary and learned men, but frequented the workſhops of mechanics, deſcended into mines, and thought no place mean or hazardous, if it afforded him an opportunity of increaſing his knowledge of nature. He conſulted all perſons

* Conf. Script. Adami Vit. Med. p. 28. 195. 321. Conring. de Med. Herm. l. ii. p. 338. Arnold, H. E. p. ii. p. 308. p. 18.

who pretended to be poſſeſſed of any ſecret art, particularly ſuch as were ſkilled in metallurgy. Being in this manner a ſelf-taught philoſopher and phyſician, he deſpiſed the medical writings of the antients, and boaſted that the whole contents of his library would not amount to ſix folios.

Rejecting the tedious method of the Galenic ſchool, Paracelſus had recourſe to new and ſecret medicines procured from metallic ſubſtances by the chemical art. And his bold empirical practice was in many caſes attended with ſuch wonderful ſucceſs, that he roſe to the ſummit of popular fame, and even obtained the medical chair in the city of Baſil. Among other noſtrums, he adminiſtered a medicine, to which he gave the name of Azoth, which, he boaſted, was the philoſopher's ſtone, the medical *panacea*, and which his diſciples extol as the Tincture of Life, given through the divine favour to man in theſe laſt days. His irregular practice, and the virulence with which he cenſured the ignorance and indolence of other phyſicians, created him many enemies. The rewards, which he received for the cures he performed, were by no means adequate to the expectations of his vanity and ambition. After meeting with many diſappointments and mortifications, an incident occurred which determined him to leave Baſil. A wealthy canon of Lichtfield, who happened to fall ſick at Baſil, offered Paracelſus a hundred florins to cure his diſeaſe. This Paracelſus eaſily effected with three pills of *his Laudanum*, one of his moſt powerful medicines. The canon, reſtored to health ſo ſoon, and, as appeared to him, by ſuch ſlight means, refuſed to ſtand to his engagement. Paracelſus brought the matter before the magiſtrate, who decreed him only the uſual fee. Inflamed with violent indignation at the contempt which was, by this deciſion, thrown upon his art, after inveighing bitterly againſt the canon, the magiſtrate, and the whole city, he left Baſil, and withdrew into Alſace, whither his medical fame and ſucceſs followed him. After two years, during which time he practiſed medicine in the principal families of the country, about the year one thouſand five hundred and thirty, he removed into Switzerland, where he converſed with Bullenger and other divines. From

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this time, he ſeems for many years to have roved through various parts of Germany and Bohemia. At laſt, in the year one thouſand five hundred and forty-one, he finiſhed his days in the hoſpital of St. Sebaſtian, in Saltſburg.

Different and even contradictory judgments have been formed by the learned concerning Paracelſus. His admirers and followers have celebrated him as a perfect maſter of all philoſophical and medical myſteries. Some, on account of the reformation which he produced in medicine, have called him the medical Luther. Many have maintained, as indeed he himſelf boaſted, that he was poſſeſſed of the grand ſecret of converting inferior metals into gold. On the contrary, others have charged his whole medical practice with ignorance, impoſture, and impudence. J. Crato, in an epiſtle to Zwinger, atteſts, that in Bohemia his medicines, even when they performed an apparent cure, left his patients in ſuch a ſtate, that they ſoon after died of palſies or epilepſies. Eraſtus, who was for two years one of his pupils, wrote an entire book to detect his impoſtures. He is ſaid to have been not only unacquainted with the Greek language, but ſo bad a Latin ſcholar, that he dared not ſpeak a word of Latin in the preſence of learned men. It is even aſſerted, that he was ſo imperfect a maſter of his vernacular tongue, that he was obliged to have his German writings corrected by another hand. His adverſaries alſo charge him with the moſt contemptible arrogance, the moſt vulgar ſcurrility, the groſſeſt intemperance, and the moſt deteſtable impiety. The truth ſeems to be, that Paracelſus's merit chiefly conſiſted in improving the art of chemiſtry, and in inventing, or bringing to light, ſeveral chemical medicines, which to this day hold their place in the *Pharmacopœia*. Without either learning, or urbanity, or even decency of manners, by the mere help of phyſical knowledge and the chemical arts, he obtained an uncommon ſhare of medical fame; and to ſupport his credit with the ignorant, he pretended to an intercourſe with inviſible ſpirits, and to divine illuminations.

Paracelſus wrote, or rather dictated to his amanuenſis, many treatiſes; but they are ſo entirely void of elegance, ſo immethodical and

obſcure, that one may almoſt credit the aſſertion of his chemical aſſiſtant, Oponinus, that he dictated moſt of his books in the night, when he was intoxicated. They treat of an immenſe variety of ſubjects, medical, magical, and philoſophical. His *Philoſophia ſagax*, "Subtle Philoſophy," is a moſt obſcure and confuſed treatiſe on aſtrology, necromancy, chiromancy, phyſiognomy, and other divining arts, calculated for no other purpoſe than to promote vulgar ſuperſtition. Several of his pieces treat of philoſophical ſubjects, ſuch as "The Production and Fruit of the Four Elements;" "The Secrets of Nature, their Origin, Cauſes, Character, and Properties," and the like; but they are ſuch a confuſed maſs of words, that it would be an Herculean labour to draw out from them any thing which would have the leaſt appearance of a conſiſtent philoſophical ſyſtem[a].

The chemical, or Paracelſic, ſchool produced many eminent men, whoſe memoirs rather belong to the hiſtory of medicine than of philoſophy. Many of theſe took great pains to digeſt the incoherent dogmas of their maſter into a methodical ſyſtem. A ſummary of his doctrine may be ſeen in the preface to the *Baſilica Chymica* of Crollius; which after all is nothing better than a mere jargon of words, with which it is wholly unneceſſary to trouble the reader.

What Paracelſus was in the ſixteenth century, Robert Fludd[b], an Engliſh phyſician, attempted to become in the ſeventeenth. He was born in the year one thouſand five hundred and ſeventy-four, at Milgate, in Kent, and became a ſtudent in the univerſity of Oxford in one thouſand five hundred and ninety-one. After he had finiſhed his ſtudies, he ſpent ſix years in travelling, in order to obſerve and collect what was curious in nature, myſterious in the arts, or profound in ſcience. Returning to England, he was admitted into the college of phyſicians in London, where he obtained great admiration

[a] Sennert. de Conſenſu Chem. et Galen. c. 3. Severini Idea Medic. Phil. Baſil. 1571. 4to. Naud. Apol. p. 259. Morhoff. Polyh. t. ii. l. ii. p. i. c. 16.

[b] Wood Hiſt. Ant. Ox. l. ii. p. 390. Athen. Ox. p. 610. Gaſſend. Exam. Phil. Fluddianæ.

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for his ſingular piety, and the profundity of his chemical, philoſophical, and theological knowledge. After a long courſe of extenſive practice, he died in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-ſeven.

So peculiar was this philoſopher's turn of mind, that there was nothing which antient or modern times could afford, under the notion of occult wiſdom, which he did not eagerly gather into his magazine of ſcience. All the myſterious and incomprehenſible dreams of the Cabbaliſts and Paracelſians, he compounded into a new maſs of abſurdity. In hopes of improving the medical and chemical arts, he deviſed a new ſyſtem of phyſics, loaded with wonderful hypotheſes, and myſtical fictions. He ſuppoſed two Univerſal Principles, the Northern or condenſing power, and the Southern, or rarefying power. Over theſe he placed innumerable intelligences and geniuſes, and called together whole troops of ſpirits from the four winds, to whom he committed the charge of diſeaſes. He applied his thermometer to diſcover the harmony between the macrocoſm and the microcoſm, or the world of nature and of man; he introduced many marvellous fictions into natural philoſophy and medicine; he attempted to explain the Moſaic coſmogony, in a work entitled *Philoſophia Moſaica*, wherein he ſpeaks of three firſt principles, *darkneſs*, as the firſt matter; *water*, as the ſecond matter; and the *divine light*, as the moſt central eſſence, creating, informing, vivifying all things; of ſecondary principles, two active, cold and heat; and two paſſive, moiſture and dryneſs; and deſcribes the whole myſtery of production and corruption, of regeneration and reſurrection, with ſuch vague conceptions and obſcure language, as leaves the ſubject involved in impenetrable darkneſs. Some of his ideas, ſuch as they were, appear to have been borrowed from the Cabbaliſts and Alexandrian Platoniſts. The reader will eaſily judge, what kind of light may be expected from the writings of Robert Fludd, when he is informed that he aſcribes the magnetic virtue to the irradiation of angels. His philoſophical works are, *Utriuſque Coſmi Hiſtoria*; *Veritatis Proſcenium*; *Monochordium Mundi ſymphoniacum*; *Clavis Philoſophiæ et Alchymiæ*; *Meteorologia coſmica*, &c. His extravagancies

travagancies were reprobated by ſeveral writers, particularly Kepler and Merſenus. In reply he wrote an allegoric piece, under the title of "The Conteſt of Wiſdom with Folly." Merſenus, who did not chuſe to continue the controverſy, engaged Gaſſendi to chaſtiſe him, in his *Examen Philoſophiæ Fluddianæ*; "Examination of the Fluddian Philoſophy;" a work which ſhould be read by thoſe who wiſh to form an accurate judgment of Fludd and other Theoſophiſts.

One of the moſt dazzling luminaries in the conſtellation of Theoſophiſts was JACOB BOEHMEN[a], a famous German philoſopher, born near Gorlitz, in Upper Luſatia, in the year one thouſand five hundred and ſeventy-five. He was brought up a ſhoemaker, and at twenty years of age married a butcher's daughter, with whom he lived happily thirty years. Though he never entirely forſook his occupation, his ſingular genius ſoon carried him *ultra crepidam*, "beyond his laſt." The theological controverſies which were at this time ſpreading through Germany, made their way among the loweſt claſſes of the people; and Boehmen, much diſturbed in his mind upon many articles of faith, prayed earneſtly for divine illumination. The conſequence, according to his own account, was, that, rapt beyond himſelf for ſeven days together, he experienced a ſacred ſabbatic ſilence, and was admitted to the intuitive viſion of God. Soon afterwards, he had a ſecond ecſtacy, in which, as he relates, whilſt he was obſerving the rays which were reflected from a bright pewter veſſel, he found himſelf on a ſudden ſurrounded with celeſtial irradiations; his ſpirit was carried to the inmoſt world of nature, and enabled from the external forms, lineaments, and colours of bodies, to penetrate into the receſs of their eſſences. In a third viſion of the ſame kind, other ſtill more ſublime myſteries were revealed to him, concerning the origin of nature, and the formation of all things, and even concerning divine principles and intelligent natures. Theſe wonderful communications, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and twelve, Boehmen committed to writing, and

[a] Frankenberg. Vit. Boehm. Sagittar. Intr. in H. E. c. 133. § 19. p. 899. Weiſſen. Hiſt. E. t. ii. p. 1234. Hiſt. J. Boehm. Hamb. 1698. Adam. de Vit. B. Calo, Witteberg. 1715.

produced his firſt treatiſe, entitled *Aurora*; of which, however, the principles, the ideas, and the language are ſo new and myſterious, that we find it wholly impracticable to attempt an abridgment. Indeed, the author himſelf declares theſe myſteries incomprehenſible to fleſh and blood; and ſays, that though the words be read, their meaning will lie concealed, till the reader has by prayer obtained illumination from that heavenly ſpirit, which is in God, and in all nature, and from which all things proceed.

The *Aurora* falling into the hands of the miniſter of Gorlitz, he ſeverely reprimanded the author from the pulpit, and procured an order from the ſenate of the city for repreſſing the work, in which Boehmen was required to diſcontinue his attempts to enlighten the world by his writings. Boehmen payed ſo much regard to this order, which muſt be confeſſed to have been as injudicious as it was oppreſſive, as to refrain from writing for ſeven years. His projected work, however, found its way to the preſs at Amſterdam in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and nineteen; and the author was encouraged by this circumſtance to reſume his pen, and from that time ſent forth frequent publications. It is ſaid, but upon uncertain authority, that he was ſummoned to the ſupreme eccleſiaſtical court at Dreſden, and there underwent an examination before a body of Theologians, in which he pleaded his cauſe ſo ſucceſsfully, that he was diſmiſſed without cenſure. Boehmen died in the communion of the Lutheran church, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-four.

It will be eaſily perceived, from the particulars which have been related, that, in Jacob Boehmen, a warm imagination united with a gloomy temper, and unreſtrained by ſolid judgment, produced that kind of enthuſiaſm, which in its paroxyſms diſturbs the natural faculties of perception and underſtanding, and produces a preternatural agitation of the nervous ſyſtem, during which the mind is filled with wild and wonderful conceptions, which paſs for viſions and revelations. Every page of his writings, and even the hieroglyphic figures prefixed to his works, ſpeak a diſordered imagination, and it

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is in vain to attempt to derive his Theoſophics from any other ſource; unleſs indeed we were inclined to believe the account which he gives of himſelf, when, boaſting that he was neither indebted to human learning, nor was to be ranked among ordinary philoſophers, he ſays, that he wrote, "Not from an external view of nature, but from the dictates of the ſpirit; and that what he delivered concerning the nature of things, and concerning the works and creatures of God, had been laid open before his mind by God himſelf." The conceptions of this enthuſiaſt, in themſelves ſufficiently obſcure, are often rendered ſtill more ſo by being clothed under allegorical ſymbols derived from the chemical art. As he frequently uſes the ſame terms with Paracelſus, it is probable that he was converſant with his writings; but he certainly followed no other guides than his own eccentric genius and enthuſiaſtic imagination: and every attempt which has been made by his followers to explain and illuſtrate his ſyſtem, has been only raiſing a freſh *ignis fatuus* to lead the bewildered traveller ſtill further aſtray.

We honeſtly confeſs it to be wholly beyond our power to give any ſummary of the Boehmian ſyſtem. This myſtic makes God the eſſence of eſſences, and ſuppoſes a long ſeries of ſpiritual natures, and even matter itſelf, to have flowed from the fountain of the divine nature. His language, upon theſe ſubjects, nearly reſembles that of the Jewiſh Cabbala. The whole divine Trinity, ſays he, ſending forth bodily forms, produces an image of itſelf, *velut deum quendam parvum*, "as a God in miniature." If any one name the heavens, the earth, the ſtars, the elements, and whatever is beneath or above the heavens, he herein names the whole deity, who by a power proceeding from himſelf, thus makes his own eſſence corporeal.

The elements of Boehman's theoſophy may be read in his *Aurora*, and in his treatiſe *De tribus divinæ Eſſentiæ Principiis*, "On the Three Principles of the Divine Eſſence." That Jacob Boehman had many followers will not be thought ſurpriſing, by thoſe who have obſerved the univerſal propenſity of weak and vulgar minds to be delighted

delighted with whatever is myſterious and marvellous, eſpecially when it is clothed in obſcure and allegorical language.*

A more ſcientific Theoſophiſt than Jacob Boehman we find in JOHN BAPTISTA VAN HELMONT[a], a celebrated phyſician, born at Bruſſels in one thouſand five hundred and ſeventy-ſeven. He made ſuch early proficiency in the ſtudies proper to his profeſſion, that, at ſeventeen years of age, he was appointed lecturer in ſurgery in the academy of Louvain. But he ſoon diſcovered, that he had undertaken this office inconſiderately, and had preſumed to teach what he himſelf did not underſtand. He found that, though he had read many books, and made large common place collections, he had not yet acquired true and ſubſtantial knowledge; and he lamented that credulous and ſimple youth are ſo often deceived by the arrogant pretenſions of profeſſors. He now applied with unwearied induſtry to the ſtudy of mathematics, geometric, logiſtic and algebraic, and of aſtronomy. But even in theſe branches of ſcience he did not find the ſatisfaction he expected. Still complaining of his ignorance, he refuſed the title of Maſter of Arts, and ſaid, that he had hitherto learned no ſingle art in reality, but in appearance only. Under all this ſeeming modeſty, Van Helmont concealed a faſtidious contempt of all knowledge but his own, and even of all the learning which had hitherto appeared in the world, and a fond conceit that he was raiſed up by God to overturn former ſyſtems, and to introduce a new method of philoſophiſing. Induced, as he relates, by the pious writings of Thomas a Kempis to pray to God that he would enable him to love and purſue the truth, he was inſtructed by a dream to renounce all Pagan philoſophy, and particularly Stoiciſm, to which he had been inclined, and to wait for divine illuminations. Diſſa-

* Omnia enim ſtolidi magis admirantur amantque
Inverſis quæ ſub verbis latitantia cernunt.

[a] Confeſſ. t. i. Op. p. 9. Arnold. H. E. p. iii. c. 8. Reiman. Hiſt. Germ. Lit. v. iii. p. 437. Blount. Cenſ. p. 955. Witten. Mem. Med. p. 125. Seder Olam. Amſt. 1697.

tisfied with the knowledge of the nature and virtues of plants which he derived from the writings of Matthiolus and Dioſcorides, and with the principles of medicine which he found in Galen or Avicenna, he concluded that medical knowledge was not to be obtained from the writings of men, or from human induſtry. He had again recourſe to prayers, and was again admoniſhed by a dream to give himſelf up to the purſuit of divine wiſdom. About this time he learned, from an illiterate chemiſt, the practical operations of the chemical art, and devoted himſelf with great zeal and perſeverance to this purſuit, in hopes of finding in a chemical laboratory that knowledge which he had in vain ſought for from books. The medical ſkill, which he by this means acquired, he entirely employed in the ſervice of the poor. He adminiſtered medicines *gratis* for ſeveral years, and obtained a high reputation both for humanity and medical ſkill. A cold, which he caught in viſiting a poor patient in the night, put an end to his life, in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age.

Van Helmont certainly poſſeſſed ready talents, read much, and by the help of experiment improved both the chemical and medical art; but his vanity led him into empirical pretenſions. He boaſted that he was poſſeſſed of a fluid, which he called Alcaheſt, or pure ſalt, which was the firſt material principle in nature, and was capable of penetrating into bodies, and producing an entire ſeparation and tranſmutation of their component parts. But this wonderful fluid was never ſhewn to any perſon whatever, not even to his ſon, who alſo practiſed chemiſtry. The contempt which this philoſopher entertained for all former ſyſtems, led him to frame one of his own, which was a ſtrange compound of theological, medical, and philoſophical paradoxes, and in which Theoſophic myſticiſm is united with Scholaſtic ſubtleties. Although he profeſſes to erect the ſtructure of his ſyſtem upon the foundation of experiment, it is in truth nothing more than a baſeleſs fabric, raiſed in dreams and extacies by a luxuriant and diſordered imagination. Ambitious of novelty, Van Helmont framed abſtractions which never exiſted, but in his own feveriſh brain, and, after giving theſe imaginary entities barbarous names,

names, boaſted of them as wonderful inventions. His writings, if we except a few things in practical chemiſtry and medicine, are, in fact, wholly deſtitute of that kind of information, which would ſatisfy a rational enquirer after truth, or an accurate inveſtigator of nature.

The footſteps of this philoſopher were cloſely followed by his ſon, FRANCIS HELMONT[a], who induſtriouſly increaſed the ſtock of philoſophical fictions which he inherited from his father, by incorporating with them the dreams of the Jewiſh Cabbala. His "Paradoxical Diſſertations," are a maſs of philoſophical, medical, and theological paradoxes, ſcarcely to be paralleled in the hiſtory of letters.

The moſt elegant and philoſophical of all the Theoſophiſts was PETER POIRET[b], born at Metz, in one thouſand ſix hundred and forty-ſix, and educated in the academy of Baſil. Being interrupted in his attendance upon the ſchools by ill health, he employed himſelf, during a long confinement, in the ſtudy of the Carteſian philoſophy. In the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-eight, he became a ſtudent in the univerſity of Heidelberg, in order to qualify himſelf for the clerical profeſſion; and in one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-two he aſſumed the character of an eccleſiaſtic in the principality of Deux Ponts. Here, after a ſevere illneſs, he wrote his *Cogitationes rationales de Deo, Anima, et Malo*, "Rational Thoughts concerning God, the Soul, and Evil," in which he for the moſt part followed the principles of Des Cartes; a work which engaged much attention among philoſophers, and which he afterwards defended againſt the cenſures of Bayle. The public tumults obliged him to leave his clerical cure, and he withdrew to Holland, and afterwards to Hamburg, where he met the celebrated French myſtic MADAME BOURIGNON, and was ſo captivated with her opinions, that he became her zealous diſciple. Converted from a Carteſian philoſopher

[a] Stoll. Intr. in Hiſt. Lit. p. i. c. 2. § 8.

[b] Præf. in Opuſc. poſth. Arnold Hiſt. Ecc. p. iii. p. 162. Benthem. Stat. Eccl. et Schol. Holl. p. ii. p. 420. Niceron. Mem. de Lit. t. iv. Stoll. Hiſt. Lit. p. ii. c. 2. § 7.

into a myſtical divine, he determined henceforward to ſeek for that illumination from divine contemplation and prayer, which he could not obtain by the exerciſe of his rational faculties. From this time Poiret became a violent enemy to the Carteſian philoſophy, and took great pains to detect its errors and defects. At the ſame time, faſcinated with Bourignonian myſticiſm, he rejected the light of reaſon as uſeleſs and dangerous, and inveighed againſt every kind of philoſophy which was not the effect of divine illuminations. Towards the cloſe of his life, Poiret ſettled at Rheinſburg, in Holland, and employed the remainder of his days in writing myſtical books. He died in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and nineteen. His treatiſes *De Oeconomia Divina*, "On the Divine Oeconomy;" and *De Eruditione Triplici*, "On Three Kinds of Learning;" and the laſt edition of his *Cogitationes Rationales*, though in a great meaſure free from that obſcurity which diſtinguiſhes the writings of the Theoſophiſts already mentioned, certainly rank him among the claſs of Myſtics. Some of his myſtical notions, as they may be gathered from the preliminary diſſertation prefixed to his works[a], are as follows:

It hath pleaſed God, in order that he may enjoy a vivid and delightful contemplation of himſelf, beyond that ſolitude which belongs to the divine eſſence, to create external beings in whom he may produce an image of himſelf. The eſſence of the human mind is Thought, capable and deſirous of light, and joyful complacence; the properties, in which it bears a reſemblance of the divine eſſence. Nothing is more intimate, or eſſential to the mind, than this deſire; by which it is borne always towards the true and infinite good. In order to ſatisfy this deſire, the illumination of faith is neceſſary; by means of which the mind, conſcious of its weakneſs and impotence, diſclaims all the fictions of human reaſon, and directs itſelf towards God with an intenſe and ineffable ardour, till, by the ſilent contemplation of him, it is filled with tranquiliſing light and joyful complacence; although, whilſt oppreſſed with the load of mortality,

[a] Ed. Amſt. 1684.

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it cannot behold his unveiled face. From this divine illumination proceeds the moſt pacific ſerenity of mind, the moſt ardent love of God, and the moſt intimate union with him.

Can there be any doubt concerning the propriety of ranking among fanatics, writers who renounce the light of reaſon, and ſeek all wiſdom and happineſs in ſubmitting the mind, in ſilence and tranquillity, to the impreſſions of divine illumination?

To the claſs of Theoſophiſts has been commonly referred, the entire ſociety of ROSACRUSIANS[a], which, at the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, made ſo much noiſe in the eccleſiaſtical and literary world. The hiſtory of this ſociety, which is attended with ſome obſcurity, ſeems to be as follows: Its origin is referred to a certain German, whoſe name was Roſencreuz, who, in the fourteenth century, viſited the Holy Sepulchre, and, in travelling through Aſia and Africa, made himſelf acquainted with many oriental ſecrets; and who, after his return, inſtituted a ſmall fraternity, to whom he communicated the myſteries he had learned, under an oath of inviolable ſecrecy. This ſociety remained concealed till the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, when two books were publiſhed, the one entitled, *Fama Fraternitatis laudabilis Ordinis Roſæcruſis*; "The Report of the laudable Fraternity of Roſacruſians;" the other, *Confeſſio Fraternitatis*[b], "The Confeſſion of the Fraternity." In theſe books the world was informed, that this fraternity was enabled, by divine revelation, to explain the moſt important ſecrets both of nature and grace; that they were appointed to correct the errors of the learned world, particularly in philoſophy and medicine; that they were poſſeſſed of the philoſopher's ſtone, and underſtood both the art of tranſmuting metals, and of prolonging human life; and, in fine, that by their means the golden age would return. As ſoon as theſe grand ſecrets were divulged, the whole tribe of the Paracelſiſts, Theoſophiſts, and Chemiſts, flocked to the Roſacruſian ſtandard,

[a] Arnold. Hiſt. Eccl. P. ii. c. 18. p. 613. Sec. 17. p. 58. Struv. Intr. in Hiſt. Lit. c. 9. § 29. p. 466. Biblioth. Phil. c. 2. § 13. Colberg. Chriſt. Plat. Hermet. p. i. c. 6. Serpill. Epitaph. Theol. p. 12. Val. Andreæ Turris Babel, c. 25.

[b] Franc. 1614, 1617.

and every new and unheard-of myſtery was referred to this fraternity. It is impoſſible to relate, how much noiſe this wonderful diſcovery made, or what different opinions were formed concerning it. After all, though the laws and ſtatutes of the ſociety had appeared, no one could tell where the ſociety itſelf was to be found, or who really belonged to it. It was imagined by ſome ſagacious obſervers, that a certain important meaning was concealed under the ſtory of the Roſacruſian fraternity, though they were wholly unable to ſay what it was. One conjectured that ſome chemical myſtery lay hid behind the allegorical tale; another ſuppoſed that it foretold ſome great eccleſiaſtical revolution. At laſt, Michael Breler[a], in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty, had the courage publicly to declare, that he certainly knew the whole ſtory to have been the contrivance of ſome ingenious perſons, who choſe to amuſe themſelves by impoſing upon the public credulity. This declaration raiſed a general ſuſpicion againſt the whole ſtory; and, as no one undertook to contradict it, this wonderful ſociety daily vaniſhed, and the rumours, which had been ſpread concerning it, ceaſed. The whole was probably a contrivance to ridicule the pretenders to ſecret wiſdom and wonderful power, particularly the chemiſts, who boaſted that they were poſſeſſed of the philoſopher's ſtone. It has been conjectured, and the ſatirical turn of his writings, and ſeveral particular paſſages in his works, favour the conjecture, that this farce was invented and performed, in part at leaſt, by John Valentine Andrea, a divine of Wartenburg.

The preceding detail may ſuffice to ſhew in what light the ſect of the Theoſophiſts is to be conſidered. Although the eccentricities of this ſect are too various to be reduced into a regular ſyſtem, they are all to be traced back to one common ſource, the renunciation of human reaſon. The whole dependance of theſe philoſophers is upon internal inſpiration, in which, whilſt the intellect remains quieſcent and paſſive, they wait, in ſacred ſtillneſs and ſilence of the ſoul, for divine illuminations; and whatever in theſe profound

[a] In Myſterio Iniquitatis Pſeudo-Evang. c. iii. p. 100. Alethea p. 329.

reveries

reveries is ſuggeſted to them by a heated imagination, they receive as divine inſtruction. They do not indeed openly contemn the authority of the ſacred writings; but they reject their natural meaning, and, by the help of childiſh allegories, convert the words of ſcripture to whatever ſignification they pleaſe. With no other guide in the ſearch of truth than their own diſturbed fancies, they admit the wildeſt dreams of a feveriſh brain as ſacred truths, and obtrude them upon the world with inſufferable arrogance, as oracular deciſions, not to be controverted.

Theſe enthuſiaſts ſeem to be agreed in acknowledging, that all things flow from God, and will return to him, and particularly, that this is the caſe with the human ſoul, which muſt derive its chief felicity from the contemplation of God; and that divine illumination is only to be expected in that ſubmiſſive ſtate of the ſoul, in which it is deprived of all activity, and remains the ſilent ſubject of divine impreſſions. They have, moreover, fancied, that God has not only enſtamped his image upon man, but upon all viſible objects; and that this image of God being diſcovered by certain ſigns, the hidden nature of things may be underſtood, the influence of the ſuperior world upon the inferior may be known, and great and wonderful effects may be produced. They have imagined, that by the help of the arts of aſtrology and chemiſtry, the myſteries of nature may be ſo far laid open, that a univerſal remedy for diſeaſes, and a method of converting inferior metals into gold, or the philoſopher's ſtone, might be diſcovered.

Little needs be ſaid to prove, that the ſyſtem of Theoſophiſm is founded in deluſion, and that it is productive of miſchief both to philoſophy and religion. Theſe ſuppoſed illuminations are to be aſcribed either to fanaticiſm or to impoſture. The faſtidious contempt, with which theſe pretenders to divine wiſdom have treated thoſe, who are contented to follow the plain dictates of common ſenſe, and the ſimple doctrine of ſcriptures, has unqueſtionably impoſed upon the credulous vulgar, and produced an indifference to rational enquiry, which has obſtructed the progreſs of knowledge. And their example has encouraged others to traduce philoſophy and

and theology in general, by repreſenting them as reſting upon no better foundation, than enthuſiaſm and abſurdity. It is to be charitably preſumed, that theſe deluded viſionaries have not been themſelves aware of the injury which they have been doing to the intereſts of ſcience and religion. Nevertheleſs, it muſt be regretted, both on their own account, and on account of the multitudes they have miſled, that whilſt they have thought themſelves following a bright and ſteady luminary, they have been led aſtray by wandering meteors.*

* Vidend. Eraſtus contra Paracelſum. Crollii Baſilica Chymica. Oporini Ep. ad Wier. de Moribus Præceptoris. Clerici Hiſt. Med. p. 794. 802. Borrich. de Chemia, c. 6. Budd. Iſag. p. i. p. 265. Arnold. Hiſt. Ecc. p. ii. l. 17. Morhoff. Polyh. t. ii. l. ii. p. i. c. 10. 15. Werendorf. Diſp. de Fanaticis Sileſiorum. Rapin Reflexions ſur la Philoſophie, p. 54. Hinckelman. Detect. fundam Boehm. De Viſch. Bib. Ord. Ceſt. p. 187. Stalkopvii Animadv. in Poiret. Felleri Monum. inedit. Fluddi Tract. Apolog. pro Soc. de Roſea Cruce, 1617. Thomas Præf. ad Poiret de Erudit. triplici. Conring. de Hermet. Ægypt. et Paracelſ. Le Compte de Gabalis. Croll. Amphitheatrum Sapientiæ Eternæ, Magd. 1608.

## CHAP. IV.

### OF THE ENEMIES OF PHILOSOPHY.

IN enumerating the deviations from the true method of philoſophiſing, which a diſlike of Sectarian philoſophy has produced, we muſt not omit to mention a claſs of men, who, though they are not themſelves philoſophers, have had ſome effect upon the ſtate of philoſophy, thoſe, who have appeared as its profeſſed adverſaries. Every period in the hiſtory of philoſophy has produced men of this deſcription. The wiſe men of Greece were ridiculed by Damon, a Cyrenian.

Cyrenian. Socrates was perſecuted by the Athenians. Philoſophy itſelf was proſcribed in the Roman republic, and by ſeveral of the Roman emperors; and its records have more than once fallen a ſacrifice to the bigotry of Mahometan, and even of Chriſtian, princes. Wits have ridiculed philoſophers, and prieſts have condemned them. It is no wonder, then, that philoſophy has experienced a ſimilar fate in modern times.

The attacks which have been made upon philoſophy ſince the revival of letters have been of different kinds; ſome open and direct; ſome oblique and concealed. Among its indirect opponents may be reckoned thoſe advocates for revelation, who have maintained that its doctrines cannot be reconciled with the dictates of human reaſon, and thoſe enthuſiaſts, who have relinquiſhed the uſe of reaſon, and abandoned themſelves to the extravagancies of fanaticiſm. Of a direct attack upon philoſophy we ſhall give one example, in the controverſy which happened in the univerſity of Helmſtadt, towards the cloſe of the ſixteenth century.

DANIEL HOFFMAN[a], born in one thouſand five hundred and thirty-eight, at Hall, in Saxony, and profeſſor, firſt of logic and ethics, and afterwards of theology, in the univerſity of Helmſtadt, had long diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a keen and angry diſputant. In his time diſputes ran high concerning the ubiquity of the human nature of Chriſt, which was admitted by the more orthodox theologians, but denied by the Brunſwick divines, who contented themſelves with maintaining, that the man Jeſus Chriſt could be preſent wherever he pleaſed. The aid of the Scholaſtic philoſophy being called in by both parties, to decide this controverſy, Hoffman, whether through pique or vanity it is not eaſy to determine, took this occaſion to erect his ſtandard againſt philoſophy itſelf. In an academical diſputation, he maintained, that the light of reaſon, even as it appears in the writings of Plato and Ariſtotle, is adverſe to religion; and that the more the human underſtanding is cultivated by philo-

[a] Elſwich. de Fortun. Ariſt. in Acad. Prot. § 27. Arnold. Hiſt. Eccl. p. ii. iii. Bayle. Reimann. Hiſt. Lit. Germ. p. iv. p. 96.

ſophical ſtudy, the more perfectly is the enemy ſupplied with weapons of defence. The partiality, which at this time univerſally prevailed in favour of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, was ſuch, that an opinion of this kind could not be advanced publicly, without exciting general diſſatisfaction and alarm. A numerous band of profeſſors, though they differed in opinion among themſelves, united to take up arms againſt the common enemy. At the head of this body was John Caſſel; whence the advocates for philoſophy were called the Caſſelian party. They at firſt challenged Hoffman to a private conference, in expectation of leading him to a ſounder judgment concerning philoſophy; but their hopes were fruſtrated. Hoffman, perſuaded that intereſt and envy had armed the philoſophers againſt him, in his reply to his opponents inveighed with great bitterneſs againſt philoſophers, and acknowledged, that he meant to oppoſe not only the abuſe of philoſophy, but the moſt prudent and legitimate uſe of it, as neceſſarily deſtructive of theology. This extravagant aſſertion, accompanied with many contumelious cenſures of philoſophers, produced reciprocal vehemence; and Albert Graver publiſhed a book *De Unica Veritate*, which maintained "the Simplicity of Truth;" a doctrine from which the Caſſelian party were called Simpliciſts, whilſt the followers of Hoffman (for he found means to engage ſeveral perſons, particularly among the Theoſophiſts, in his intereſt) oppoſing this doctrine, were called, on the other hand, Dupliciſts. John Angel Werdenhagen, a Boehmenite, who poſſeſſed ſome poetical talents, wrote ſeveral poems againſt the philoſophers. In ſhort, the diſputes ran ſo high, and produced ſo much perſonal abuſe, that the court thought it neceſſary to interpoſe its authority, and appointed arbitrators to examine the merits of the controverſy. The deciſion was againſt Hoffman, and he was obliged to make a public recantation of his errors, acknowledging the utility and excellence of philoſophy, and declaring that his invectives had been only directed againſt its abuſes. After this defeat, Hoffman retired into a neighbouring monaſtery; but he was permitted to return to Helmſtadt, and open a private ſchool. He died in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and eleven.

WERDENHAGEN, who had been Hoffman's coadjutor, would not ſuffer the conteſt to ſleep after the death of its author. His zeal for Boehmean Theoſophiſm impelled him to perſiſt in his invectives againſt philoſophers; and he preſſed into his ſervice a hot-headed youth, Weneſlaw Schilling, a Thuringian, who inflamed the quarrel by ſeveral virulent publications, one of which was entitled *Viſitatio Eccleſiæ Metaphyſicæ*, "A Viſitation of the Metaphyſical Church." For his ſcurrilities he was baniſhed from Wittenburg. Werdenhagen withdrew to Holland, and the diſpute ended. A diſpute which originated in diſappointed vanity, and was ſupported by enthuſiaſm and malevolence, only deſerves to be recorded as a proof of the neceſſity of philoſophiſing ſoberly, and of following reaſon, rather than imagination or paſſion, in the ſearch after truth.*

* Vidend. Weiſman. Hiſt. Ecc. t. ii. p. 1170. Michael Syn. Hiſt. Ecc. l. iii. § 2. Hutteri Concordia Concors, c. 52. Meieri Monum. c. 3.

# BOOK X.

## OF MODERN ECLECTIC PHILOSOPHY.

### CHAP. I.

#### OF THE NATURE AND ORIGIN OF MODERN ECLECTIC PHILOSOPHY.

UPON the revival of letters, many attempts were made to reſtore, and to improve, philoſophy; but from the preceding narrative it is ſufficiently evident, that little was accompliſhed. The human underſtanding has at length, however, through the favour of divine providence, aſſerted its native freedom and dignity, and ſhaken off the yoke of authority. Many independent and exalted geniuſes have ariſen, who, deſpiſing the ſervile prejudice of yielding implicit deference to the deciſions of the antients, have determined, by the vigorous exertions of their own faculties, to inveſtigate certain and univerſal principles for themſelves, and upon this foundation to frame a ſyſtem of opinions, which ſhould be truly and properly their own. They have not indeed diſdained to conſult the records of antient wiſdom, but they have admitted nothing as true, which their reaſon and judgment have not approved.

From

From theſe laudable attempts a ſpecies of philoſophy has ariſen, more pure and excellent than that of any former period, which we ſhall diſtinguiſh by the name of the Modern Eclectic Philoſophy: underſtanding by the term, however, ſomething very different from that ſpecious kind of philoſophy, which roſe in the ſchool of Alexandria, and from that confuſion of opinions which ſome modern writers, by attempting to reconcile Platoniſm with Stoiciſm or Peripateticiſm, and all theſe with Chriſtianity, have produced. The true Eclectic philoſopher, renouncing every prejudice in favour of celebrated names or antient ſects, makes reaſon his ſole guide, and diligently inveſtigates the nature and properties of the objects which come under his obſervation, that he may from theſe deduce clear principles, and arrive at certain knowledge. He eſteems nothing ſo diſgraceful in philoſophy, as *jurare in verba magiſtri*, implicitly to acknowledge the authority of a maſter, and ſays, with reſpect to all the different ſects and their leaders,

Tros Rutulusve fuat, nullo diſcrimine habebo.*

It is wholly unneceſſary to expatiate upon the ſuperior dignity and uſefulneſs of this method of philoſophiſing above all others; and it is foreign from our purpoſe to lay down the principles and rules by which it ſhould be conducted. But it may not be improper, in a few words, to explain the reaſons why this method of proſecuting philoſophical enquiries, ſo obvious as well as reaſonable, was not ſooner adopted.

The hiſtory of the reſtoration of learning will itſelf ſuggeſt one cauſe of this fact. Thoſe learned men on whom the charge of reforming philoſophy, as well as reviving letters, devolved, were chiefly employed in the ſtudy of the antients, and were more deſirous of excelling in erudition, than of improving ſcience. The Greek philoſophy, preſerved in thoſe antient writings which principally engaged their attention, came recommended to them under the ſeducing form of antient lore; and they eaſily perſuaded themſelves, that it was wholly unneceſſary to attempt improvements upon the

* "No blind reſpect to names alone I pay."

wiſdom

wiſdom of Plato and Ariſtotle. Occupied in grammatical and critical enquiries, they had neither leiſure nor inclination to exerciſe their talents in original reſearches into nature. Add to this, that indolence probably prevented ſome, and ignorance of the true nature of philoſophy, and of the value of the Eclectic method of philoſophiſing, hindered others, from attempting new diſcoveries; whilſt the more enterpriſing geniuſes, from whom ſuch improvements might have been expected, ſuch for example as Martin Luther, were devoted to higher purſuits. Philip Melancthon, though poſſeſſed of abilities equal to the taſk, was of too timid a diſpoſition to ſhake off the Sectarian yoke, and contributed, more than became a reformer in religion, to rivet the chains of authority in philoſophy. And, among the Roman Catholics, ſuch a blind reſpect for antient names was ſtill predominant, and ſo ſtrong was the attachment to thoſe eſtabliſhed forms with which eccleſiaſtical honours and emoluments were inſeparably connected, that philoſophical innovations were not to be expected from this quarter. The rigour, with which every attempt towards the introduction of new opinions was at this time ſuppreſſed by the heads of the Romiſh church, doubtleſs confirmed the general prejudice againſt alterations of every kind, and deterred thoſe, who were capable of penetrating through the ſurrounding miſt of ſuperſtition and error, from yielding to the impulſe of nature and genius.

Theſe difficulties long retarded the progreſs of ſcience; but at length certain philoſophers of the firſt order, conſcious of internal ſtrength ſufficient for the undertaking, ventured to burſt the encloſure of authority, and by the aid of deep reflection and perſevering induſtry, enlarged the boundaries of human knowledge. Clearly perceiving the defects and errors of the ſeveral Grecian ſects, they deplored the abject ſtate to which the human mind had been reduced by indolence, ſuperſtition, and blind ſubmiſſion, and with generous indignation threw off the yoke. The firſt ſucceſsful attempt for this purpoſe was made by that great man, Lord Bacon, who may therefore juſtly be called the parent of modern Eclectic philoſophy. In his *Novum Organum*, a work richly fraught with true

true and liberal philoſophy, his firſt object was to caſt down the idol, which the philoſophical world had ſo long worſhipped, and recal their homage to the divinity of truth.

Although ſome eminent men, who have philoſophiſed after the Eclectic method, have had the vanity to exhibit themſelves as the founders of new ſects, it is inconſiſtent with the nature of Eclectic philoſophy to admit of Sectarian ſubdiviſions. Inſtead therefore of attempting, as ſome writers have done, to divide modern philoſophy into diſtinct ſchools, we ſhall content ourſelves with a more ſimple arrangement, and ſhall firſt treat of thoſe philoſophers who have, more or leſs ſucceſsfully, endeavoured to improve philoſophy IN GENERAL; and ſecondly, of thoſe who have applied themſelves to the improvement of CERTAIN BRANCHES of philoſophy. Of the hiſtory and doctrines of each we ſhall give ſuch a ſketch as the nature of our plan requires, without attempting thoſe details, which it would be impoſſible to bring within the limits we have aſſigned to the preſent work.*

* Vidend. Arnold. Weſenfeld. Diſſ. iv. de Phil. Sect. et Eclect. Moſhem. Hiſt. Chriſt. recent. Sec. 17. p. 403.

CHAP.

# CHAP. II.

## OF MODERN ECLECTIC PHILOSOPHERS, WHO HAVE ATTEMPTED TO IMPROVE PHILOSOPHY IN GENERAL.

### SECT. I.

#### OF JORDANO BRUNO.

THE firſt perſon among the moderns who attempted any material innovation in philoſophy, was JORDAN BRUNO[a], born at Nola, in the kingdom of Naples. He flouriſhed at the latter end of the ſixteenth century, but the exact time of his birth is unknown. To excellent talents he added a lofty ſpirit, which roſe ſuperior to prejudice, and would admit nothing as true without examination; whence it is eaſy to conceive, that in the ſyſtem of philoſophy and theology then taught in the ſchools of Italy, he met with many things which he could not digeſt. Fond of retirement and ſtudy, he entered into a monaſtery of Dominicans. But the freedom of his opinions, and the boldneſs of the cenſure which he paſſed upon the irregularities of the fraternity, ſoon created him enemies, and ſubjected him to perſecutions, which obliged him to quit his order and his country, leaving behind him all his property. In

[a] Epiſt. Scioppii in Struvii Act. Lit. t. v. p. 64. La Croze Entretiens, p. 187. Steph. Jordan. Diſq. Hiſt. Lit. de J. Bruno. Bayle.

the year one thouſand five hundred and eighty-two, he withdrew to Geneva, where his heretical opinions gave offence to Calvin and Beza, and he was ſoon obliged to provide for his ſafety by flight. After a ſhort ſtay at Lyons he came to Paris. Here, his innovating ſpirit recommended him to the notice of multitudes, who at this time declared open hoſtilities againſt the authority of Ariſtotle. In a public diſputation, held in the Royal Academy, in one thouſand five hundred and eighty-ſix, he defended, three days ſucceſſively, certain propoſitions concerning nature and the world, which, together with brief heads of the arguments, he afterwards publiſhed in Saxony, under the title of *Acrotiſmus*[a], or "Reaſons of the phyſical Articles propoſed againſt the Peripatetics at Paris." The contempt with which Bruno, in the courſe of theſe debates, treated Ariſtotle, expoſed him to the reſentment of the academic profeſſors, who were zealous advocates for the old ſyſtem; and he found it expedient to leave the kingdom of France. According to ſome writers[b], he now viſited England, in the train of the French ambaſſador Caſtelneau, where he was hoſpitably received by Sir Philip Sydney and Sir Fulke Greville, and was introduced to Queen Elizabeth. But though it is certain from his writings that he was in England, he probably made this viſit in ſome other part of his life. For, about the middle of the ſame year in which he was at Paris, we find him, at Wittenburg, a zealous adherent of Luther. In this city he met with a liberal reception, and full permiſſion to propagate his doctrines: but the ſeverity with which he inveighed againſt Ariſtotle, the latitude of his opinions in religion as well as philoſophy, and the contempt with which he treated the maſters of the public ſchools, excited new jealouſies; and complaints were lodged againſt him before the ſenate of the univerſity. To eſcape the diſgrace which threatened him, Bruno, after two years reſidence in Wittenburg, left that place, and took refuge in Helmſtadt, where the known liberality of the Duke of Brunſwick encouraged him to hope for a ſecure aſylum. But either through the reſtleſſneſs of his diſpoſition, or

[a] Witteberg. 1588. [b] Sciopp. & Bayle.

through

through unexpected oppoſition, he left this place the next year, and went to Frankfort to ſuperintend an edition of his works, which were now become numerous, at the preſs of the celebrated printer, John Wechel. But before this deſign was completed he was obliged on a ſudden, probably from an apprehenſion of perſecution, to quit that city. His next reſidence (unleſs it was at this time that he viſited England) was at Padua; there, the boldneſs with which he taught his new doctrines, and inveighed againſt the court of Rome, and the clergy, ſoon brought him under the cenſure of the Court of Inquiſition at Venice, as an apoſtate from the faith; in conſequence of which he was conveyed as a priſoner to Rome, and, after two years confinement, was condemned to the flames. This ſentence was executed in the year one thouſand ſix hundred. A ſevere fate, which, though it has been aſcribed to the impiety of his tenets, was more probably the effect of his deſertion from the Romiſh church, and of his daring attacks upon the majeſty of the pontificate.

The character of this philoſopher was certainly ſingular and paradoxical. A luxuriant imagination ſupplied him with wonderful conceptions, intelligible only to a few, which were never formed into a ſyſtem. Not poſſeſſing that cool and ſolid judgment, and that habit of patient attention, which are neceſſary to a thorough inveſtigation of ſubjects, he frequently embraced trifling and doubtful propoſitions as certain truths. His ideas were for the moſt part wild and fantaſtic, and he indulged himſelf in a moſt unbounded liberty of ſpeech. Some of his original conceptions are indeed more luminous and ſatisfactory, and nearly coincide with the principles of philoſophy afterwards received by Des Cartes, Leibnitz, and others. But theſe ſparks of truth are buried in a confuſed maſs of extravagant and trifling dogmas, expreſſed in a metaphorical and intricate ſtyle, and immethodically arranged. In brief, though Bruno was not deſtitute of a vigorous and original genius, he wanted that good ſenſe, and that ſteady temper, without which no great reformation, either in philoſophy or religion, can be effected.

Bruno was a voluminous writer. His moſt celebrated philoſo-

phical pieces are the following: *De Umbris Idearum*[a], "On Shadows of Ideas;" *De l'Infinito, Univerſo, et Mondi*[b], "Of Infinity, the Univerſe, and World;" *Spaccio della Beſtia triomfante*[c], "Diſpatches from the Triumphant Beaſt;" *Oratio valedictoria habita in Academia Wittebergenſi*[d], "A farewel Oration delivered in the Univerſity of Wittenberg;" *De Monade, Numero, et Figura*[e], "Of Monad, Number, and Figure;" *Summa Terminorum Metaphyſicorum*[f], "Summary of Metaphyſical Terms." Of theſe the ſatirical work, "Diſpatches from The Beaſt triumphant," is the moſt celebrated[g].

The extreme ſcarceneſs of the writings of this philoſopher, and the invincible obſcurity of thoſe which have come under our notice, render it impoſſible for us to give a full and accurate view of his doctrine, or to decide with certainty concerning the kind, or degree, of impiety which it involved. Thus much, however, may on ſatisfactory grounds be aſſerted, that the doctrine of Bruno was not, as Bayle and La Croze maintain, founded on the principles of Spinoziſm, but on the antient doctrine of emanation. For, though he acknowledges only one ſubſtance in nature, yet it appears from many paſſages in his writings to have been his opinion, that all things have from eternity flowed from one immenſe and infinite fountain, an emanative principle, eſſential to the divine nature. From this ſource he derives his *Minima*, or atoms, of which the viſible world is formed. To theſe he aſcribes perception, life, and motion. Beſides theſe, he ſuppoſes a diſtinct principle of combination and union, or a ſoul of the world, derived from the ſame fountain, by which the forms of nature are produced and preſerved. This intermediate agent, which connects all the other emanations from the eternal fountain, is, in

[a] Par. 1582. [b] Ven. 1584. [c] Par. 1584. [d] Witteb. 1588.
[e] Francf. 1591. [f] Tig. 1595.

[g] Addiſon gives a brief account of this work in the Spectator, N° 389, and ſpeaks of the writer as a profeſſed atheiſt. But, as the plan of the work, given by Addiſon, is not atheiſtical, and as it is not probable that he had ſeen thoſe treatiſes from which our author drew his abſtract of this philoſopher's opinions, more regard is due to Brucker's elaborate inquiry into the character and doctrine of Bruno, than to Addiſon's curſory judgment.

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the ſyſtem of Bruno, Nature. By means of which, out of infinite emanations from the eternal fountain, infinite and eternal worlds are produced; whilſt, in truth, only one being exiſts, which is infinite, immutable, indiviſible, good, the uncreated light which pervades all ſpace, and which has within itſelf one ſubſtantial form of all things. This doctrine appears to have been the reſult of an abſurd attempt to unite the Atomic and Emanative ſyſtems, in which mathematics, phyſics, and metaphyſics, are injudiciouſly confounded, and which, on the whole, rather ſerved to perplex than to improve, philoſophy *.

* Vidend. Heumann. Act. Phil. v. iii. p. 432. Leibnitz. Ep. v. iv. p. 37. Huet. Cenſ. Phil. Cart. c. 8. Morhoff. Polyh. t. ii. l. i. c. 15. § 6. Vogt. Cat. Lib. rar. p. 139.

## SECT. 2.

### OF JEROM CARDAN.

IN the claſs of modern Eclectic philoſophers, however eccentric and unſucceſsful in his attempts to reform philoſophy, we muſt reckon JEROM CARDAN, an Italian phyſician, born at Pavia, in the year one thouſand five hundred and one. His father, who was a lawyer by profeſſion, and a man well ſkilled in ſecret arts, inſtructed him very early in the myſteries of numbers, and the precepts of aſtrology. He alſo taught him the elements of geometry, and was deſirous to have engaged him in the ſtudy of juriſprudence. But his inclination ſtrongly prompting him to the medical profeſſion, he entered upon the ſtudy of medicine, and obtained the degree of doctor

doctor of phyſic, at Padua. To eſcape the public tumults he retired into the country, where he formed a matrimonial connection, of which he bitterly complains as the cauſe of all his ſubſequent misfortunes. His friends made repeated efforts to obtain him an advantageous eſtabliſhment, but he was too ſupercilious and peeviſh to profit by their kindneſs. An offer was made him of the honourable poſt of phyſician to the king of Denmark, with an annual ſalary of eight hundred crowns, and a free table, but he refuſed it, on account of the climate, and the religion of the country. In the year one thouſand five hundred and fifty-two, he was invited into Scotland by the archbiſhop of St. Andrews, and received a large gratuity for his medical ſervices. In the courſe of this journey he viſited England, and was earneſtly intreated by Edward, whoſe nativity he calculated, to remain in his court; but he could not be prevailed upon to ſtay longer than a few months. On his return into Italy, after reſiding ſome years in the academy at Bologna, he removed to Rome, whefe he was admitted into the college of phyſicians, with a penſion from the Pope. Thuanus relates, that he ſaw Cardan at Rome, a few years before his death, and was ſurpriſed to find nothing in him which anſwered to the high reputation he had obtained. In the year one thouſand five hundred and ſeventy-ſix, he finiſhed his days, more like a maniac than a philoſopher *.

Cardan was a wonderful compound of wiſdom and folly. Through his whole life he practiſed the art of aſtrology, and wrote an account of his own fate, under the title of *Explicatio Genituræ*, "A Calculation of Nativity," in which he confidently hazards many predictions, and marks innumerable contradictions in his own character, which he aſcribes to the malign influence of the ſtars. He had ſo much confidence in this art, that he maintained, that the poſition of the ſtars at the birth of our Saviour was ſuch as indicated a wonderful character. His numerous predictions, and the cures which he undertook to perform by ſecret charms, or by the aſſiſtance of inviſible ſpirits, made him paſs for a magician with the vulgar, but were in

* Card. de Vita propria. Bayle. Tomaſſin. Elog. p. 55. Naudæi Judic. de Card. Sevin. Hiſt. Acad. Reg. Inſcript. t. xiii. art. 2. Thuan. Hiſt. l. xlii. ann. 1576.

fact only proofs of a mind infatuated by ſuperſtition. In the midſt of all this weakneſs, Cardan is univerſally acknowledged to have been a man of great erudition, and fertile invention, and is celebrated as the author of many new and ſingular obſervations in philoſophy and medicine. His treatiſe *De Methodo Medendi*, "On the Practice of Medicine," diſcover a mind capable of detecting and renouncing eſtabliſhed errors. His book, *De Subtilitati et Varietate Rerum*, "On the Subtlety and Variety of Things," ſhews, that if he could have preſerved his judgment free from the influence of a diſordered imagination, he was able to have contributed to the improvement of natural philoſophy. Of the dogmas of this philoſopher, the following are a ſpecimen.

Primary matter, which remains immutably the ſame, fills every place; whence, without the annihilation of matter there can be no vacuum. Three principles ſubſiſt every where; matter, form, and mind. There are in matter three kinds of motion; the firſt, from form to element; the ſecond, the reverſe of this; the third, the deſcent of heavy bodies. The elements or paſſive principles are three; water, earth, and air, for naturally all things are cold, that is, deſtitute of heat. The agent in nature is celeſtial heat; the air, being expoſed to the action of the ſolar rays, is perpetually in motion. The moon and all the other heavenly bodies are luminous from themſelves. The heavens are animated by an ever active principle, and are therefore never quieſcent. Man, having mind as well as ſoul, is not an animal. The diſpoſitions of men are produced, and all moral affairs are directed, by the influence of the ſtars. Mind is univerſally diffuſed, and though it appears multiplied, is but one; it is extrinſically, and for a time, attached to human bodies, but never periſhes.

Innumerable other ſingular metaphyſical and phyſical notions are to be found in the works of Cardan; and they are accompanied with many experiments and obſervations on natural *phenomena*. But the whole is thrown together in ſuch a confuſed maſs, as plainly proves, that, though the author's head was replete with ideas, he wanted that ſound underſtanding and cool judgment, without which the

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moſt ingenious and original conceptions muſt prove abortive. He was too fond of myſticiſm, too credulous, too ſuperſtitious, and, in a word, too much of an aſtrologer, to be a true philoſopher. Cardan, therefore, notwithſtanding all the variety and apparent originality of his writings, muſt be ranked among the unſucceſsful adventurers in philoſophy. His works, which treat of metaphyſics, logic, natural philoſophy, medicine, mathematics, and morals, were collected by Spon, and publiſhed [a] in ten volumes. He was attacked with much acrimony by ſeveral writers, particularly by J. C. Scaliger, who envied his philoſophical reputation and medical ſucceſs *.

[a] Lugd. 1663.

* Vidend. Sanchez de Arte nihil ſciendi. p. 193. Schmidii Diſſ. de Themata Chriſti natal. Scalegeriana prima. p. 48. Vogt. in Cat. Lib. rar. p. 167. Reiman. Hiſt. Ath. S. iii. c. 4. § 11. Parker de Deo Diſp. i. p. 72. 210. Arnold Hiſt. Ec. p. ii. l. xvii. p. 324. Voſſ. de Theol. Gent. l. iii. c. 8.

## SECT. 3.

### OF FRANCIS BACON, LORD VERULAM.

THAT reformation in philoſophy, which had been unſucceſsfully attempted by Bruno, Cardan, and others, was happily accompliſhed by that illuſtrious Engliſh philoſopher, Lord Bacon, who did more to detect the ſources of former errors and prejudices, and to diſcover and eſtabliſh the true method of philoſophiſing, than the whole body of philoſophers which many preceding ages had produced.

FRANCIS BACON, Baron of Verulam, and Viſcount of St. Alban's, was born in London in the year one thouſand five hundred and ſixty. His father was Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal,

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in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It was the good fortune of Lord Bacon, that he appeared at a time when learning was commonly admired and cultivated among men of rank and fortune, and was even faſhionable at court. The ſingular talents with which nature had endued him, and his early proficiency in learning, recommended him, whilſt a boy, to the particular attention of ſeveral of the nobility, and introduced him to the notice of the Queen. Fond of ſchool learning, that princeſs more than once amuſed herſelf with endeavouring to puzzle the young ſcholar with difficult queſtions: but his replies diſcovered ſuch ſound judgment, and were expreſſed in ſuch manly language, that the Queen was exceedingly delighted with him, and uſed to call him her young Lord Keeper. At twelve years of age he was entered a ſtudent at Cambridge, and placed under the tuition of Dr. Whitgift, the maſter of Trinity College, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Here he applied with great ardour to the ſtudy of the ſciences, particularly of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, which ſtill continued to be taught in the Engliſh ſchools; but before he had attained his ſixteenth year, he began to be diſſatisficd with a method of philoſophiſing, which was rather adapted to create diſputes, than to promote the happineſs of human life, and determined, if poſſible, to ſtrike out ſome more promiſing way of inveſtigating truth, than the Stagyrite, or any of the antients, had diſcovered.

After he had paſſed through the uſual courſe of academical ſtudies, Bacon was ſent by his father to France with the ambaſſador, Sir Amias Pawlet, in order to introduce him to the knowledge of political ſcience, and enlarge his acquaintance with the world. How well he profited by this tour, appears from the judicious obſervations "On the State of Europe," which he wrote in his eighteenth year. His father's death, which happened ſuddenly during his viſit to France, left him, who was the youngeſt of five brothers, in circumſtances which rendered it neceſſary for him to engage in ſome lucrative profeſſion; and he entered upon the ſtudy of the law in Gray's-Inn. Here his ſuperior talents, ſupported by indefatigable induſtry, ſoon made him an eminent proficient in the Engliſh law; and he

was, by the favour of Elizabeth, appointed one of her Council Extraordinary. In the mean time he never loſt ſight of his favourite object; for it was during this period of his life, that he formed the out-line of his great work "The Inſtauration of the Sciences," in a treatiſe to which he gave the vaunting title of *Temporis Partus maximus*, "The greateſt Birth of Time;" an expreſſion of vanity of which he afterwards repented, as appears from a letter to Father Fulgentio, of Venice. This piece is not found among his works.

From this time Bacon appears upon the public theatre of the political world. But neither his great abilities, nor his accompliſhed manners, nor the intereſt of Eſſex the Queen's favourite, nor even the favour of the Queen herſelf (for ſhe often conſulted him on affairs of ſtate) could ſo far overcome the jealouſy of the miniſters, and the ſpirit of faction, as to obtain for him any advantageous poſt. At laſt, Eſſex, who had in vain ſolicited public favour for his friend, and who ſaw him now almoſt driven by ſpleen and reſentment to forſake his country, from his own private bounty preſented him with a valuable eſtate, which he afterwards ſold for eighteen hundred pounds. And we muſt add, though it is an indelible blot upon the memory of this great man, that after the diſgraceful execution of Eſſex, he had the diſingenuity to write, at the inſtigation of the miniſtry, a formal juſtification of their conduct, at the expence of the reputation of his friend and benefactor. All the obſequiouſneſs of Bacon could not, however, procure him the favour of the court; and it was not till James the Firſt aſcended the throne, that he obtained any reward for his ſuperior learning and abilities more ſubſtantial than the empty breath of fame. By means of his excellent treatiſe "On the Advancement of Learning," he ſoon obtained acceſs to that Prince, who valued himſelf upon being a patron of learning, and notwithſtanding the violent oppoſition of the Earl of Saliſbury, and Sir Edward Coke, he obtained, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeven, the place which he had long deſired, of Solicitor General. In the midſt of the engagements of this office he continued, however, to purſue his philoſophical reſearches; for in one thouſand

ſix hundred and ten, he publiſhed his treatiſe "On the Wiſdom of the Antients."

In one thouſand ſix hundred and thirteen, Sir Francis Bacon (for James had, ſoon after his acceſſion, conferred upon Bacon the honour of knighthood) was appointed Attorney General; an office, the profits of which amounted to ſix thouſand pounds a year. This income, together with the wealth he had acquired by marriage and from other ſources, might juſtly have been expected to have raiſed ſo eminent a philoſopher above all temptation to ſervility and peculation. But ambition ſeduced this great man from the path of integrity. In order to obtain the honourable poſt of Lord High Chancellor of England, he deſcended to the meaneſt and moſt unwarrantable artifices. He endeavoured to deſtroy the popularity of his rival, Sir Edward Coke; he made uſe of undue influence in the Houſe of Commons, and he yielded implicit ſubmiſſion to the will and humour of the Prince. By theſe arts, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventeen, Sir Francis obtained the ſeals with the title of Lord Keeper; and in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and eighteen, was created Lord High Chancellor of England, with the title of Baron of Verulam, which he the next year changed for that of Viſcount of St. Albans. But neither the avocations of the court, nor the labours of his office, could intice him from his favourite ſtudies. In the year one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty, he publiſhed a work on which he had been engaged twelve years, and which obtained him immortal honour, his *Novum Organon Scientiarum*, "New Organ of the Sciences."

In the midſt of Lord St. Alban's ſplendour and wealth, an incident occurred which proved ruinous to his fortune, and at the ſame time to his reputation. The King, in order to ſupply his extravagancies, among other expedients, made uſe of illegal patents for monopolies. To theſe patents the learned Chancellor, through the inſtigation of the Duke of Buckingham, had affixed the Great Seal. The whole proceeding gave much offence to the public; complaints reſpecting theſe unjuſt and oppreſſive monopolies were brought into parliament; and the Duke of Buckingham, to extricate himſelf out of this

hazardous ſituation, perſuaded the king to lay the blame upon the Lord Chancellor. The King, whoſe fondneſs for Buckingham exceeded all bounds, liſtened to the propoſal, and even prevailed upon Lord St. Alban's to ſubmit his conduct to public examination without attempting his own defence, or being preſent at the trial; promiſing, on his royal word, to ſcreen him in the laſt determination of the court, or, if that could not be done, to make him ample recompence. The conſequence was, that the Lord Chancellor was, in one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-one, accuſed before the Houſe of Lords of bribery and corruption, and ſentenced to undergo a fine of forty thouſand pounds, to be impriſoned in the Tower during the King's pleaſure, to be for ever incapable of holding any public office, and never to ſit again in parliament, or come within the verge of the court. After a ſhort confinement in the Tower, the King gave him his liberty, and about three years afterwards revoked the whole ſentence by an entire pardon. Lord St. Albans was thus reſtored to his honours, and men ſeemed willing to forget that ſo great a man had ever been capable of offending. From this time, however, mortified no doubt by the recollection of his public diſgrace, and the conſciouſneſs of having too well deſerved it, he declined all concern in affairs of ſtate, and devoted himſelf to retirement and ſtudy. It was during theſe laſt years of his life, which were clouded with care, as well as loaded with regret, that Lord Bacon wrote the greater part of his valuable works. After having been for ſome time in a declining ſtate, he died, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-ſix, of a fever, which was occaſioned by purſuing, with more application than his ſtrength would bear, certain experiments reſpecting the preſervation of bodies *.

Without dwelling upon a ſubject ſo humiliating as the inconſiſtencies and blemiſhes of a great and exalted mind, we will immediately proceed to conſider Bacon in the light in which he will unqueſtionably be admired by the moſt remote poſterity, as, among the moderns, the firſt great improver of philoſophy.

Poſſeſſing by nature a ſtrong and penetrating judgment, and hav-

* Rawley's and Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon. Bayle.

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ing inured himſelf from his childhood to a habit of cloſe attention and deep thinking, Bacon was capable of taking an accurate and comprehenſive ſurvey of the regions of knowledge, and of thoroughly examining the foundations of thoſe ſtructures which had hitherto been honoured with the title of ſyſtems of philoſophy. His firſt great attempt in philoſophy was his incomparable treatiſe "On the Advancement of Learning," firſt publiſhed in Engliſh, and afterwards tranſlated by himſelf, with the aſſiſtance of ſome friends, into Latin.

The great deſign of this work was, to take an accurate ſurvey of the whole extent of the intellectual world; to review the ſtate of knowledge, as it then ſtood, in its ſeveral branches, in order to diſcover how far ſcience had been ſucceſsfully proſecuted, and what improvements might ſtill be made for the benefit of mankind; and to point out general methods for the correction of error, and the advancement of knowledge. The Author, following the diviſion of nature into the three faculties of the Soul, Memory, Imagination, and Underſtanding, claſſes all knowledge under three general heads, correſponding to theſe faculties, Hiſtory, Poetry, Philoſophy. Philoſophy he conſiders as the univerſal ſcience, which is the parent of all others, and divides it into three branches; that which treats of God, or natural theology; that which treats of nature, or natural philoſophy; and that which treats of man, or human and civil philoſophy. Natural philoſophy he diſtributes into Speculative and Operative; including under the former head, phyſics, which treat of the general principles of nature, of the frame of the world, and of diſtinct bodies, and their common or peculiar properties; and metaphyſics, which treat of forms and final cauſes: and comprehending under the latter, mechanics, as deduced from general phyſical cauſes; and magic, or the knowledge of peculiar properties and powers in nature, and of their application to produce unuſual effects. Mathematics he conſiders as an appendage to natural philoſophy. The philoſophy of human nature he views generally, and ſpecially; generally, as it reſpects the whole man, liable to miſeries, or poſſeſſing prerogatives, and as regarding the mutual connection and influence of the mind and body; ſpecially, as it reſpects human nature divided

into body, the ſubject of medicinal, coſmetic, athletic, and voluptuary arts; and ſoul, whether rational or ſenſible, with its various faculties, their uſe and objects; and, as it reſpects civil life, comprehending converſation, negotiation, and government. Under the head of "The Uſe and Objects of the Faculties of the Mind," he includes Logic, comprehending enquiry or invention, examination or judgment, cuſtody or memory, and elocution or tradition, in all the forms of ſpeech and writing; and Ethics, treating of the nature of good, ſimple, or comparative, and of the culture of the mind, reſpecting its natural or accidental characters, and its affections and diſtempers. To all this the author adds a diſcourſe concerning the limits and uſe of human reaſon in matters divine.

From this brief analyſis of this excellent work, the reader may in ſome meaſure perceive, with what compaſs of thought and ſtrength of judgment Bacon examined the whole circle of ſciences; and if the treatiſe be carefully peruſed, as it ought to be by every one who is deſirous of methodiſing and enlarging his conceptions on the general objects of ſcience, the reader will not fail to admire the active and penetrating genius of the author, who could alone diſcover ſo many things, of which former ages had been ignorant, and hold up to poſterity a light, by which they have been ſo ſucceſsfully guided into new fields of ſcience. The numerous *deſiderata*, which he has ſuggeſted in almoſt every branch of ſcience, have furniſhed hints to ſucceeding philoſophers, which have greatly contributed towards the leading object of all his philoſophical labours, the advancement of learning.

Bacon was now deſirous of becoming a faithful and uſeful guide to others in the purſuit of knowledge, by pointing out to them the beſt method of employing their reaſoning faculties on the ſeveral objects of philoſophy; and for this purpoſe wrote his *Novum Organon*, a treatiſe which the author himſelf eſteemed the moſt valuable of his works. Rejecting the ſyllogiſtic method of reaſoning, as a mere inſtrument of Scholaſtic diſputation, which could not be applied with any advantage to the ſtudy of nature, he attempts, in this work, to ſubſtitute in its ſtead the method of induction, in which natural objects

objects are ſubjected to the teſt of obſervation and experiment, in order to furniſh certain facts as the foundation of general truths. By this expedient he hoped to remove thoſe obſtructions to the progreſs of knowledge, the prejudices (called by our author *Idolæ*) ariſing from antient authority, from falſe methods of reaſoning, or from the natural imbecility of the human mind. Phyſical Experiment, the ORGAN or inſtrument which he propoſed for the inveſtigation of nature, he conſidered as the only effectual method of drawing men off from thoſe uncertain ſpeculations, which, contributing nothing towards diſcovering the true nature of things, only ſerve to bewilder the imagination, and confound the judgment. For the particular precepts which Bacon preſcribed for this purpoſe, we muſt refer the reader to the work itſelf, which will amply repay the labour of a diligent peruſal. The great number of new terms which the author introduces, and the complex mode of arrangement which he adopts, caſt indeed ſome degree of obſcurity over the work, and have perhaps rendered it leſs uſeful than it would otherwiſe have been: but the reader who has the courage to overcome theſe difficulties will meet with many excellent obſervations, which may materially contribute, even in the preſent advanced ſtate of natural knowledge, to the improvement of ſcience. But the principal value of this work is, that it repreſents in the moſt lively colours, the nature, the ſtrength, and the miſchievous effects of prejudice, and lays open the various circumſtances which have, in all ages, hindered the free and ſucceſsful purſuit of knowledge.

The way being thus prepared, Bacon applied himſelf chiefly to the improvement of that branch of philoſophy which beſt ſuited his inclination, phyſics; and though he did not attempt to frame a ſyſtem of natural philoſophy, he wrote ſeveral treatiſes, which contain original obſervations on various branches of natural ſcience, but are chiefly valuable as a pattern to poſterity of the manner in which theſe reſearches ſhould be purſued. His philoſophical treatiſes are, Of Words; Of Rarefaction and Condenſation; Of Sympathy; Of Life and Death; Of the Three Chemical Principles; Of Bodies, heavy and light; On ſpeculative and eſſential Phyſics; Deſcription of the

the Intellectual World; Plan of the Heavens; On the Tides; The Philoſophy of Parmenides, Teleſius, and Democritus; Indications for the Interpretation of Nature; Of the Wiſdom of the Antients; A Hiſtory of Nature; and, A new Atlantis. Beſides theſe, he wrote ſeveral moral, political, and hiſtorical pieces, ſomewhat obſcure in expreſſion, but full of profound thought, and juſt reflection, and worthy of an attentive and frequent peruſal. This latter claſs of his writings is enlivened with examples, narratives, apothegms, ſimilies, and many other decorations. His entire works have been publiſhed in England, Holland, and Germany.

The only thing to be regretted in the writings of Bacon is, that he has increaſed the difficulties neceſſarily attending his original and profound reſearches, by too freely making uſe of new terms, and by loading his arrangement with an exceſſive multiplicity and minuteneſs of diviſions. But an attentive and accurate reader, already not unacquainted with philoſophical ſubjects, will meet with no inſuperable difficulties in ſtudying his works, and, if he be not a wonderful proficient in ſcience, will reap much benefit as well as pleaſure from the peruſal. In fine, Lord Bacon, by the univerſal conſent of the learned world, is to be ranked in the firſt claſs of modern philoſophers. He unqueſtionably belonged to that ſuperior order of men, who, by enlarging the boundaries of human knowledge, have been benefactors to mankind; and he may not improperly be ſtyled, on account of the new track of ſcience which he explored, the Columbus of the philoſophical world *.

* Vidend. Oper. Lond. 1740. 1765.

SECT.

## SECT. 4.

### OF THOMAS CAMPANELLA.

AT the ſame time that Bacon was improving philoſophy in Britain, attempts of a ſimilar kind, but with far inferior ſucceſs, were made in Italy by Campanella, a man whoſe natural genius prompted him to bold innovations.

THOMAS CAMPANELLA [a], a native of Calabria, was born in the year one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-eight. From his infancy he diſcovered a wonderful memory, and a ſingular genius. At thirteen years of age he was able to write verſes with great facility. Having been early inſtructed in theological ſubjects, his firſt ambition was to rival the fame of the great Albert, and Thomas Aquinas; and he entered his name in that monaſtic order which they had ſo much adorned, the fraternity of Dominicans. In the convent of San Giorgio, he engaged with great induſtry and ardour in the ſtudy of philoſophy; but he ſoon diſcovered the ſterility of the antient method of philoſophiſing, and, after in vain ſeeking for ſatisfaction from Ariſtotle or Plato, Zeno or Epicurus, he had recourſe, when he was about eighteen years of age, to a modern maſter, who had profeſſed to ſtudy the nature of things rather than the ſpeculations of philoſophers. The philoſophy of Teleſius about this time engaging much attention in Italy, Campanella read his treatiſe "On the Nature of Things," and was ſo much captivated with the bold and free ſpirit of this work, that he determined to leave the barren deſart of the Ariſtotelian Scholaſtics, for the more pleaſant and fruitful fields of the Teleſian philoſophy. He wrote a defence of Teleſius

[a] E. S. Cypriani Vit. Camp. Amſt. 1705. Niceron. Mem. Lit. t. i. Erythr. Pinacoth. l. i. p. 41. Struv. Act. Lit. faſc. ii. p. 71. Stollii Hiſt. Lit. p. ii. c. 1. § 91.

againſt Antoninus Marta, who had undertaken the refutation of that philoſopher's doctrine, in a work entitled *Pugnaculum Ariſtotelis*, "A Defence of Ariſtotle," and came to Naples to publiſh his work, which was entitled, *Philoſophia Senſibus demonſtrata*, "Philoſophy demonſtrated to the Senſes."

The contempt with which Campanella, in this work, treated the authority of Ariſtotle, raiſed a violent ferment among his monaſtic brethren, which was ſtill further increaſed by the bold and deciſive tone with which he contradicted long eſtabliſhed tenets in public diſputations. Supported however by wealthy patrons, and ſtill more by his own firm and independent ſpirit, he perſevered in the deſign which he had long formed of attempting the reformation of philoſophy. He wrote two treatiſes, one, *De Senſu Rerum*, "On Senſation;" the other, *De Inveſtigatione*, "On Inveſtigation," from a perſuaſion, as he himſelf ſays, that it was neceſſary to point out to young men, ſome better way to the knowledge of things than Ariſtotle or Plato had taught, and that they ſhould be inſtructed to reaſon, not after the manner of Raymond Lully, upon mere words, but upon ſenſible objects.

Neither the power of his genius, nor the patronage of his friends, could, however, ſecure Campanella from inſult and perſecution. To eſcape theſe, he removed from Naples to Rome, and afterwards to Florence, Venice, Padua, and Bologna. At laſt he ſettled in his native country, and, probably, in order to cover his innovations with the ſhield of orthodoxy, wrote in defence of the ſee of Rome. But, notwithſtanding this precaution, he ſoon fell under ſuſpicions which proved fatal to him. He was accuſed of being concerned in a conſpiracy againſt the King of Spain, and the Neapolitan government, and, after undergoing torture, was confined in priſon about twenty-ſeven years, during a great part of which time he was denied the privilege of reading and writing. As ſoon as this indulgence was granted him, he wrote ſeveral books, among which were a treatiſe on the Spaniſh Monarchy, and his "Real Philoſophy." Theſe he ſent into Germany to be publiſhed. Many attempts were made by his friends to obtain his liberation; but they were unſucceſsful, till

Pope

Pope Urban VIII. a patron of learned men, prevailed upon Philip IV. of Spain to grant him an acquittal from the charge of treaſon. In one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-ſix he was ſet at liberty; but finding himſelf ſtill inſecure in Italy, he found means, under the connivance and favour of the Pope, to eſcape to France, where he experienced the favour of Cardinal Richlieu, who procured for him a penſion from Louis XIII. He paſſed the remainder of his days in a Dominican monaſtery at Paris, where he continued to enjoy the ſociety of many learned men, till, in the ſeventy-firſt year of his age, he expired.

Campanella was confeſſedly a man of genius; but his imagination predominated over his judgment. Innumerable proofs of this may be found in his aſtrological writings, in his book *De Senſu Rerum*, and in many other parts of his works. Can it be doubted that a man, who gave credit to the art of aſtrology; who believed that he was cured of a diſeaſe by the words and prayers of an old woman; who thought that demons appeared to him, and converſed with him; and who perſuaded himſelf, that when any danger threatened him, he was, between ſleeping and waking, warned of it by a voice which called him by his name; was deſtitute of that ſound judgment which is ſo eſſential a quality in the character of a philoſopher? But notwithſtanding all his childiſh credulity, and all the eccentricity of his genius, Campanella had his lucid and happy intervals, in which he reaſoned ſoberly. He is chiefly worthy of praiſe for the freedom with which he expoſed the futility of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, and for the pains which he took to deduce natural ſcience from obſervation and experience [a]. Of the numerous writings which his fertile imagination produced, the moſt celebrated are, *Prodromus Philoſophiæ inſtaurandæ*, "A Præcurſor to the Reſtoration of Philoſophy;" *Atheiſmus triumphatus*, "Atheiſm ſubdued;" *De Gentiliſmo non retinendo*, "On the Rejection of Paganiſm;" *Aſtrologica*, "On Aſtrology;" *Philoſophia rationalis*, "Rational Philoſophy; *Civitas Solis*, "The City of the Sun;" *Univerſalis Philoſophia*,

[a] Conring. de Prud. Civ. c. 14. Adami Præf. Prodrom. Ph. Camp. Id. in Epilogiſmo.

"Univerſal Philoſophy;" *De Libris propriis* "On his own Books;" *De recta Ratione ſtudendi*, "On the right Method of Studying."

Though Campanella read much, as appears from many of his writings, particularly from his treatiſe, "On the Method of Studying," he paid little reſpect to the opinions of others. He controverted many of the notions even of his maſter Teleſius, and advanced many dogmas of his own, in dialectics, phyſics, and ethics.

In dialectics, Campanella's chief object ſeems to have been, to recede as far as poſſible from the Peripatetics, but his logic abounds with ſubtle diſtinctions, uſeleſs terms, and obſcure rules, upon which the loweſt cenſure we can paſs is, that they are no improvement upon Ariſtotle.

Concerning nature[a], the leading doctrines of Campanella were as follows. Senſe is the only guide in philoſophy, and is diſtinguiſhed into preſent perception, anticipation, and inference from things perceived to things not perceived. The eſſence and exiſtence of things are the ſame. Space is the firſt incorporeal ſubſtance, immoveable, the receptacle of all bodies. Time is the ſucceſſive duration of things, and is only meaſured by motion. God placed matter in the midſt of ſpace, and appointed two principles, Heat and Cold, to act upon the common maſs. Heat formed the heavens from rarified matter; Cold produced the earth, from matter condenſed. Heat, in repelling the contrary principle, moves the heavens in a circular orbit, and where its power of rarefaction is overcome by Cold, its portions of matter, being condenſed, become lucid bodies, or ſtars. Cold, continually repelling Heat equally in all directions, the earth, the maſs upon which it acts, remains immoveable. Matter, being inviſible, is black; light is vivid whiteneſs; the colour of cold is unknown, but it is probably black. The ſun and the earth are the two elements whence all things are produced; air and water are not elements, becauſe they cannot produce their like. The different forms in nature ariſe from the different ways and degrees in which the principles of heat and cold act upon matter. All animal operations are produced by one univerſal ſpirit, which acts in all ſenſo-

[a] Prodrom. Phil. Inſtaur. Compend. Diſſ. de Natura Rerum. De Senſu Rerum.

riums.

riums. All things in nature, the elements, with their cauſes and effects, have the ſenſe of feeling, in which they are paſſive, and have withal a conſciouſneſs of impreſſions, and a perception of the objects by which they are produced. The world is an animal or ſentient being, and ſince nature abhors a vacuum, its parts ſeek each other with delight, and enjoy mutual contact. Matter itſelf is ſentient; and being in its nature dark and without form, ſeeks to be adorned with colour and forms, which are communicated to it by the active principles of nature. The ſoul, or principle of animal life, is a rare ſubſtance, capable of receiving impreſſions from things diſſimilar, but not from thoſe which are ſimilar to itſelf, whence it perceives groſs bodies, but not air or ſpirit; it is not a property of the body, but an agent incloſed in, and operating upon, the body. The human ſoul deſcends from an infinite cauſe, towards which it tends, and is immortal. The world itſelf has a ſoul, by which it is directed, as man by the divine principle within him. The firſt, greateſt, and only true being, in whom power, wiſdom, and love exiſt as primary principles, tranſmits his inexhauſtible ideas, by means of the active cauſes, heat and cold, to the corporeal maſſes, ſupported in ſpace, the baſis of the world, which itſelf has its ſtability in God. All creatures are excellent, in proportion to the degree in which they bear the image of the eſſential principles of the divine nature. Human depravity conſiſts in the loſs of this image, and human perfection in its reſtoration.

As far as any idea of the philoſophical character of Campanella can be formed from the confuſed maſs of opinions, ſo diffuſely, but obſcurely, expreſſed in his voluminous writings, we muſt conclude, that notwithſtanding the cenſures which have often been paſſed upon him for impiety, he is rather to be ranked among enthuſiaſts than atheiſts; and that, as in his other undertakings, ſo alſo in his attempts to reform philoſophy, he was unſucceſsful *.

* Echardi Script. Ord. Predic. Branchedori Orat. Præm. de Ortû Pontif. Blount. Cenſ. p. 436. Morhoff. Polyh. t. ii. l. ii. p. i. c. 14. § 3. Naud. Bibliog. c. 2.

SECT.

## SECT. 5.

### OF THOMAS HOBBES.

ANOTHER Engliſhman who made bold attempts towards the improvement of philoſophy, was THOMAS HOBBES[a], born in one thouſand five hundred and eighty-eight, at Malmſbury, in Wiltſhire. Through premature birth, occaſioned by his mother's terror at the rumour of the approach of the Spaniſh invincible armada towards the Britiſh coaſt, he had a feeble conſtitution; but he early diſcovered uncommon vigour of mind, and made ſuch rapid progreſs in learning, that while he was a boy, he tranſlated the Medea of Euripides into elegant Latin verſe. At fourteen years of age he was ſent by his uncle to Oxford, where, for five years, he applied with great induſtry to the ſtudy of logic and the Peripatetic philoſophy. He was then appointed tutor to a young nobleman, the ſon of Lord Hardwick, with whom he made the tour of France and Italy. This opportunity of ſeeing the celebrated monuments of antiquity, converſing with learned men, and becoming acquainted with the policy and manners of foreign ſtates, Hobbes aſſiduouſly improved. Upon his return, entertaining a ſtrong perſuaſion of the inanity and inutility of the Peripatetic philoſophy, he reſolved to devote his leiſure to the ſtudy of the antients, that he might collect whatever was moſt valuable from their writings. His high reputation for learning introduced him to the acquaintance of Lord Bacon and Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who engaged him to aſſiſt them in tranſlating their works into Latin. The converſation of theſe great men excited in him a violent averſion to Scholaſtic learning, and an earneſt deſire of inveſtigating truth with a liberal and independent ſpirit. It was a

[a] Life by R. R. 1685. Bayle. Wood Hiſt. Ox. l. ii. p. 376. Blount Cenſ. p. 1046. Epiſt. præf. Lib. de Cive.

circumſtance

circumſtance which greatly increaſed his love of philoſophy, that in a viſit which he paid to France and Italy, about the year one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-five, he became acquainted with ſeveral eminent philoſophers, particularly Merſenne and Gaſſendi, with whom he formed an intimate friendſhip, and after his return kept up a conſtant correſpondence.

The diſſentions in Great Britain, about the year one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-ſeven, riſing to great violence, Hobbes, whoſe connections and principles made him a zealous advocate for the royal cauſe, rendered himſelf ſo obnoxious to the popular party, that he thought it prudent to retire to Paris, where he enjoyed the ſociety of many philoſophical friends. Among others, he was introduced to the celebrated philoſopher Des Cartes, and began an epiſtolary correſpondence with him on the nature and laws of motion, on optics, and other topics of natural philoſophy. When Des Cartes firſt wrote his "Philoſophical Meditations" on God and the human mind, and other pneumatological ſubjects, he ſubmitted it to the examination of his learned friends, and amongſt the reſt to Hobbes, who ſent his obſervations on the work to their common friend Merſenne, by whom they were communicated to Des Cartes. Hobbes, who was of opinion that thought may be a property of body, contradicted ſome of the firſt principles of Des Cartes' ſyſtem. A correſpondence was opened upon the ſubject; but Des Cartes affecting to treat his opponent with ſome degree of contempt, as deſtitute of ſolidity and depth of judgment, ſoon dropped the controverſy.

Whilſt Hobbes was in Paris, he was recommended to Charles prince of Wales, the heir apparent to the crown of England, who at that time reſided in Paris for the ſake of ſafety, as a proper perſon to inſtruct him in the elements of mathematics and philoſophy. This circumſtance ſtrengthened his attachment to the royal cauſe, and he completed his treatiſe on government, intituled, *De Cive*, which had long been in contemplation, and in one thouſand ſix hundred and forty-two, printed a few copies for the uſe of his friends. It was afterwards, in one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-

forty-ſeven, publiſhed with material corrections and improvements. The work, the object of which was to check the riſing ſpirit of freedom, by eſtabliſhing the claims of monarchy on new principles of philoſophy, was as much condemned by one party as it was admired by the other.

About this time, Hobbes entered into a controverſy with Biſhop Bramhall on the ſubject of liberty and neceſſity, in an epiſtolary correſpondence, which, being communicated to a friend in France, was tranſlated into French, and afterwards, without the conſent of Hobbes, publiſhed in England. Bramhall, diſpleaſed at the publication of theſe papers, continued the diſpute, and the whole controverſy was collected into one volume, and printed in London, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and fifty-ſix [a]. Hobbes ſtrenuouſly maintained the doctrine of neceſſity, eſtabliſhed on the abſolute power and irreſiſtible will of God, which was the leſs ſurpriſing, as at that time the Calviniſtic doctrine of predeſtination was generally received. Many of the clergy, in their zeal to oppoſe the doctrine of Hobbes, which they thought ſubverſive of morality, deſerted Calvin, and embraced the Arminian tenet of free will.

In the year one thouſand ſix hundred and fifty, Hobbes wrote his treatiſe on "Human Nature," which was, in the opinion of Mr. Addiſon, his beſt work, and another, *De Corpore politico*, "Of the Political Body." The year following, he publiſhed his "Leviathan;" a treatiſe, in which, in eſtabliſhing a ſyſtem of civil policy, he repreſents man as an untameable beaſt of prey, and government as the ſtrong chain, by which he is to be kept from miſchief. This work, though learned and ingenious, advanced ſuch bold and paradoxical opinions, both in philoſophy and policy, that the whole body of the Engliſh clergy took the alarm, and the author was ſtrongly ſuſpected to be, in religion, inimical to revelation, and in policy, to favour the cauſe of democracy. The indignation, which this publication excited, was probably in a great meaſure owing to the freedom with which it inveighs againſt eccleſiaſtical tyranny.

[a] Entitled "Queſtions touchant la Liberté, la Neceſſité, et le Hazard eclairces et debatues entre le Dr. Bramhall, Eveque de Derry, et Thomas Hobbes de Malmſbury.

The ſuſpicions, which were on this occaſion raiſed againſt Hobbes, diſſolved his connection with Prince Charles at Paris; and in one thouſand ſix hundred and fifty-three, he returned to England, and found a welcome aſylum in the Devonſhire family. From this time, declining all political diſputes, he ſpent his days in philoſophical ſtudies, and in the ſociety of learned men, among whom were Harvey and Selden. He publiſhed, firſt in Latin, and afterwards in Engliſh, a treatiſe "On Bodies," in which he undertakes to explain the principles of nature. He wrote a treatiſe on geometry, in which he advanced many things contrary to the received doctrine of geometricians, and brought upon himſelf (whether juſtly or not it is not our buſineſs to enquire) a ſevere cenſure, for attempting to correct what he did not himſelf ſufficiently underſtand. To complete his body of philoſophy, he publiſhed, in one thouſand ſix hundred and fifty-eight, "A Diſſertation on Man," in which he advanced many ſingular opinions concerning the intellectual and moral powers of human nature.

After the reſtoration, Hobbes came to London, and was graciouſly received by the king, who admitted him to a private audience, and gave him a penſion of one hundred pounds *per annum*. Through the vigilance of the clergy, he was, however, prevented from executing his favourite deſign of collecting and republiſhing his works in Engliſh, and was obliged to ſend them over to Amſterdam, where an entire edition in Latin was publiſhed *. Whilſt the writings of Hobbes were reprobated by the general body of the clergy, and occaſioned many learned and able replies, they were not without their admirers both at home and abroad. Foreigners of the firſt diſtinction viſited him, among whom was Coſmo de Medicis, then Prince of Tuſcany. Even in the public ſchools his doctrines had profeſſed advocates; and Daniel Scargil, a Cambridge ſcholar, maintained ſome of his fundamental tenets in a public diſputation; on which account he was expelled from the univerſity. This circumſtance brought ſo much odium upon Hobbes, that Biſhop Fell, in his Latin edition of

* Amſt. Bleau. 4to. 1668.

Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienſis*, thought it neceſſary to leave out the eulogium which the author had paſſed upon the philoſopher of Malmſbury, and inſert in its ſtead a ſevere cenſure. Wood, offended at this freedom, acquainted Hobbes, who wrote a letter in juſtification of himſelf to the author of the *Athenæ Oxonienſis*, which was publiſhed at Oxford. This produced from Fell a bitter invective, to which Hobbes, who was now far advanced in years, made no reply. In his laſt days he retired into the country, and employed himſelf in tranſlating Homer, and writing the hiſtory of the civil war. This latter work Hobbes could not obtain the royal permiſſion to publiſh; but it was ſent into the world by a friend, without his knowledge. He died in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-nine, having lived to the great age of ninety-one.

Hobbes was certainly poſſeſſed of vigorous faculties, and had he been ſufficiently careful to form and improve his judgment, and to preſerve his mind free from the bias of prejudice and paſſion, would undoubtedly have deſerved a place in the firſt claſs of philoſophers. The mathematical method of reaſoning which he adopted, greatly aſſiſted him in his reſearches; but he was often led into error, by aſſuming falſe or uncertain principles or axioms. The vehemence with which he engaged in political conteſts biaſſed his judgment on queſtions of policy, and led him to frame ſuch maxims and rules of government, as would be deſtructive of the peace and happineſs of mankind. An arrogant contempt of the opinions of others, an impatience of contradiction, and a reſtleſs ambition to be diſtinguiſhed as an innovator in philoſophy, were qualities which appear to have contributed in no ſmall degree to the perverſion of his judgment. To enumerate all the particulars, in which Hobbes departs from the beaten track of opinions, would carry us beyond our limits. The following poſitions, chiefly ſelected from his Leviathan, may ſerve as a ſpecimen of his philoſophy.

All knowledge originates in ſenſation, and is produced by the preſſure, either immediate or mediate, of external objects upon the ſenſes. Senſible qualities are, in their objects, nothing more than the

the motion of matter operating variouſly upon the organs of ſenſation. Imagination and memory are the permanent effects of former impreſſions upon the ſenſes. Thinking is the ſucceſſion of one imagination after another, which may be either irregular or regulated with a view to ſome end. Every conception, being derived from the ſenſes, is finite; we have, therefore, no idea of infinity, and God is an object, not of apprehenſion, but of reverence. No one can conceive of any thing but as exiſting in ſome place, of ſome finite magnitude, and diviſible into parts; nor can any thing be wholly in one place and wholly in another at the ſame time, or two or more things be at the ſame time in the ſame place. Truth and falſehood are attributes, not of things, but of language. The intellect peculiar to man is a faculty ariſing from ſpeech; and the uſe of reaſon is the deduction of remote conſequences from the definitions of terms. Science is the knowledge of theſe conſequences. There are in animals two kinds of motion, one, vital and involuntary; the other, animal and voluntary. The latter, if it tends towards an object, is appetite; if it recedes from it, averſion: and the object in the former caſe is ſaid to be good, in the latter, evil. Appetite is attended with pleaſure, averſion with pain. In deliberation, the laſt impulſe of the appetite is will; ſucceſs in obtaining its object, enjoyment. Moral qualities are thoſe by which the peace and ſecurity of the ſtate are preſerved. Felicity conſiſts not in tranquillity, but in a perpetual progreſs from one deſire to another. The diverſity of human characters ariſes from the different ways in which men purſue happineſs.

The deſire of inveſtigating cauſes leads to the knowledge and belief of a firſt cauſe, the one eternal Deity, although the divine nature is incomprehenſible. From men's ignorance of true cauſes ariſes anxiety, fear, ſuperſtition.

Nature has formed all men equal; whence ariſes the univerſal hope of acquiring by violence whatever we deſire, and the univerſal apprehenſion of ſuffering violence from others. The neceſſary conſequence is, that a ſtate of nature is a ſtate of perpetual hoſtility, in which no individual has any other means of ſafety than his own

ſtrength or ingenuity, and in which there is no room for induſtry, becauſe no ſecure enjoyment of its fruits. In this ſtate, every one has a right to uſe his own faculties at pleaſure for his preſervation, and of doing whatever he judges to be conducive to this end; and ſince there is no property, there can be no injuſtice.

For the ſake of peace and ſecurity, it is neceſſary that each individual recede from a part of his natural right, and be contented with ſuch a ſhare of liberty, or freedom from reſtraint, as he is willing to allow to others. This reſignation of natural rights may either be a ſimple renunciation, or a transfer of them to an individual or body, by mutual conſent, for the common good. The multitude, thus brought out of a ſtate of nature, becomes one perſon, which is called the Republic or State, in which the common power and will are exerciſed for the common defence. The ruling power cannot be taken from thoſe to whom it has been committed, nor can they be puniſhed for mal-adminiſtration. If the ſupreme magiſtrate inflicts any penalty upon the innocent, he ſins againſt God, but does not act unjuſtly. The interpretation of the laws is to be ſought, not from preceptors nor philoſophers, but from the authority of the ſtate; for it is not truth, but authority, that makes law; nevertheleſs, the king ought to interpret the law according to his own natural reaſon and conſcience. Puniſhment is an evil inflicted upon the tranſgreſſor of the law, to this end, that the apprehenſion of it may bend the will of the citizens to ſubmiſſion. The public law is to be inſtead of conſcience to every individual; it is therefore falſe that every violation of conſcience in a citizen is a ſin. The offices of the ſupreme governors are to be regulated by thoſe ends, which comprehend the ſecurity of the people.

Although Hobbes often admits falſe principles, and advances pernicious tenets, many juſt and profound obſervations are to be met with in his writings, which have probably led the way to the improvement of moral and political ſcience.

It is much to be regretted that Hobbes, though he had the precept and example of Lord Bacon to guide him, neglected the new and fertile path of experimental philoſophy. So little was he aware

of the value of this kind of knowledge, that he cenſured the Royal Society of London, at its firſt inſtitution, for attending more to minute experiment than general principles, and ſaid, that if the name of a philoſopher was to be obtained by relating a multifarious farrago of experiments, we might expect to ſee apothecaries, gardeners, and perfumers, rank among philoſophers.*

* Videnda. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, v. i. p. 36, 92. 150. 211. Gundling. Obſ. Select. t. i. Obſ. 2. Gundlingiana, p. xiv. Huberus Orat. de Pædantiſmo, p. 66. Rapin. Reflex. ſur la Phil. p. 55. Cumberland on the Law of Nature, Lond. 1672. Puffendorf. Erid. Scand. p. 206. Andreæ Diſcuſſ. fundam. Hobbeſii. 1672.

## SECT. 6.

### OF DES CARTES.

IN modern times, few philoſophers have a higher claim to diſtinction, both on account of the variety and originality of his ſpeculations, and the celebrity which he obtained in the philoſophical world, than Des Cartes, who, though the father of a ſect, himſelf purſued his reſearches with ſuch a free and independent ſpirit, as juſtly entitles him to a place among the Eclectics.

RENES DES CARTES*, a native of France, was born in one thouſand five hundred and ninety-ſix, at La Haye in Tourain. Whilſt he was a child, he diſcovered an eager curioſity to enquire into the nature and cauſes of things, which procured him the appellation of

* Baillet. Vit. Cartes, Par. 1691. Epit. 1693. Borelli et Teſſelii Vit. Cart. Witte Mem. Phil. dec. iv. p. 580. Niceron. t. 31. p. 274. Sturm. Diſſ. de Cart. Bayle.

the

the young philoſopher. At eight years of age, he was committed to the care of Dinet, a learned Jeſuit, under whom he made uncommon proficiency in learning. But an habit of cloſe and deep reflection ſoon enabled him to diſcover defects in the books which he read, and in the inſtructions which he received, which led him to form the ambitious hope that he ſhould, in ſome future time, carry ſcience to a point of perfection which it had never hitherto reached. After ſpending five years in the diligent ſtudy of languages, and in reading the antient poets, orators, and hiſtorians, he paſſed on to ſeverer ſtudies, and made himſelf well acquainted with the elements of mathematics, logic, and morals, as they had been hitherto taught. His earneſt deſire of attaining an accurate knowledge of every thing which became a ſubject of contemplation to his inquiſitive mind, did not, however, in any of theſe branches of ſcience meet with full ſatisfaction. Concerning logic, particularly, he complained, that after the moſt diligent examination he found the ſyllogiſtic forms, and almoſt every other precept of the art, more uſeful in enabling a man to communicate to others truths already known, or rather, like the Lullian art, in qualifying him to diſcourſe copiouſly upon ſubjects which he does not underſtand, than aſſiſting him in the inveſtigation of truths, of which he is at preſent ignorant. Hence he was induced to forſake the beaten track, and to frame for himſelf a brief ſyſtem of rules or canons of reaſoning, in which he followed the ſtrict method of the Geometricians. He purſued the ſame plan with reſpect to Morals. But after all his ſpeculations, he was not able to attain the entire ſatisfaction which he ſo earneſtly deſired; and, at the cloſe of eight years aſſiduous application in the Jeſuit's college at La Fleche, he returned to his parents, lamenting that he had derived no other benefit from his ſtudies, than a fuller conviction that he, as yet, knew nothing with perfect clearneſs and certainty. Deſpairing of being able to diſcover truth in the paths of learning, he now bade adieu to books, and reſolved henceforth to purſue no other knowledge, than that which he could find within himſelf, and in the great volume of nature.

Not

Not yet more than ſeventeen years of age, he was ſent to Paris by his father, who had ſuch entire confidence in his underſtanding and diſcretion, that he left him to his own direction. He now, for a while, gave free ſcope to youthful vanity, and the love of pleaſure, and would probably have been entirely loſt to the philoſophical world, had not the ſociety of ſeveral learned men, to whom he was introduced, recalled his attention to mathematical ſtudies, which he again proſecuted, in ſolitude and ſilence, for the ſpace of two years. Still, however, unſatisfied with the reſult of his ſpeculations, he renewed his purpoſe of forſaking books, and entered upon the military life, as a volunteer in the Dutch army; chiefly becauſe he apprehended, that this profeſſion would give him an advantageous opportunity of converſing with the world. But even amidſt the avocations of his new profeſſion, his natural propenſity to ſtudy returned, and he engaged in mathematical diſquiſitions, with an eminent mathematician at Breda, and wrote a philoſophical diſſertation, in which he attempted to prove that brutes are *automata*, or mere machines. From the Dutch army Des Cartes paſſed over into the Bavarian ſervice. In winter quarters, whilſt he was purſuing his ſpeculations, perplexing himſelf with doubts, and ſupplicating divine illumination, he was informed of the wonderful pretenſions of the Roſicruſian fraternity, and was willing to hope that he might gain, from men who boaſted of divine inſpiration, that light which he had in vain ſought from others. But, not being able to meet with any one who could unfold to him the myſteries of this ſect, he ſoon finiſhed his ſhort excurſion into the regions of enthuſiaſm, and returned to the humble path of rational enquiry. Wherever he went he converſed with learned men, and rather appeared in the character of a philoſopher than a ſoldier. At laſt, he quitted the military profeſſion, and after a tour through the Northern parts of Germany, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-two, returned to his own country, with no other profit from his travels, as he himſelf confeſſes, than that they had freed him from many prejudices, and rendered his mind more fit for the reception of truth.

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Des Cartes now for a while made Paris his place of reſidence, and returned to the ſtudy of mathematics, not as an ultimate object (for he thought it a fruitleſs labour to fill the head with numbers and figures) but in hopes of diſcovering general principles of relations, meaſures, and proportions, applicable to all ſubjects, by means of which truth might be with certainty inveſtigated, and the limits of knowledge materially enlarged. But not at preſent ſucceeding according to his wiſhes in this ſpeculation, he turned his attention chiefly to ethical enquiries, and attempted to raiſe a ſuperſtructure of morals upon the foundation of natural ſcience; for he was of opinion, that there could be no better means of diſcovering the true principles and rules of action, than by contemplating our own nature, and the nature of the world around us. This inveſtigation produced his treatiſe "On the Paſſions."

Having employed a ſhort time in theſe ſtudies, Des Cartes undertook a literary and philoſophical journey, and ſpent about two years in Italy, converſing with eminent mathematicians and philoſophers, and attending to various objects of enquiry in natural hiſtory. He then returned into France; but his mind remaining in an unſettled and ſceptical ſtate, he found it impoſſible to purſue any regular plan of life, till, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-nine, he determined to withdraw from his numerous connections and engagements in Paris, and retire into ſome foreign country, where he might remain unknown, and have full leiſure to complete his great deſign of framing a new ſyſtem of philoſophy. The country he choſe for this purpoſe was Holland; and he went thither with ſo much ſecrecy, that the place of his retirement was for ſome time known only to his intimate friend, Marſenne, at Paris. He at firſt reſided near Amſterdam, but afterwards went into the more Northern provinces, and viſited Deventer and Lewarden; he at laſt fixed upon Egmond, a pleaſant village near Francher, in the province of Frieſland, as the place of his more ſtated reſidence. Here he proſecuted his philoſophical labours, and ſaw them engage the attention of the learned world, in a manner which could not but be highly flattering to a mind not indifferent to honeſt fame.

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In his retirement, Des Cartes employed himſelf in inveſtigating a proof from reaſon, independent of revelation, of thoſe fundamental points in religion, the exiſtence of God, and the immortality of the ſoul, and in other important metaphyſical ſpeculations. The reſult of theſe ſpeculations afterwards appeared in his treatiſe entitled *Meditationes Philoſophicæ de prima Philoſophia*, "Philoſophical Meditations on the Firſt Philoſophy." At the ſame time he purſued the phyſical enquiries which he had begun in France, particularly on the ſubject of optics; and theſe reſearches gave birth to his treatiſe "On Meteors." Beſides this, he paid no ſlight attention to medicine, anatomy, and chemiſtry; he ſpent a whole winter in diſſecting and examining animal bodies, and in chemical operations. He alſo wrote an aſtronomical treatiſe on the ſyſtem of the world; but when he heard in what manner the aſtronomer Galileo had been treated by the court of inquiſition, he was deterred from publiſhing it, and concealed his opinion concerning the true doctrine of the ſolar ſyſtem.

The tenets of Des Cartes made their firſt appearance in the ſchools at Deventer, where, in one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-three, they were introduced by the profeſſor of philoſophy, Henry Rener, a learned man, and an intimate friend of Gaſſendi. Not long afterwards, when, at the requeſt of his friends, he publiſhed a ſpecimen of his philoſophy in four treatiſes, the number of his admirers and followers ſoon increaſed; and at the ſame time, as was to be expected, his new doctrine had many opponents. At Utrecht, Leyden, and Amſterdam, and in other Dutch ſchools, the Carteſian doctrines were zealouſly eſpouſed by many learned men; whilſt ſeveral theologians, alarmed at the idea of innovation, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed them, and even attempted to bring their author under the cenſure of the civil magiſtrate. In Great Britain, the Carteſian philoſophy obtained ſuch a degree of credit, that Sir Charles Cavendiſh, brother to the Earl of Newcaſtle, gave Des Cartes an invitation to ſettle in England. Charles the Firſt gave him reaſon to expect a liberal appointment; and Des Cartes was not diſinclined to place himſelf under ſuch reſpectable patronage. But the civil

wars fruſtrated this deſign, and Des Cartes remained in Holland. In his native country, his doctrine was at firſt well received, but a ſtrong party ſoon roſe againſt it among the Jeſuits. Bourden, one of the fraternity, attacked his dioptrics in the public ſchools, and a violent conteſt was long kept up between the Jeſuits and Carteſians. In the courſe of the diſputes which the Carteſian philoſophy occaſioned, Des Cartes himſelf appeared earneſtly deſirous to become the father of a ſect, and diſcovered more jealouſy and ambition than became a philoſopher.

During the courſe of Des Cartes' reſidence in Holland, he paid three viſits to his native country; one in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and forty-three, when he publiſhed an abſtract of his philoſophy, under the title of *Specimena Philoſophica*, "Philoſophical Specimens;" the ſecond and third, in one thouſand ſix hundred and forty-ſeven, and one thouſand ſix hundred and forty-eight, when he was amuſed with a promiſe of an annual penſion of three thouſand livres, which he never received. His chagrin upon this diſappointment was, however, relieved by an invitation which, through the hands of the French ambaſſador, he received from Chriſtina, Queen of Sweden, to viſit Stockholm. That learned princeſs had read his treatiſe "On the Paſſions" with great delight, and was earneſtly deſirous to be inſtructed by him in the principles of his philoſophy. Des Cartes, notwithſtanding the difficulties which he apprehended from the ſeverity of the climate, was prevailed upon to accept the invitation, and arrived at Stockholm in one thouſand ſix hundred and forty-nine. The queen gave him a reſpectful reception, and the ſingular talents which he diſcovered, induced her earneſtly to ſolicit this eminent philoſopher to remain in her kingdom, and aſſiſt her in eſtabliſhing an academy of ſciences. But Des Cartes had not been more than four months in Sweden, when a cold which he caught in his early morning viſits to the queen, whom he inſtructed in philoſophy, brought on an inflammation of the lungs, which ſoon put a period to his life. The queen is ſaid to have lamented his death with tears. His remains were interred, at the requeſt of the French ambaſſador, in the cœmetery for foreigners, and a long hiſtorical eulogium

eulogium inſcribed upon his tomb. Des Cartes died at the beginning of the year one thouſand ſix hundred and fifty. His bones were afterwards, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-ſix, carried from Sweden into France, and interred with great pomp in the church of St. Genevieve du Mont[a].

The writings of this philoſopher, the principal of which have been mentioned in the preceding narrative, prove him to have poſſeſſed an accurate and penetrating judgment, a fertile invention, and a mind ſuperior to prejudice; qualities which, united with an early acquaintance with antient learning, and indefatigable induſtry in the inveſtigation of truth, might ſeem to promiſe no inconſiderable ſhare of ſucceſs in the great deſign of reforming and improving philoſophy. Des Cartes would have been more ſucceſsful, had he been leſs deſirous of applying mathematical principles and reaſonings to ſubjects which do not admit of them; had he ſet leſs value upon mere conjectures; and had he been leſs ambitious of the honour of founding a new ſect in philoſophy. His leading dogmas have, however, too much originality and celebrity to be overlooked in this work.

Upon the ſubject of LOGIC [b], Des Cartes lays down the following rules for the diſcovery of truth, which are derived from the practice of Geometricians.

Nothing is ever to be admitted as true, which is not certainly and evidently known to be ſo; that is, in judging of truth all prejudice and precipitancy is carefully to be avoided, and nothing more is to be admitted in the concluſion, than what appears to the underſtanding ſo diſtinctly and clearly, that it cannot poſſibly be doubted. Difficulties muſt be accurately examined, and divided into ſo many parts, as may be moſt convenient for their eaſy ſolution. In proving any truth, the ideas are always to be brought forward in a certain order, beginning from things the moſt ſimple and moſt eaſily known, and advancing, by regular ſteps, to thoſe

[a] Blount. Cenſ. p. 1014. Littus de Leibnitz. et Peliſſon, p. 339. Leibnitz. p. 7. 220. Fontenelle Eloge de M. Leibnitz.

[b] Diſſ. de Methodo.

which are more complex and difficult. All the parts of a demonſtration ſhould be ſo diſtinctly numbered, that the relation of each to the whole may be clearly ſeen, and that it may be certainly known that nothing is omitted.

The chief heads of the METAPHYSICS* of Des Cartes are theſe:

Since every man is under the influence of prejudice, he ought, once in his life, in ſpeculation, to doubt of every thing. Since the ſenſes err, and dreams deceive, it is firſt to be doubted, whether ſenſible objects have a real exiſtence. We muſt alſo doubt concerning thoſe things which we have thought moſt certain, even mathematical axioms, becauſe we are not ſure that we may not have been ſo formed as to lie under a perpetual deception. We find ourſelves, in the mean time, at liberty to withhold our aſſent from thoſe propoſitions, which are uncertain, and capable of guarding againſt error; for which purpoſe the mind muſt diveſt itſelf of prejudice, and place itſelf in a proper ſituation for the reception of truth.

Whatever elſe we doubt of, it is impoſſible we ſhould doubt whether we ourſelves, who are conſcious of exerciſing the power of thinking, exiſt. I THINK, THEREFORE I AM, is then the firſt and moſt certain truth in philoſophy. In enquiring what ſort of beings we are, before we admit the exiſtence of any thing external, we perceive belonging to our nature Thought, which has neither extenſion, figure, local motion, nor any other property which we commonly aſcribe to bodies, and of the exiſtence of which we have a prior and more certain knowledge, than of that of any thing corporeal. The mind, which now knows itſelf, but ſtill doubts of the exiſtence of all other things, in looking around to extend its knowledge, firſt finds within itſelf Ideas; concerning the exiſtence of which, whilſt it contemplates theſe alone, and neither affirms nor denies any thing like them to exiſt externally, it cannot be deceived. It alſo finds within itſelf certain common notions, and from theſe frames various demonſtrations, of the truth of which, whilſt it attends to them, it is entirely perſuaded. But becauſe it

* Princip. Phil. p. 1.

does

does not yet know, whether it may not be ſo formed as to be deceived in thoſe things which appear moſt evident, it perceives it impoſſible to admit any certain ſcience till it has diſcovered the author of its being. Revolving within itſelf its various ideas, it finds one of a being ſupremely intelligent, powerful, and perfect, in which it diſcovers an exiſtence, not poſſible and contingent only, as in its ideas of all other things, but neceſſary and eternal. Since it finds within itſelf this idea of a ſupreme being, which could not be a fiction of its own, it concludes with certainty, that it muſt have proceeded from a really exiſting deity, and conſequently that it repreſents a true and immutable nature, which cannot poſſibly not exiſt, that is God. Attending to this innate idea of deity, we find him to be eternal, omniſcient, omnipotent, the fountain of all goodneſs and truth, the creator of all things. Nothing can be an attribute of the divine nature which implies limit or imperfection; therefore he is incorporeal, indiviſible, and void of paſſion, and exerciſes his underſtanding and volition, not by continued operations, but by the moſt ſimple action. In reaſoning concerning natural things, we ſhould argue not from final but efficient cauſes; and judge, not from what we imagine concerning the deſigns of God, but from what we know of his attributes. Becauſe the perfect deity muſt be a being of veracity, and incapable of deceiving his creatures, we may be aſſured that whatever we clearly and diſtinctly perceive to be true, is really ſo.

The Carteſian doctrine of PHYSICS* may be thus ſtated:

In nature there are two kinds of ſubſtance, that which thinks, or mind; and that which is extended, or body; the eſſence of the former is thought, of the latter extenſion; other attributes aſcribed to each are modes or qualities. All ſenſation proceeds from ſomething different from the mind, which affects the ſenſes. The idea of extended matter is preſented to the mind; if therefore matter did not really exiſt, God, who preſents this idea before the mind,

* Princip. Phil. p. ii. iii. iv. Dioptric.

would

would be a deceiver. Matter has therefore a real exiſtence. From the conſtant teſtimony of feeling, we know that our minds are intimately united to an organized body. The ſole eſſential property of body is extenſion; and quantity differs from extended ſubſtance only in our conceptions. Space, and the corporeal ſubſtance contained in it, are then in reality the ſame; for extenſion, in length, breadth, and depth, which conſtitutes ſpace, alſo conſtitutes body. Since extenſion is univerſal, there is in nature no vacuum. It is impoſſible that any atoms, or particles of matter, ſhould be ſo ſmall as to be indiviſible. Matter is one and the ſame through the whole univerſe, and exiſts without limit. Matter, conſidered with reſpect to its parts, is indiviſible and immoveable, and all its variations depend upon motion, which conſiſts in the removal of one body out of the vicinity of thoſe which immediately touch it, into the vicinity of other bodies. There can be no motion but in a circuit, one body expelling another from the place into which it enters, while it is itſelf ſucceeded by a third, which occupies the place it has left. The firſt univerſal cauſe of all motion is God, who in the beginning communicated motion to matter, according to three laws of nature; the firſt, that every body will remain in the ſame ſtate without ſome external cauſe of change; the ſecond, that all bodies in motion move, or tend to move, in a right line; the third, that when one moving body meets another, if its moving force be greater than the force of reſiſtance in the other, it will retain all its motion, and only change the direction in which it moves.

The ſun and all the fixed ſtars ſhine by their proper light; the moon, the earth, and planets borrow their light from the ſun. The heavens may be conceived to be a vaſt fluid maſs, revolving, in the manner of a vortex, round the ſun. Each planet has its own portion of this fluid, or its own heaven, which revolves round the ſun. Theſe all move in the ſame direction, but with greater velocity in proportion as they are nearer the ſun. Each planet, therefore, and among the reſt the earth, is fixed with reſpect to its own vortex or heaven, but moves in its vortex round

round the ſun. Within the greater vortices of the planets are other leſs vortices, moving in the ſame direction with the greater; one, in the center of which is Jupiter; and another, in the center of which is the earth; by means of which the ſatellites of Jupiter, and the moon of the earth, revolve periodically round theſe planets.

The formation of the world may be conceived to have been thus effected. Suppoſe the matter of the world to have been originally divided into equal particles, having in the whole the ſame quantity of motion which is at preſent in nature: ſuppoſe theſe particles to have been equally moved, both individually and ſeparately, round their reſpective centers, forming the fluid maſs of the heavens; and collectively round certain fixed points, diſpoſed in the ſame manner as are now the fixed ſtars and planets; whence as many vortices would be produced as there are at preſent moveable celeſtial bodies: ſuppoſe all the particles, in the beginning equal in matter and motion, to have been of irregular form, but in proceſs of time made round by continual attrition ariſing from their circular motion: laſtly, ſuppoſe the intervals between theſe to be filled up by a perpetual ſucceſſion of thoſe very minute corpuſcles which are ſeparated from the reſt by attrition; theſe minute corpuſcles to have been in the ſame manner ſtill further diminiſhed, and as they decreaſe in quantity to increaſe in velocity, and to have been driven in every oblique direction by the firſt order of particles, which continue in their direct courſe. Hence two elements of things would ariſe; the firſt, that matter which is divided into indefinitely ſmall corpuſcles, of form adapted to fill up all poſſible vacuity; the ſecond, that which is divided into minute ſpherical particles, of a determinate quantity. To theſe may be added a third, having parts more groſs, or figures leſs fitted for motion. From the firſt element, the ſun and fixed ſtars; from the ſecond, the heavens; and from the third, the earth with the other planets, and the comets, may be ſuppoſed to have been formed, ſubject to certain fixed laws of nature. The motion of the celeſtial globes produces a continual action

upon the particles of the third element, which is the cauſe of various effects on the terreſtrial globe, and among the reſt of gravity.

The principles of Morals[4], Des Cartes deduced from the phyſical nature of the paſſions. His doctrine on this ſubject is:

Whatever happens, is called paſſion, with reſpect to the ſubject to which it happens; and action, with reſpect to that which cauſes it to happen. Nothing acts upon the mind more immediately, than the body to which it is joined; whence what is paſſion in the mind, is action in the body. Heat, and the motion of the limbs, proceed from the body, and thoughts, from the mind; but the mind cannot give motion and heat to the body. The more vivid and and ſubtle parts of the blood, which heat rarifies in the heart, are inceſſantly entering into the cavities of the brain, and form animal ſpirits, which are in the brain ſeparated from other leſs ſubtle parts of the blood. Theſe animal ſpirits, which are corporeal, excited as by the ſoul itſelf, ſo alſo by the action of external objects upon the ſenſes, are the immediate cauſe of all the original motions of the body. Whence all the limbs may be moved by means of the objects of ſenſe, and the animal ſpirits, without any action of the ſoul. Nothing is to be attributed to the ſoul but thoughts: and theſe are of two kinds; active, or volition; including deſire and averſion; and paſſive, including intelligence, perception, and feeling or paſſion.

The ſoul is united to all the parts of the body, but its chief functions are exerciſed in the pineal gland of the brain, where it receives notice of the impreſſions made upon the ſenſes, and whence it ſends forth animal ſpirits through the nerves, which put the muſcles into motion. The paſſions are feelings of the ſoul, produced and continued by the action of the animal ſpirits; the chief effect of the paſſions is, to excite the ſoul to volition. All volition is in its nature free, and conſiſts in cauſing the gland, with which it is

[4] De paſſionibus animæ.

intimately connected, to move in that manner which is moſt ſuitable to produce an effect correſponding to the volition. Judgment comprehends not only the perception of the underſtanding, but the aſſent of the will, and it is from the abuſe of its natural liberty of aſſenting or not aſſenting to a propoſition that error ſprings. The ſoul, in the act of recollection, exerciſes a volition by means of which the pineal gland inclines itſelf ſucceſſively this way and that way, and impels the animal ſpirits to different parts of the brain, till that part is found upon which the object which we wiſh to recollect has left traces.

The ſoul of man, which is one, is both ſenſitive and rational; and the conflict between its inferior and ſuperior parts is nothing elſe but a ſtruggle between the motions which the body, by means of its animal ſpirits, and the ſoul, by its own volition, are at the ſame time endeavouring to excite in the pineal gland. By the reſult of this conteſt, every one may judge of the ſtrength or weakneſs of his ſoul. The ſoul acquires the dominion over the body by means of firm and clear deciſions concerning good and evil, produced by the contemplation of truth, which it determines to follow without ſuffering itſelf to be ſeduced by preſent paſſion. The paſſions belong to the body, and are to be imputed to the ſoul only as it is united to the body. Their uſe is, to excite the mind to exert thoſe volitions which are neceſſary to the preſervation or perfection of the body, and the attainment of that which is in its nature good. All the paſſions are uſeful, and only become injurious by exceſs. The general remedy againſt the exceſs of the paſſions is, to conſider all the appearances which they preſent to the imagination as deceitful, and to poſtpone volition and action till the commotion which they have excited in the blood is appeaſed, or, where immediate action is neceſſary, to follow reaſon in oppoſition to paſſion. Since nothing beyond our own thoughts is abſolutely in our own power, it is wiſer to endeavour to ſubdue ourſelves than fortune, and to change our own deſires than the order of the world.

Animals are not only deſtitute of reaſon, but probably of all thought, and perform their various functions as mere *automata*,

excited to motion only by means of animal ſpirits, which act upon the nerves and muſcles.

This laſt extravagant opinion Des Cartes has been ſuſpected of borrowing from a Spaniſh writer, Gomez Peiræra, by whom it was maintained in his *Margarita Antoniana*; but it is more probable that it was a concluſion originally deduced from his notion of the animal ſpirits in the œconomy of human nature.

Although ſome parts of the Carteſian ſyſtem appear to have been derived from the Grecian philoſophy; particularly the notion of innate ideas, and of the action of the ſoul upon the body, from Plato; the doctrine of a *plenum* from Ariſtotle; and the elements of the doctrine of vortices from the Atomic ſchool of Democritus and Epicurus; Des Cartes muſt, nevertheleſs, be confeſſed to have diſcovered great ſubtlety and depth of thought, as well as fertility of imagination, and to have merited a diſtinguiſhed place among the improvers of philoſophy. But his labours would have been more valuable, had he not ſuffered himſelf to be led aſtray into the romantic regions of hypotheſis by the falſe notion, that the nature of things may be better underſtood by endeavouring to account for appearances from hypothetical principles, than by inferring general principles from an attentive obſervation of appearances. His fondneſs for hypotheſis led him to confound the ideas of attribute and ſubſtance, as in his definition of matter and ſpace; and thoſe of poſſibility and probability, as in his doctrine of vortices. Even his celebrated argument for the exiſtence of God (which by the way, was maintained before his time by the ſcholaſtic Anſelm) confounds the idea of an infinite being with the actual exiſtence of that being, and ſubſtitutes a mere conception of the meaning of a term, in the place of the idea of a being really and ſubſtantially exiſting. Hence, though Des Cartes is by no means to be ranked among the enemies of religion, as he was by many of his bigotted contemporaries; though it be even true, that his whole ſyſtem is built upon the knowledge of God, and ſuppoſes his agency, it muſt nevertheleſs be regretted, that in eſtabliſhing the doctrine of deity, he forſook the clear and ſatisfactory ground of final cauſes, and had recourſe to a ſubtle

ſubtle argument, which few can comprehend, and with which fewer ſtill will be fully ſatisfied.

The ſyſtem of Des Cartes, notwithſtanding its defects, had ſo much ſubtlety, ingenuity, and originality, that it not only engaged the univerſal attention of the learned, but long continued, in the midſt of all the oppoſition which it met with from the profeſſed enemies of innovation, to be zealouſly defended by many able writers, and to be publicly taught in the ſchools, throughout all Europe. Till at length, when the more ſober method of philoſophiſing, introduced by Lord Bacon, began to be generally adopted, and the fabrications of romantic theories gave way to the experimental ſtudy of nature, the ſyſtem of Des Cartes, like "the baſeleſs fabric of an air-viſion," has diſappeared, and has ſcarcely "left a wreck behind."*

* Videnda. P. Daniel Iter Carteſ. per Mund. p. i. p. 14. Kortholt. Ep. Leibn. v. iii. Thomas Hiſt. Sap. t. ii. p. 114. Spanhem. ep. de Noviſſ. Diſſid. in Belgio. Pfaff. Hiſt. Lit. Theol. P. ii. p. 299. Sagittar. Intr. Hiſt. Eccl. P. i. p. 925. P. ii. p. 627. Benthem. Stat. Eccl. Schol. Bat. p. ii. c. 4. Cudworth. Int. Syſt. c. v. § 1. Parker Diſp. iii. de Deo. p. 221. vi. p. 489. Huet. de Rebus ſuis, l. vi. p. 162. Huet. Mem. pour Carteſianiſme. Rapin. Reflex. § 23. Ritter de Religione Carteſii. Petermanni Vind. Phil. Cart. Lipſ. 1704. Alberti Diſſ. de Cart. et Loccuaniſm. Monmor. Diſſ. de Phyſique de M. de Cartes, 1718.

## SECT 7.

### OF GODFRED WILLIAM LEIBNITZ.

WHAT Des Cartes undertook in France was at the ſame time attempted in Germany by Leibnitz, a diſtinguiſhed ornament of his age and country.

GODFRED WILLIAM LEIBNITZ[a] was born at Leipſic, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and forty-ſix. He was the ſon of a learned profeſſor of morals in the univerſity of that city. In his childhood, ſuch was his thirſt after learning, that, not contented with the daily inſtruction of his preceptors, he frequently withdrew into his father's ſtudy to read the antients. Livy and Virgil were his favourite authors: and he was ſo intimately converſant with the latter, that, even when he was an old man, he could repeat from memory almoſt the whole of his poems. This early and aſſiduous attention to claſſical learning laid the foundation of that correct and elegant taſte, which appears in all his writings. At fifteen years of age Leibnitz became a ſtudent in the univerſity of Leipſic, where, under the direction of able maſters, he proſecuted with unuſual ſucceſs the various ſtudies of law, medicine, philoſophy, and theology, and made himſelf well acquainted with many eminent writers in each. In the univerſity of Jena, where he finiſhed his academical ſtudies, the principal objects of his attention were hiſtory, law, and mathematics. On his return home, he continued to ſtudy philoſophy, particularly in the writings of Plato and Ariſtotle, whom he endeavoured to reconcile. In one thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-ſix, he took his degree in philoſophy, and in the public diſputations

[a] Elogie de Leibnitz par Fontenelle. Guntheri Ludovici Hiſt. Phil. Leibnizian. Lipſ. 1737, 8vo. Fabric. Hiſt. Bibl. ſuæ, v. i. p. 317. Reimann. Hiſt. Lit. Ger. p. iii. p. 576. p. iv. p. 147. p. v. p. 262. Stollii Hiſt. Lit. p. ii. c. 1. Niceron. Mem. t. ii. p. 64.

upon

upon this occaſion, diſplayed uncommon ability. He publiſhed, the ſame year, his *Ars combinatoria*, "Combinatory Art;" a work intended to ſhew in what manner univerſal arithmetic may be applied to the elucidation of other ſciences. This piece was accompanied with "A Mathematical Demonſtration of the Exiſtence of God." Though this early production was not entirely approved by his own more mature judgment, it bore evident marks of an inventive genius.

In the midſt of his philoſophical and mathematical ſpeculations, Leibnitz had never neglected the ſtudy of juriſprudence; and he made himſelf ſo perfectly maſter of this ſcience, that, in one thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-eight, he publiſhed his *Nova Methodus docendæ diſcendæque Juriſprudentiæ*[*], "New Method of teaching and learning Juriſprudence," which gained him great applauſe, and introduced him to the notice of the elector of Mentz, by whom he was employed in affairs of ſtate. Still, however, he perſevered in his philoſophical inquiries; and when he found it in vain to attempt to collect any conſiſtent ſyſtem from former philoſophers, he determined to exerciſe his own invention in framing a new hypotheſis. This firſt effort of his philoſophical genius produced a work, entitled *Theoria Motus concreti*, "A Theory of Concrete Motion," inſcribed to the Royal Society in London; the principles of which were further explained in another work, *Theoria Motus abſtracti*, "The Theory of Abſtract Motion," inſcribed to the French Academy of Sciences. The ſolution of the *phænomena* of nature, propoſed in theſe treatiſes, the author afterwards abandoned for his doctrine of Monads.

The mathematical ſpeculations of Leibnitz were original and profound. During a viſit which he made at Paris in one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-two, he gave ſuch proofs of his eminent ſkill in the higher geometry, as excited the general admiration of the French mathematicians. A royal penſion was offered him, if he would remain in France; but his attachment to the Proteſtant religion induced him to decline the propoſal. Going over, at this

[*] Francof. 12mo.

time

time into England, he formed an acquaintance with ſeveral eminent philoſophers, and among the reſt with Newton. Upon the death of his patron, the elector of Mentz, he returned into Germany, and was admitted into the ſervice of Frederic Duke of Brunſwick Lunenburg. After another viſit to his mathematical friends in France and England, he ſettled at Hanover, and became a member of the Duke's Aulic Council. In this ſituation, his civil labours did not prevent his philoſophical lucubrations. It was at the beginning of the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-ſeven, that he firſt mentioned his mathematical invention of *Differentials* to Newton, who had juſt before written to Leibnitz an account of his own invention of *Fluxions*. He alſo, about the ſame time, brought to light ſome diſcoveries which he had made in mechanics and chemiſtry. His *Notitia Opticæ promotæ*, "Hints of Improvements in Optics," relates a new method of poliſhing optical glaſſes, on which ſubject he correſponded with Spinoza, who was an excellent optician. Memoirs of experiments and obſervations made by Leibnitz on various ſubjects in natural philoſophy are preſerved in the Leipſic Journal, entitled, *Acta Eruditorum*, "Works of the Learned," in which, from the year one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-three, he had a conſiderable ſhare. One of his moſt valuable pieces, preſerved in this periodical work, is his "Thoughts on Knowledge, Truth, and Ideas."

Whilſt Leibnitz was employed in collecting, at the requeſt of the Duke of Lunenburg, materials for a hiſtory of the Houſe of Brunſwick, he availed himſelf of the opportunities, which his journies on this buſineſs afforded him, for enlarging his knowledge of nature and the arts. Upon his return, he purſued, with indefatigable induſtry, ſeveral objects of entirely different kinds; he engaged in further mathematical and philoſophical reſearches; he maintained a theological diſpute with Pelliſſon; and he wrote an important work on the Law of Nations, entitled, *Codex Juris Gentium diplomaticus*. No ſooner was this elaborate treatiſe finiſhed, than he applied his thoughts to the great deſign of renovating the ſcience of metaphyſics, and particularly, of correcting and improving the philoſophical

phical notion of ſubſtance, as the means of arriving, in the moſt ſimple way, at the knowledge of nature. With this view he wrote his treatiſe *De ipſa Natura ſive Vi inſita*, "On Nature itſelf, or the Innate Force." He, moreover, conceived the idea of a new ſcience of forces, in which the laws of mechanics, and the meaſure of living forces, might be clearly defined. Of this ſcience, which he called Dynamics, he inſerted a ſpecimen in the *Acta Eruditorum*.

In one thouſand ſix hundred and ninety-five, Leibnitz publiſhed, in the Pariſian Journal, a ſpecimen of a new ſyſtem of the nature and communication of ſubſtances, and of the union between body and mind; in which he unfolded his notion of a pre-eſtabliſhed harmony between the body and ſoul of man, which afterwards ſo much engaged the attention of philoſophers. About the ſame time he wrote his "Thoughts on Locke's Eſſay on the Human Underſtanding;" in which he controverts that philoſopher's opinions on Innate Ideas, Subſtance, a Vacuum, and other ſubjects; communicated to the world his ingenious mathematical invention of the Arithmetical Binary; and wrote a Reply to Bayle, in defence of his doctrine of Pre-eſtabliſhed Harmony.

It was by means of the laudable exertions of Leibnitz, that an Academy of Sciences was inſtituted at Berlin. He attempted to introduce ſimilar inſtitutions in Dreſden, Vienna, and Peterſburg. In the two former places, through the commotions of war, the attempt proved abortive; but at Peterſburg, the Emperor Peter carried this uſeful plan into execution, and rewarded the projector with a liberal penſion.

In the midſt of theſe engagements, Leibnitz found leiſure to complete a work, in which he explained more fully than he had before done the principles of his new ſyſtem. It was entitled "*Theodicea*, or a Diſſertation on the Goodneſs of God, the Liberty of Man, and the Origin of Evil[a]." He alſo maintained an extenſive correſpondence with learned men and philoſophers; of which a valuable ſpecimen is preſerved in a collection of letters, which paſſed be-

[a] Vid. Ed. Gottſhedii cum Annot. et Gall. Edit. Amſtelod. 1734. cum. Vita Auctoris a L. de Neufville.

tween

tween Leibnitz and Newton, Clarke, and others, on topics of philoſophy, natural religion, and mathematics *.

Theſe various and important labours were often interrupted by violent attacks of the gout and the ſtone; till at length, rather exhauſted by acute pain, than worn out by age or labour, this great man expired, in the ſeventieth year of his age.

Leibnitz may juſtly be ranked among thoſe univerſal geniuſes, who at once ſurpriſe and benefit the world. With wonderful ſtrength of underſtanding, an excellent faculty of invention, and a moſt capacious and retentive memory, he united an uncommon degree of induſtry. He frequently ſpent a great part of the night, as well as the day, in reading; and has been known to paſs whole months in his ſtudy without allowing himſelf any unneceſſary avocations. Hence he was enabled, not only to acquire much general knowledge, but to become eminent in attainments of various kinds. The improvements which he made in the higher geometry and algebra, particularly his method of ſubjecting indefinitely ſmall quantities to calculation, called his *Calculus Differentialis*, rank him in the firſt claſs of mathematicians. He was intimately converſant with the doctrines of philoſophy, both antient and modern, and caſt new light upon almoſt every branch of knowledge, particularly on the firſt principles of ſcience, on which his ſpeculations were profound. In theology, he was well read in the writings of the Chriſtian Fathers, and in the polemics of his own times. On hiſtory and juriſprudence, he wrote with a degree of accuracy and ſolidity, which might lead the reader to ſuppoſe theſe ſubjects to have been his chief ſtudy. With all this, his attainments in the knowledge of antiquity, in philology and polite literature, were ſuch as to entitle him to the character of an elegant ſcholar, as ſufficiently appears from his Latin and French poems, and his Letters on Miſcellaneous Subjects. This great man had, however, his imperfections; among which we muſt reckon his fondneſs for the conjectural method of philoſophiſing, and the fa-

* Epiſtolæ Leibn. Edit. a Kortholt. Lipſ. 1742. iv. vol. Clarke on the Being and Attributes of God, Lond. 1717. 8vo.

cility

cility with which he admitted hypotheſes unſupported by induction and experiment.

Although Leibnitz wrote no entire ſyſtem of philoſophy, a ſummary of his metaphyſical tenets may be collected from his *Theodicea*, his treatiſe "On the Principles of Philoſophy," his "Thoughts on Knowledge, &c." and his "Cauſe of God aſſerted." They are as follows:

A Monad is a ſimple ſubſtance, without parts. The exiſtence of Monads muſt be admitted, ſince without theſe no compound or aggregate of ſimple ſubſtances could exiſt. Theſe ſimple ſubſtances are properly called Monads, becauſe, as unity is the fountain and origin of numbers, and comprehends all their powers, ſo ſimple ſubſtances are the matter, of which all corporeal maſſes are formed. Since Monads have no parts, they have neither extenſion, figure, nor diviſibility. They are the true atoms of nature, and elements of things, incapable of deſtruction, except by the power of God. Each Monad differs from every other; for, it is impoſſible that any two things ſhould be found in nature perfectly alike.

Monads have an internal principle of alteration, by means of which they are continually varying in a certain manner; whence ariſes a plurality of properties and relations. This perpetually varying ſtate, which involves and repreſents multitude in unity, is Perception, which is not, however, to be confounded with Conſciouſneſs. The action of the eternal principle of Monads, by which a tranſition is made from one perception to another, may be called Appetite. The perception and appetite of Monads are not to be explained mechanically by figure and motion, becauſe they are affections of a ſimple ſubſtance without parts. In Monads, therefore, nothing is found but perception and appetite: and in this reſpect all Monads may be ſaid to partake of the nature of ſoul; although that term is more properly applied to thoſe living beings which have diſtinct perception united with memory. The preſent ſtate of Monads ariſes from the paſt, and perception from perception, as motion from motion. Monads are in a ſtate of perception ſimilar

to that of a mind in a ſtupor, which has a perpetual ſucceſſion of minute and indiſtinct perceptions.

Nature, by granting organs to animals, has made them capable of diſtinct perception, memory, and imagination. Man is diſtinguiſhed from inferior animals by the power of knowing neceſſary and eternal truths. It is by this power, that we are capable of thoſe reflex acts, by which we are conſcious of our own exiſtence, and form the ideas of being, ſubſtance, and God.

Our reaſonings are raiſed upon two great principles; the one, that of Conſiſtency, by means of which we judge that to be falſe, which involves a contradiction, and that to be true which is the reverſe of the falſe; the other, that of Sufficient Reaſon, which admits nothing to exiſt without a ſufficient reaſon of its exiſtence, though that reaſon may not be known to us. Of contingent truths or facts, a ſufficient reaſon muſt be found, which may be traced up through a ſeries of preceding contingencies, till they ultimately terminate in a neceſſary ſubſtance, which is a ſufficient reaſon of the whole ſeries of changes, and with which the whole ſeries is connected.

This ſupreme ſubſtance, which is ſole, univerſal, and neceſſary, ſince every thing external, by the ſuppoſition, depends upon it, cannot be capable of limit, and muſt contain within itſelf the principle of every poſſible reality. God is ſupremely perfect, and the ſource of all exiſtence and perfection. He is, moreover, the fountain of all poſſible eſſences; theſe, depending on the exiſtence of a neceſſary being, in whom poſſible eſſence includes exiſtence. It is true of God alone, that, if his exiſtence be poſſible he muſt neceſſarily exiſt; and ſince nothing external can make it impoſſible, and the ſuppoſition involves no contradiction, the exiſtence of God is on this ground demonſtrably eſtabliſhed.

Beſides this demonſtration of the Being of God *á priori*, it may alſo be proved *á poſteriori*; for contingent things exiſt, which can have no ſufficient reaſon of exiſtence but in a neceſſary being, which has within itſelf the reaſon of its own exiſtence. Eternal truths depend upon God, not arbitrarily, but neceſſarily.

God

God alone is primitive unity, or ſimple original ſubſtance, from whom are produced all created or derived Monads. Theſe owe their exiſtence to the effuſion of the rays of divinity, limited in their effects by the finite capacity of the creatures who receive them. Creatures have not proceeded neceſſarily from the divine eſſence, but have been created, according to the plan of the divine underſtanding, by the energy of the divine will and power; and their continued preſervation is a continual creation.

Monads have univerſally an influence upon each other, and are reciprocally active and paſſive. They are active, in proportion as their perceptions are diſtinct; paſſive, as they are confuſed. In ſimple ſubſtances, the influence of one Monad upon another is not mechanical, but ideal, and is not effectual without the intervention of the Deity, who directs them according to the ideas of his own intellect.

The Deity is always determined in his choice by ſufficient reaſon; and this can only be found in the degrees of perfection of poſſible worlds. His wiſdom knows, his goodneſs chuſes, and his power produces the beſt poſſible world.

From the univerſal influence of all creatures upon each individual, and of each upon all, it follows, that every ſimple ſubſtance receives an impreſſion or image of all the reſt, and becomes, as it were, a perpetual living mirror of the univerſe. As the ſame city, viewed from different places, appears different, and is optically multiplied; ſo it happens, that, in conſequence of the infinite multitude of ſimple ſubſtances in nature, pictures of the univerſe are multiplied without end, according to the different points of ſight of different Monads. By this means, all poſſible variety, and conſequently all poſſible perfection, is produced in the univerſe. Since there is in nature a univerſal *plenum*, the motion of any body or compoſition of Monads muſt affect every other body by means of intervening bodies; and every preſent motion will have a neceſſary connection with every future motion: whence he who ſees all things, can read in the preſent whatever will happen in any future time or diſtant place.

Although each created Monad reflects the whole univerſe, that Monad which is the animating principle of any body reflects that body more diſtinctly than all others. As the body reflects the whole univerſe by the connection of all matter *in pleno*, ſo alſo the ſoul reflects the whole univerſe, while it reflects that organized body, by which it is in a peculiar manner perceived, and with which it forms a living animal.

Since matter is not only infinitely diviſible, but is actually divided without limit, every portion of matter may be conceived to be a world of living creatures; and every part of a living body to be itſelf full of other living bodies. All bodies are like rivers, perpetually flowing; ſome parts entering, and others paſſing away. The ſoul changes its body, not inſtantaneouſly, but by degrees, ſo that ſtrictly ſpeaking there is no ſuch thing as death, or a ſtate in which the ſoul is ſeparated from the body. In conception, no new animal is produced; but a pre-exiſting animal is diſpoſed to a transformation, by which it paſſes into another ſpecies. In death, though the machine in part periſhes, the animal itſelf remains indeſtructible.

In the united ſtate of ſoul and body, each follows its own laws; but they agree together by means of a PRE-ESTABLISHED HARMONY between all ſubſtances, which renders each a repreſentation of the univerſe. The ſoul acts according to the law of final cauſes, or by motives; the body, according to efficient cauſes, or by motion: and between theſe two kingdoms of nature there is an harmony, originally eſtabliſhed and continually preſerved by the power of God, in conſequence of which, whilſt body and mind follow their reſpective laws without interruption, the body effects what the mind dictates, and both conſpire to preſerve the order of nature. As ſouls in general are mirrors of animated beings; ſpirits, which partake of the nature of divinity, are images of the author of nature, and hence are capable of intercourſe with the Deity, as ſubjects with a prince, or as children with a parent. Thus the World of Spirits conſtitutes the city of God; a kingdom the moſt perfect under a perfect monarch.

From this metaphyſical theory, which muſt be confeſſed too hypothetical.

hypothetical to afford entire ſatisfaction, Leibnitz deduced many dogmas reſpecting the divine nature and operations, the nature of human actions, good and evil, natural and moral, and other ſubjects, which he treats with great ſubtlety, and in a connected train of reaſoning. But for the particulars of theſe, we muſt refer the reader to his works, particularly the treatiſe entitled *Cauſſa Dei aſſerta*.

It will be eaſily perceived, that the Monads of Leibnitz approach nearer to the permanent Intelligible Natures, called by Pythagoras Numbers, and by Plato Ideas, than to the ſolid and indiviſible atoms of Epicurus.—Our philoſopher's *ſufficient reaſon*, without which nothing can exiſt, though eaſily confounded with, is in truth different from, *a neceſſary cauſe*: and a due attention to this diſtinction is of importance in the queſtion concerning liberty and neceſſity, ſo ably canvaſſed in the memorable controverſy between Leibnitz and Clarke.—The doctrine of a pre-eſtabliſhed harmony between body and ſoul, was an ingenious attempt towards the ſolution of the perplexing queſtion concerning the connection between matter and ſpirit. Aware of the difficulties attending the opinion of the phyſical influence or action of ſubſtances totally diſſimilar upon each other, Leibnitz had recourſe to the idea of an harmony, originally eſtabliſhed by the Creator, between the ſeries of phyſical and moral events; by means of which, while each follows its own laws, the ends of the divine government with reſpect to both are accompliſhed. To this doctrine it has been objected, by Newton and others, that it ſuppoſes a perpetual miracle. But it is not our buſineſs to decide theſe controverſies; our undertaking only requires that we mention them *.

* Vidend. Ludovici Hiſt. Phil. Leibnitz. Langii Recentio Script. Anti-Leibn. Script. adv. Phil. Wolf. Hal. 1725. Ephem. Lipſ. et Paris, et Baylii et Baſnagii. Act. Erud. 1683. Act. Erud. t. vii. Supp. xi. p. 501. Recueil des Pieces de Phil. t. ii. p. 218. Hanſihii Princip. Phil. Leibniz. Voltairii Compar. Metaph. Leibn. et Newton. 1741. Des Maizeaux Præf. Coll. Gallic. Diſſ. Clarkii et Leibnizii.

SECT.

## SECT. 8.

### OF CHRISTIAN THOMAS.

AMONG the Germans, who have attempted the general improvement of philoſophy, ſome degree of praiſe is due to Chriſtian Thomas, who, not without obloquy and hazard, threw off the Sectarian yoke, and introduced Eclectic freedom into the German ſchools.

CHRISTIAN THOMAS[a] was born at Leipſic, in one thouſand ſix hundred and fifty-five, and was well educated, firſt under his father, and afterwards in the Leipſic univerſity. At firſt, he acquieſced in the eſtabliſhed doctrines of the ſchools; but, upon reading Puffendorf's "Apology for rejecting the Scholaſtic Principles of Morals and Law," light ſuddenly burſt upon his mind, and he determined to renounce all implicit deference to antient dogmas. He read lectures upon the ſubject of Natural Law, firſt from the text of Grotius, and afterwards from that of Puffendorf, freely exerciſing his own judgment, and where he ſaw reaſon advancing new opinions. Whilſt his father was living, paternal prudence and moderation reſtrained the natural vehemence and acrimony of the young man's temper, which was too apt to break out, even in his public lectures. But when he was left to himſelf, the boldneſs with which he advanced unpopular tenets, and the ſeverity with which he dealt out his ſatirical cenſures, ſoon brought upon him the violent reſentment of theologians and profeſſors.

An "Introduction to Puffendorf," which Thomas publiſhed in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-ſeven, wherein he deduced the obligation of morality from natural principles, occaſioned great

[a] Leporin. Germ. Lit. p. ii. Program. Juriſp. Div. Præm. Cauſſæ Jurid. p. iii. n. 1. 7. et præf. Libr. ejus.

offence.

offence. The following year he became ſtill more unpopular, by opening a monthly literary journal, which he entitled "Free Thoughts; or, Monthly Dialogues on various Books, chiefly new;" in which he attacked many of his contemporaries with great ſeverity. The raillery of this ſatirical work was too provoking to be endured: complaints were lodged before the Eccleſiaſtical Court of Dreſden; the bookſeller was called upon to give up the author; and it was only through the intereſt of the Mareſchal that Thomas eſcaped puniſhment. The title of the work was now changed; but its ſpirit remained. A humorous and ſatirical Life of Ariſtotle, and ſeveral other ſarcaſtic papers, kept alive the flame of reſentment, till at length it again burſt forth, on a charge brought againſt him before the ſame court by the clergy of Leipſic for contempt of religion; but he defended himſelf with ſuch ability, that none of his adverſaries choſe to reply, and the matter was dropped.

A ſatirical review, which he wrote, of a treatiſe "On the Divine Right of Kings," publiſhed by a Daniſh divine; "A Defence of the Sect of the Pietiſts," and other excentric and ſatirical publications, at laſt inflamed the reſentment of the clergy againſt Thomas to ſuch a degree, that he was threatened with impriſonment. To eſcape the ſtorm which thickened about him, he entreated permiſſion from the Elector of Brandenburg, in whoſe court he had ſeveral friends, that he might read private lectures in the city of Hall. This indulgence being obtained, Thomas became a voluntary exile from Leipſic. After a ſhort interval, he was appointed public profeſſor of Juriſprudence, firſt in Berlin, and afterwards at Hall. In theſe ſituations, he found himſelf at full liberty to indulge his ſatirical humour, and to engage in the controverſies of the times: and, as long as he lived, he continued to make uſe of this liberty in a manner which ſubjected him to much odium. At the ſame time, he perſevered in his endeavours to correct and ſubdue the prejudices of mankind, and to improve the ſtate of philoſophy. He died at Hall, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-eight.

Beſides the ſatirical journal already mentioned, Thomas wrote

ſeveral treatiſes on Logic, Morals, and Juriſprudence; in which he advanced many dogmas contrary to received opinions. In his writings on phyſics, he leaves the ground of experiment and rational inveſtigation, and appears among the Myſtics. His later piéces are in many particulars inconſiſtent with the former. His principal philoſophical works are "An Introduction to Aulic Philoſophy, or Outlines of the Art of Thinking and Reaſoning [a];" Introduction to Rational Philoſophy;" "A Logical Praxis [b];" "Introduction to Moral Philoſophy [c];" "A Cure for Irregular Paſſions, and the Doctrine of Self-Knowledge [d]" "The new Art of diſcovering the ſecret Thoughts of Men;" "Divine Juriſprudence;" "Foundations of the Law of Nature and Nations;" "Diſſertation on the Crime of Magic;" "Eſſay on the Nature and Eſſence of Spirit, or Principles of Natural and Moral Science [e];" "Hiſtory of Wiſdom and Folly."

We ſhall ſubjoin a brief ſpecimen of the more peculiar tenets of this bold, excentric, and inconſiſtent philoſopher.

Thought ariſes from images impreſſed upon the brain; and the action of thinking is performed in the whole brain. Brutes are deſtitute of ſenſation. Man is a corporeal ſubſtance, capable of thinking and moving, or endued with intellect and will. Man does not always think. Truth is the agreement of thought with the nature of things. The ſenſes are not deceitful, but all fallacy is the effect of precipitation and prejudice. From perceptions ariſe ideas, and their relations; and from theſe, reaſonings. It is impoſſible to diſcover truth by the ſyllogiſtic art. No other rule is neceſſary in reaſoning, than that of following the natural order of inveſtigation; beginning from thoſe things which are beſt known, and proceeding, by eaſy ſteps, to thoſe which are more difficult.

Perception is a paſſive affection, produced by ſome external object, either in the intellectual ſenſe, or in the inclination of the will. Eſſence is that without which a thing cannot be perceived. God is not perceived by the intellectual ſenſe, but by the inclination of

[a] Lipſ. 1688. [b] Hal. 1691. [c] 1692. [d] 1696. [e] 1699.

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the will: for creatures affect the brain; but God, the heart. All creatures are in God: nothing is exterior to him. Creation is extenſion produced from nothing by the divine power. Creatures are of two kinds, paſſive and active; the former is matter; the latter, ſpirit. Matter is dark and cold, and capable of being acted upon by ſpirit, which is light, warm, and active. Spirit may ſubſiſt without matter, but deſires a union with it. All bodies conſiſt of matter and ſpirit, and have therefore ſome kind of life. Spirit attracts ſpirit, and thus ſenſibly operates upon matter united to ſpirit. This attraction in man is called love; in other bodies, ſympathy. A finite ſpirit may be conſidered as a limited ſphere in which rays, luminous, warm, and active, flow from a centre. Spirit is the region of the body to which it is united. The region of finite ſpirits is God. The human ſoul is a ray from the divine nature; whence it deſires union with God, who is love. Since the eſſence of ſpirit conſiſts in action, and of body in paſſion, ſpirit may exiſt without thought: of this kind are light, ether, and other active principles in nature.

Good conſiſts in the harmony of other things with man and his ſeveral powers. The higheſt felicity of man conſiſts in tranquil delight. The fountain of this delight is the rational love of man and of God. Internal love and reverence are all the homage which nature teaches us to pay to God. With reſpect to God the two capital errors are atheiſm and ſuperſtition. Superſtition is worſe than atheiſm. The love of God is a ſupernatural affection, which prepares the ſoul for future felicity. The rational love of man comprehends all ſocial virtues. Rational ſelf-love includes ſelf-preſervation, temperance, purity, induſtry, fortitude. To wiſe men, virtue is its own reward. Laws are appointed for the ſake of fools, to conduct them to internal tranquillity, and external peace. Of fools, there are three claſſes; thoſe who diſturb external peace; thoſe who do nothing to promote it; and thoſe who do not enjoy internal peace. The firſt have need of authority; the ſecond of authority and counſel; the third of counſel alone. The obligation of authority and law extends only to external actions, which are juſt when they

are conformable to law: juſtice is therefore to be diſtinguiſhed from virtue, which reſpects the internal man, and requires a conformity to the law of nature.

Theſe ſpecimens of the philoſophy of Thomas diſcover ſome originality of thought, but contain too many haſty and ill-founded poſitions, and breathe too much of the ſpirit of myſticiſm, to merit any conſiderable ſhare of attention. The author principally deſerves notice in this work on account of the boldneſs with which he threw off the yoke of antient authority, and the perſeverance with which, in the midſt of much oppoſition, and many viciſſitudes of fortune, he maintained and exerciſed the right of free inquiry *.

* Vidend. Schurtzfleiſch. Ep. Arc. 379. Juncker de Ephemerid. Erud. c. 17. Bayle Lettres, t. iii. p. 446. Stollii Lit. Hiſt. p. iii. c. 5. § 30. Hollman Theol. Nat. c. 1. § 19. p. 79.

## SECT. 9.

### OF CHRISTIAN WOLFE.

NO philoſopher has been more generally or juſtly celebrated in Germany, than CHRISTIAN WOLFE *, born at Breſlau, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-nine.

After having been well inſtructed in the rudiments of learning and ſcience in his own country, Wolfe proſecuted his ſtudies ſucceſſively in the univerſities of Jena, Hamburgh, and Leipſic. At

* Pinacotheca Script. illuſt. Dec. i. ii. x. Gottſchedii Elog. Wolf. 1755. Hal. 4to. Ludovici Hiſt. Phil. Wolf. Langii Synopſ. Script.

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the age of twenty-ſix, he had acquired ſo much diſtinction in the ſchools, that he was appointed profeſſor of mathematics, and ſoon afterwards of philoſophy in general, in the univerſity of Hall; and ſcience received conſiderable improvements from his reſearches.

After Leibnitz had publiſhed his *Theodicea*, Wolfe, ſtruck with the novelty of the metaphyſical edifice which that philoſopher had raiſed, was ambitious of the honour of making ſome additions to the ſtructure, and aſſiduouſly laboured in the inveſtigation of new metaphyſical truths. He alſo digeſted the Elements of Mathematics in a new method, and attempted an improvement of the art of reaſoning, in a treatiſe "On the Powers of the Human Underſtanding." Upon the foundation of Leibnitz's doctrine of Monads, he formed a new ſyſtem of Coſmology and Pneumatology, digeſted and demonſtrated in a mathematical method. This work, entitled "Thoughts on God, the World, and the Human Soul," was publiſhed in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and nineteen; to which were added, in a ſubſequent edition, "Heads of Ethics and Policy."

Wolfe was now riſing towards the ſummit of philoſophical reputation, when the opinion which he entertained on the doctrine of neceſſity being deemed by his colleagues inimical to religion; and an oration, which he delivered in praiſe of the morality of the Chineſe having given much offence; an accuſation of hereſy was publicly brought againſt him in the univerſity of Hall, and afterwards transferred to the courts of Berlin: and, though he attempted to juſtify himſelf in a treatiſe which he wrote on the ſubject of fatality, a royal mandate was iſſued, in November one thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-three, requiring him to leave the Pruſſian dominions. Having been formerly invited by the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, to fill a profeſſorial chair in the univerſity of Caſſel, Wolfe now put himſelf under the patronage of that prince, who had the liberality to afford him a ſecure aſylum, and appointed him profeſſor of mathematics and philoſophy.

The queſtion concerning the grounds of the cenſure which had been paſſed upon Wolfe was now every where freely canvaſſed;

almoſt every German univerſity was inflamed with diſputes on the ſubject of liberty and neceſſity; and the names of Wolfians and Anti-Wolfians were every where heard. After an interval of nine years, the current of public opinion turned in favour of Wolfe, and the King of Pruſſia reverſed his ſentence of exile, and appointed him Vice-Chancellor of the univerſity of Hall; where his return was welcomed with every expreſſion of triumph. From this time he was employed in completing his inſtitutes of philoſophy, which he lived to accompliſh in every branch except policy. In one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-five, he was created a Baron by the Elector of Bavaria, and ſucceeded Ludowig in the office of Chancellor of the univerſity. He continued to enjoy theſe honours till the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-four, when he expired.

Wolfe poſſeſſed a clear and methodical underſtanding, which by long exerciſe in mathematical inveſtigations was particularly fitted for the employment of digeſting the ſeveral branches of knowledge into regular ſyſtems; and his fertile powers of invention enabled him to enrich almoſt every field of ſcience, in which he laboured, with ſome valuable additions. The lucid order which appears in all his writings enables his reader to follow his conceptions, with eaſe and certainty, through the longeſt trains of reaſoning. But the cloſe connection of the ſeveral parts of his works, together with the vaſt variety and extent of the ſubjects on which he treats, renders it impracticable to give a ſummary of his doctrines*.

* Vidend. Wolf. Declar. de Scriptis prop. Rothfiſcher. Victoria Veritatis Nov. Lit. Lipſ. 1723. Formey Eloges des Academ. de Berlin, t. ii. Elogium Hiſtoricum de Wolf. Hal. 1755.

CHAP.

# CHAP. III.

## OF MODERN ECLECTIC PHILOSOPHERS WHO HAVE ATTEMPTED IMPROVEMENTS IN PARTICULAR BRANCHES OF PHILOSOPHY.

### SECT. I.

#### OF MODERN ATTEMPTS TO IMPROVE DIALECTICS AND METAPHYSICS.

AMONG the moderns who have renounced implicit reſpect for antient authority, and, upon the true eclectic plan of gathering up wiſdom from every quarter, have attempted to enlarge the boundaries of human knowledge, beſides thoſe who have been, or have wiſhed to be thought, reformers of univerſal philoſophy, innumerable learned men have appeared, who have directed their attention towards the improvement of particular ſciences. To take no notice of theſe, might be juſtly deemed a material defect in a general hiſtory of philoſophy. At the ſame time it muſt be evident to every one, who is tolerably acquainted with the philoſophical world, that to give a diſtinct view of the modern ſtate of every branch of ſcience, would be in itſelf a taſk ſtill more laborious, than that which we have endeavoured to execute. Such a work would require, not only biographical memoirs of thoſe writers, who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in each department, but a diſtinct delineation, and accurate compariſon, of their various ſyſtems and opinions; an undertaking too extenſive and important to be attempted

ed at the cloſe of the preſent work. The intelligent reader will therefore expect, in this chapter, nothing more than an enumeration of a few of the more ſingular and important facts, reſpecting the improvement of particular branches of philoſophy, which occurred between the period of the revival of letters, and the commencement of the preſent century.

Although, about the time of the reformation, many learned men, particularly Valla, Agricola, and Vives, ſpoke with great freedom of the defects of the Ariſtotelian LOGIC, no one attempted to ſubſtitute a better in its ſtead, till Peter Ramus undertook the taſk, and executed it with a degree of courage and ſucceſs, which has juſtly given his name conſiderable celebrity.

PETER RAMUS, or DE LA RAMEE[a], who was born in one thouſand five hundred and fifteen, in a village of Vermandois, was a ſervant in the College of Navarre at Paris. Here, by his own induſtry, he gathered up the rudiments of learning, and became acquainted with the Logic of Ariſtotle. His talents and perſeverance at laſt procured him a more honourable ſtation in the college, and he became a candidate for the degree of maſter of philoſophy. Upon this occaſion he held a public diſputation againſt the authority of Ariſtotle, in which he maintained his *theſis* with ſuch ingenuity and ability as confounded his examiners. From this time Ramus determined to exert his utmoſt efforts to overturn the Ariſtotelian logic, and to introduce a better method of reaſoning. He wrote "Animadverſions upon Ariſtotle," in which he inveighed with great vehemence againſt his Organon, and to which he ſubjoined new "Inſtitutes of Dialectics."

Theſe bold attacks upon a ſyſtem which had for ages been univerſally admired, gave great offence as might be expected, to the Peripatetics, and raiſed a violent ſtorm of reſentment againſt Ramus. At firſt his adverſaries made uſe of no other weapons againſt him than thoſe of logic and eloquence, ſufficiently invenomed, however,

[a] Vita ſcripta a Freigio, Nancelio, Banoſio, Sammarthano, Bayle. Launois De Fort. Ariſt. c. 14. Galland. in Vit. Caſtellani, n. 4, 5. Thuanus ad Ann. 1572. Verulam Impet. Ph. v. iii. Op. p. 462.

with ſpleen and calumny. But they at length proceeded to harſher meaſures. A complaint was brought to the civil magiſtrate, in the name of the Academy, that Ramus, in oppoſing Ariſtotle, had committed open hoſtility againſt religion and learning. The affair engaged the public attention; and the king ordered, that Ramus and his chief antagoniſt, Antony Govea, ſhould hold a public diſputation, and that each party ſhould chuſe two judges, and the king appoint an umpire. In the courſe of the conteſt, Ramus complained of unfair proceedings on the part of his antagoniſt; but could obtain no redreſs, for three of his judges were againſt him. The accuſation was confirmed; the penalty inflicted upon him was an entire prohibition to write, or teach, philoſophy; and his enemies perſecuted him with lampoons and ſatires, and even held him up to public ridicule upon the ſtage.

Ramus, however, did not long remain under diſgrace. The following year, one thouſand five hundred and forty-four, a plague happened in Paris, which diſperſed the ſtudents of the univerſity, and cut off ſeveral of the profeſſors. On their return, Ramus, notwithſtanding the royal prohibition, was recalled to his profeſſorial chair; and, in one thouſand five hundred and forty-ſeven, the ſentence of Francis I. was reverſed by Henry II. and Ramus was appointed Regius Profeſſor of eloquence and philoſophy, and afterwards of mathematics. Still, however, the embers of jealouſy, though ſmothered, were not extinguiſhed. They burſt out into an open flame, as ſoon as it was known that Ramus, favoured the party of the Hugonots; and he found it neceſſary to withdraw from the Univerſity. In the intervals of peace, he returned to his ſtation; but, in the year one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-eight, when the civil war was a third time renewed, he reſolved to leave France, and make a tour through Germany.

After ſpending three years in viſiting the principal German Univerſities, in which, notwithſtanding the zealous endeavours of the Ariſtotelian profeſſors to fortify the minds of the pupils againſt the doctrines of Ramus, much reſpect was ſhewn him, and many honours conferred upon him, he reſolved, fatally for himſelf, to return into his own country. On the execrable day of St. Bartholomew's feſtival,

feſtival, in the tumult of the Pariſian maſſacre, Charpentaire, a profeſſor of mathematics, who had been eclipſed by the ſuperior talents of Ramus, ſeized the opportunity of being revenged upon his rival, and under the pretence of religion, employed aſſaſſins to murder him. The commiſſion being executed, his body was thrown into the ſtreet to the enraged pupils of Charpentaire, who dragged it ignominiouſly along the ſtreets, and threw it into the Seine. Such was the tragical end of Peter Ramus, who muſt be acknowledged to have deſerved a better fate.

Few perſons, in the preſent day, will be inclined to doubt whether Ramus did right in attempting to undermine the foundations of that authority which Ariſtotle had ſo long poſſeſſed in the ſchools: and no one, who will take the trouble to examine the manner in which he laid open the defects and inconſiſtencies of the Organon, will heſitate in allowing him conſiderable merit in this part of his deſign. In attempting a new logical inſtitute, Ramus was not, however, equally ſucceſsful. The general outline of his plan is this:

Conſidering Dialectics as the art of deducing concluſions from premiſes, he endeavours to improve this art, by uniting it with that of rhetoric. Of the ſeveral branches of rhetoric, he conſiders invention and diſpoſition as belonging equally to logic. Making Cicero his chief guide, he divides his treatiſe on Dialectics into two parts, the firſt of which treats of the invention of arguments, the ſecond, of judgments. Arguments he derives not only from what the Ariſtotelians call middle terms, but from any kind of propoſition, which, connected with another, may ſerve to prove any aſſertion. Of theſe he enumerates various kinds. Judgments he divides into axioms, or ſelf evident propoſitions, and *dianoëa*, or deductions by means of a ſeries of arguments. Both theſe he divides into various claſſes; and illuſtrates the whole by examples from the antient orators and poets.

In the logic of Ramus[a], many things are borrowed from

[a] Conf. Ars Cogitandi. Gundling. Via ad Verit. P. i. p. 78. Elſwich De Fort. Ariſt. in Acad. Proteſt. Walch. Hiſt. Log.

Ariſtotle,

Ariſtotle, and only appear under new names; and many others are derived from other Grecian ſources, particularly from the Dialogues of Plato, and the Logic of the Stoics. The author has the merit of turning the art of reaſoning from the futile ſpeculations of the ſchools to forenſic and common uſe; but his plan is defective in confining the whole dialectic art to the ſingle object of diſputation, and in omitting many things, which reſpect the general culture of the underſtanding, and the inveſtigation of truth. Notwithſtanding the defects of his ſyſtem, we cannot, however, ſubſcribe to the ſevere cenſure which has been paſſed upon Ramus by Lord Bacon[a] and others; for much is, we think, due to him, for having with ſo much firmneſs and perſeverance aſſerted the natural freedom of the human underſtanding.

The logic of Ramus obtained great authority in the ſchools of Germany, Great Britain, Holland, and France; and long and violent conteſts aroſe between the followers of Ramus and thoſe of the Stagyrite. Theſe were not, however, ſufficiently important in their conſequences to require a diſtinct relation. The fame of Peter Ramus vaniſhed before that of Des Cartes, whoſe labours in this branch of philoſophy have been already noticed.

Among the modern innovators in metaphyſics, we muſt not omit to mention the well known name of SPINOZA; a philoſopher, who had the impious temerity to advance a new theory of nature deſtructive of all religion, which he pretended to eſtabliſh by geometric demonſtration.

BENEDICT DE SPINOZA[b], born at Amſterdam in one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-two, was a Jew by deſcent and education; but very early diſcovered ſuch diſſatisfaction with the religion of his fathers, and advanced opinions ſo contrary to their eſtabliſhed tenets, that a ſentence of *anathema* was pronounced upon him by his brethren. Excommunicated from the ſynagogue, certain Chriſtians,

[a] Augm. Scient. l. vi. c. 2.

[b] Coler. Vit. Spinoz. Bayle. Niceron. T. xiii. p. 94. Baſnage Hiſt. des Juifs, p. ix. c. 37.

who were perſonally attached to him, granted him an aſylum, and afforded him an opportunity of acquiring the knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages, and ſtudying the Carteſian philoſophy. The vehemence with which he continued to attack the religion of his countrymen alarmed and terrified them; and they attempted, firſt to bribe him to ſilence, by offering him an annual penſion of a thouſand florins, and afterwards to take him off by aſſaſſination. Both theſe meaſures proving ineffectual, they accuſed him, before the magiſtrate, of apoſtacy and blaſphemy; and he was baniſhed from the city.

In his exile, Spinoza ſtudied mathematics and natural philoſophy, and ſupported himſelf by the mechanical art of poliſhing optical glaſſes. His chief reſidence was at Rhenburg, where he was often viſited by followers of Des Cartes, who came to conſult him on difficult queſtions. At their requeſt, he publiſhed, in one thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-four, "The principles of the Carteſian philoſophy demonſtrated geometrically," with an Apendix, in which he advanced metaphyſical opinions wholly inconſiſtent with the doctrine of Des Cartes. To eſcape the odium, which this publication drew upon him, he retired to a village not far from the Hague. Thither he was followed by many perſons, both countrymen and foreigners, who were inclined to eſpouſe his doctrines.

He was even invited by the Elector Palatine to fill the chair of philoſophy at Heidelberg; but from an apprehenſion, that his liberty would, in that ſituation, be abridged, he declined the propoſal. He lived in retirement, with great ſobriety and decency of manners, till a conſumption brought him to an early end, in one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-ſeven.

Spinoza, in his life-time, publiſhed, beſides the work already mentioned, *Tractatum theologico-politicum*, "A Treatiſe theological and political." His "Poſthumous Works," contain five treatiſes. 1. Ethics demonſtrated geometrically. 2. Politics. 3. On the Improvement of the Underſtanding. 4. Epiſtles and Anſwers. 5. A Hebrew Grammar. The impieties contained in theſe treatiſes excited general indignation; and refutations were ſent forth from various quarters, by writers of all religious perſuaſions, in which the empty ſophiſms, the equivocal definitions, the falſe reaſonings, and all

all the abſurdities of the writings of Spinoza, are fully expoſed. The ſum of his doctrine is this:

The eſſence of ſubſtance is, to exiſt. There is in nature only one ſubſtance, with two modifications, thought and extenſion. This ſubſtance is infinitely diverſified, having within its own eſſence the neceſſary cauſes of the changes through which it paſſes. No ſubſtance can be ſuppoſed to produce, or create, another: therefore, beſides the ſubſtance of the univerſe there can be no other; but all things are comprehended in it, and are modes of this ſubſtance, either thinking or extended.

This one univerſal ſubſtance, Spinoza calls God, and aſcribes to it divine attributes. He expreſsly aſſerts, that God is the immanent, not the tranſitive, cauſe of all things. His doctrine is, therefore, not to be confounded with that of thoſe antient philoſophers, who held God to be Τὸ πᾶν "The Univerſal Whole;" for, according to them, the viſible and intellectual worlds are produced by *emanation* from the eternal fountain of divinity; that is, by an expanding, or unfolding, of the divine nature, which was the effect of intelligence and deſign; whereas, in the ſyſtem of Spinoza, all things are *immanent*, and neceſſary modifications of one univerſal ſubſtance, which, to conceal his atheiſm, he calls God. Nor can Spinoziſm be with any propriety derived, as ſome have imagined, from the Carteſian philoſophy; for, in that ſyſtem, two diſtinct ſubſtances are ſuppoſed; and the exiſtence of Deity is a fundamental principle.

It may ſeem very ſurpriſing, that a man who certainly was not deſtitute of diſcernment, abilities, and learning, ſhould have fallen into ſuch impieties. And this could not have happened, had he not confounded his conceptions with ſubtle and futile diſtinctions concerning the nature of ſubſtance, eſſence, and exiſtence, and neglected to attend to the obvious, but irrefragable, argument for the exiſtence of God, ariſing from the appearances of intelligence and deſign in all the productions of nature.

The impious ſyſtem of Spinoza was maintained with ſo much ingenuity, that it found many patrons in the United Provinces, among whom were Lewis Meyer, who republiſhed Spinoza's Works,

and himſelf wrote a work entitled, "Philoſophy the Interpreter of Scripture:" and Van Leenhof, an Eccleſiaſtic of Zwoll, who wrote a piece entitled, "Heaven in Earth," of the doctrine of which he was obliged to make a public recantation. Others, under the pretence of refuting Spinoza, ſecretly favoured his ſyſtem. But, againſt the poiſon of their impious tenets ſufficient antidotes were ſoon provided by many able defenders of religion, whoſe writings are well known, particularly in Cudworth's "Intellectual Syſtem," the profeſſed object of which is, the refutation of atheiſm[a].

A ſingular metaphyſical hypotheſis has given celebrity to the name of NICHOLAS MALLEBRANCHE[b], who was born at Paris, in one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-eight. Devoting himſelf, at twenty-two years of age, to monaſtic life, he engaged in the ſtudy of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory and biblical criticiſm, but with ſo little ſatisfaction, that he was inclined to abandon his ſtudies, and, giving himſelf up wholly to devotion, to wait in ſilence for diviſe illumination. Whilſt he was in this perplexed ſtate of mind, he happened to meet with Des Cartes' treatiſe "On Man," and found in it ſo much perſpicuity, and ſo many new ideas, that he immediately determined to make himſelf perfectly maſter of the author's ſyſtem of philoſophy. From this time he immerſed himſelf in profound meditation, and ſpent ten years in penetrating into the depths of the Carteſian philoſophy, and in exploring new regions of metaphyſics, not very remote from the precincts of enthuſiaſm. Having ſatisfied himſelf concerning the myſterious union of the ſoul and body, and having diſcovered, as he conceived, a ſtill more myſterious union between the ſoul of man and God, he wrote his famous treatiſe, "On the Search after Truth." This work made its firſt appearance in one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-three, and was, a little before the author's death, which happened in one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifteen, republiſhed with conſiderable variations and enlargements.

The doctrine of this book, though in many reſpects original, is

[a] Jaenichen Hiſt. Spinoz. Leenhoff. Acta Phil. v. ii. p. 120. Muſ. Bremen. v. ii. p. i. p. 145.

[b] Vie par Fontenelle dans l'Hiſtoire de l'Ac. R. des Sciences, p. 208.

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raiſed upon Carteſian principles, and is in ſome particulars Platonic. The author repreſents, in ſtrong colours, the cauſes of error, ariſing from the diſorders of the imagination and paſſions, the abuſe of liberty, and an implicit confidence in the ſenſes. He explains the action of the animal ſpirits; the nature of memory; the connection of the brain with other parts of the body, and their influence upon the underſtanding and will. On the ſubject of intellect, he maintains, that thought alone is eſſential to mind, and deduces the imperfect ſtate of ſcience from the imperfection of the human underſtanding, as well as from the inconſtancy of the will in inquiring after truth. Rejecting the antient doctrine of *ſpecies* ſent forth from material objects, and denying the power of the mind to produce ideas, he aſcribes their production immediately to God, and aſſerts, that the human mind immediately perceives God, and ſees all things in him. As he derives the imperfection of the human mind from its dependance upon the body, ſo he places its perfection in union with God, by means of the knowledge of truth and the love of virtue[a].

Singular and paradoxical as the notion of "Seeing all things in God," and ſome other dogmas of this writer, muſt have appeared, the work was written with ſuch elegance and ſplendor of diction, and its tenets were ſupported by ſuch ingenious reaſonings, that it obtained general applauſe, and procured the author a diſtinguiſhed name among philoſophers, and a numerous train of followers. Its popularity might, perhaps, be in part owing to the appeal which the author makes to the authority of St. Auguſtine, from whom he profeſſes to have borrowed his hypotheſis concerning the origin of ideas. The immediate intercourſe, which this doctrine ſuppoſes, between the human and the divine mind, has led ſome to remark a ſtrong reſemblance between the notions of Mallebranche and thoſe of the ſect called Quakers.

Attempts ſimilar to thoſe of Mallebranche, for the advancement of the knowledge of the human mind, were about the ſame time made

[a] Pritii Diſſ. de Enthuſiaſmo. Mallebr. Leibn. Rec. t. ii. p. 326.

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in Germany by WALTER TSCHIRN HAUSEN[a], a celebrated mathematician. A diligent enquirer after truth himſelf, he was deſirous of furniſhing others with a kind of firſt philoſophy, which might conduct them with eaſe and certainty to wiſdom and happineſs. With this view, he wrote a work, entitled, *Medicina Mentis, ſive Artis inveniendi Præcepta generalia*[b], "The Medicine of the Mind, or general Precepts of the Art of Invention;" wherein he applied geometry, and univerſal arithmetic, to metaphyſical and moral ſubjects, in hopes of opening a way, by which any one might, for himſelf, diſcover what is true and uſeful. The work is properly a mathematical logic, more theoretical than practical, and only to be underſtood by ſuch as are intimately converſant with mathematical ſpeculations.

Among modern metaphyſicians, the antient queſtions concerning the human ſoul, its nature, its faculties, its duration, its connection with the body, and the like, have been much debated. Many writers have maintained its materiality and natural mortality; among whom are COWARD, in his "Thoughts on the Soul[c]," who was anſwered by BROUGHTON, in his treatiſe "On the Nature of the Rational Soul;" and by DODWELL, who maintained, that the Soul derives its immortality from the ſpirit of God in baptiſm. Other writers have maintained a long, and ſtill undecided, controverſy concerning the freedom of the human mind; among whom are Leibnitz, Placette, King, Collins, and Clarke[d].

But the philoſophy of the human mind has never been more ably inveſtigated, than by the celebrated Britiſh metaphyſician, JOHN LOCKE[e], who was born at Wrington, near Briſtol, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-two. He received the firſt part of his education at Weſtminſter ſchool, and became a ſtudent in Chriſt Church College Oxford, in one thouſand ſix hundred and fifty-one. The early produce of his genius promiſed a rich harveſt; but his progreſs in knowledge was for a while retarded by the defects which

[a] Vit. Germanicé, Gorl. 1709. Fontenelle l. c. t. ii.
[b] Lipſ. 1695.
[c] Lond. 1703.
[d] Bibl. Raiſonnée t. iv. p. ii. p. 458.
[e] Vit. a Clerico, præf. Op.

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he diſcovered in the eſtabliſhed modes of education: his ſolid and penetrating judgment, little diſpoſed to be ſatisfied with trifles, was diſguſted with the unprofitable ſubtleties which occupied the ſchools. Deſpairing to find that intellectual light, for which he earneſtly longed, in the chaos of Peripatetic and Scholaſtic philoſophy, he grew tired of academic ſtudies, and converſed more with men of wit and genius than with philoſophers. The firſt writer, who taught him to think it poſſible, that the darkneſs which hung over the human intellect might be diſpelled, was Des Cartes. Though he did not adopt his ſyſtem, he was delighted with the perſpicuity of his writings. He was now convinced, that the general prevalence of error and uncertainty was not ſo much owing to the imbecility of the human mind, as to the imperfection of the preſent method of inſtruction: his natural thirſt after knowledge returned; and he reſumed his inquiries with freſh ardour. He paſſed through a courſe of medical ſtudies; but, thinking it unſafe, on account of the delicate ſtate of his health, to enter upon clinical practice, he declined taking his degree as doctor of phyſic.

In the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-four, Locke, in order to improve his knowledge of human nature by an extenſive acquaintance with mankind, accompanied the Britiſh ambaſſador to the Court of Berlin. After remaining there a year, he returned to Oxford, and chiefly purſued the ſtudy of natural philoſophy. Here he had the good fortune to form an intimacy with Lord Aſhley, afterwards Earl of Shafteſbury; a man of ſuperior genius, extenſive reading, and elegant taſte, from whoſe converſation Locke acknowledges himſelf to have derived great pleaſure and advantage, and with whom he preſerved an intimate friendſhip through life. He accompanied this nobleman, both as his medical adviſer and philoſophical friend; and was introduced by him to the acquaintance of many perſons of the firſt diſtinction, to whom his good-ſenſe, extenſive knowledge, and poliſhed manners, rendered him highly acceptable. In one thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-eight, he attended the Earl of Northumberland into France. On his return, he undertook to ſuperintend the education of Lord Shafteſbury's only

ſon. It was in the leiſure which he commanded during this engagement, that he digeſted his ideas concerning the powers and operations of the human underſtanding, and, at the requeſt of his friends, committed his thoughts upon this ſubject to writing.

When his friend and patron was appointed Lord Chancellor, Locke ſhared his honours; and when, in the political ſtruggles which threatened the deſtruction of the liberties of Great Britain, the Earl of Shafteſbury was diſmiſſed from his office, Locke partook of his diſgrace. In the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-four, apprehending himſelf in danger of a conſumption, by the advice and at the expence of his patron, he viſited Montpelier, where he enjoyed the ſociety of Mr. Herbert, afterwards Earl of Pembroke. On his return to England, an aſthma obliged him to reſide chiefly in the country; and he occupied his leiſure in the ſtudy of the ſcriptures, chiefly the New Teſtament. When Lord Shafteſbury retired into Holland, to eſcape the political ſtorm which threatened his life, Locke, deſpairing of ſafety at home, followed him; and, in one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-three, fixed his reſidence in Amſterdam, where he had frequent intercourſe with Le Clerc, Limborch, and other learned men, and where, after many interruptions, he finiſhed his "Eſſay on the Human Underſtanding." During his abſence, his name, on account of the ſhare which he was ſuppoſed to have had in Lord Shafteſbury's political offences, was, by order of the king, ſtruck out of the regiſter of his College; and ſecret inſtructions were iſſued for ſeizing him, and bringing him back to England. Timely notice was, however, given him of his danger; and he remained in concealment among his friends. During this receſs, he wrote "Two Letters on Toleration," which he addreſſed to Limborch. In one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-five, he was offered a pardon from James II. by William Penn; but he refuſed it upon the noble plea, that having been guilty of no crime, he needed no pardon.

At the happy period of the revolution, Locke accompanied the Princeſs of Orange to England, and was reſtored to the ſociety of his numerous friends, and to his uſeful labours, political and philoſophical.

phical. The "Eſſay on the Human Underſtanding" was firſt publiſhed in Engliſh in one thouſand ſix hundred and ninety, and was ſoon afterwards tranſlated into French and Latin, and judiciouſly abridged by Wynn, Biſhop of St. Aſaph. The ſame year Locke publiſhed his treatiſe "On Civil Government," in which he boldly and ſucceſsfully attacked the principles of deſpotiſm. The laſt days of his life he ſpent in retirement, at the country ſeat of his friend Sir Francis Maſham, where he wrote his treatiſe "On Education;" "Third Letter on Toleration;" "Reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity;" "Letters to Stillingfleet Biſhop of Worceſter," and other tracts. In his theological works, he ſtrenuouſly maintained, that there is nothing in the Chriſtian religion contrary to reaſon; and at the ſame time that he ſhewed himſelf a true friend to the cauſe of revelation, was a zealous advocate for the doctrine of the unity of the divine nature. The laſt labours of this great and good man were employed upon the ſcriptures; and it was whilſt he found himſelf haſtening to his end, that he finiſhed his Commentaries upon the Epiſtles to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, and Epheſians, publiſhed after his death, which happened in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and four. He died in a manner worthy of his excellent principles and character; and left a letter, to be delivered after his death to a friend, which concludes thus: "This life is a ſcene of vanity, which ſoon paſſes away, and affords no ſolid ſatisfaction, but in the conſciouſneſs of doing well, and the hopes of another."

That Locke poſſeſſed a noble and lofty mind, ſuperior to prejudice, and capable, by its native energy, of exploring truth, even in regions of the intellectual world before unknown; that his judgment was accurate and profound; that his imagination was vigorous; and that he was well furniſhed with the ornaments of elegant learning, were there no other proofs, might be without heſitation concluded from his great and immortal work, "The Eſſay on the Human Underſtanding;" in which, diſcarding all ſyſtematic theories, he has, from actual experience and obſervation, delineated the features, and deſcribed the operations, of the human mind, with a degree of preciſion

ciſion and minuteneſs, not to be found in Plato, Ariſtotle, or Des Cartes. After clearing the way by ſetting aſide the whole doctrine of innate notions and principles, both ſpeculative and practical, the author traces all ideas to two ſources, ſenſation and reflection; treats at large of the nature of ideas, ſimple and complex; of the operation of the human underſtanding in forming, diſtinguiſhing, compounding, and aſſociating them; of the manner in which words are applied as repreſentations of ideas; of the difficulties and obſtructions, in the ſearch after truth, which ariſe from the imperfection of theſe ſigns; and of the nature, reality, kinds, degrees, caſual hindrances, and neceſſary limits, of human knowledge.

To diſcuſs at large the merits of this excellent work would require a diſtinct treatiſe. Suffice it to remark, that though ſeveral topics are treated of, which may be conſidered as epiſodical with reſpect to the main deſign; though many opinions which the author advances may admit of controverſy; and though, on ſome topics, he may not have expreſſed himſelf with his uſual perſpicuity, and on others may be thought too verboſe, the work is of ineſtimable value, as a hiſtory of the underſtanding, not compiled from former books, but written from materials collected by a long and attentive obſervation of what paſſes in the human mind. A ſmall treatiſe, "On the Conduct of the Underſtanding," written by the ſame author, is a valuable ſupplement to his main work.

On the ſubject of logic, modern times have produced many treatiſes, which either for novelty of matter, for perſpicuity of arrangement, or for a free rejection of Peripatetic trifles, might deſerve notice. Among theſe we muſt not omit particularly to mention the ſyſtem of logic publiſhed under the name of the Society of Port Royal, which is commonly aſcribed to Arnaud; "The Art of Thinking," by Crousaz; and the logic of the illuſtrious Le Clerc; a writer to whom the learned world is under great obligations for many excellent works in various branches of learning, and whoſe name would have merited a conſpicuous place in a general hiſtory of literature.

SECT.

## SECT. 2.

### OF MODERN ATTEMPTS TO IMPROVE MORAL AND POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY.

SCARCELY had philoſophy emerged out of the darkneſs of barbariſm, when learned men, tired of treading for ever the barren path of Scholaſtic controverſy, began to viſit the flowery and fertile fields of moral philoſophy. Several of thoſe writers, to whom the world is indebted for the revival of polite learning, wrote moral treatiſes after the manner of the antients; among theſe were Petrarch, Verger, and Cardan.

But the firſt writer who treated the ſubject of ethics in the true eclectic method, was MICHAEL DE MONTAIGNE[a], a native of Perigord, in France, who was born in one thouſand five hundred and thirty, and lived till one thouſand five hundred and ninety-two. The firſt language which was taught him was the Latin; which he could ſpeak fluently at ſix years of age, when he knew nothing of the French tongue. He received his ſcientific education in the college of Guyenne. Though addicted to pleaſure, he early formed a habit of reflection, which made him maſter of much originality of thought and diction. The fruits of Montaigne's lucubrations are preſerved in his "Eſſays[b];" conſiſting of miſcellaneous obſervations, chiefly moral, written with great ingenuity and vivacity. Many of his reflections, it muſt be owned, have a tendency to encourage ſcepticiſm; and ſometimes he indulges a luxuriance of fancy, and freedom of language, which groſsly violates the rules of decorum;

[a] Blount. Cenſ. p. 819. Teiſſer. Elog. t. iv. p. 167.

[b] Lond. 1723. Conf. Art. de Penſ. l. iii. c. 20. Mallebranche de Inv. Ver. t. i. l. ii. c. 5. p. 271. Huet. de Reb. ſuis, p. 178. Fontevivan. Apol. pro Mont. Hiſt. apud Ouv. des Savans, 1700.

but he muſt not be wholly excluded from the claſs of uſeful moraliſts. Montaigne's eſſays are not tranſcripts from former writers, but the genuine productions of a vigorous and cultivated mind; and it is a circumſtance, which renders them peculiarly intereſting and valuable, that the writer, with perfect openneſs, diſcloſes his own feelings, and deſcribes the peculiarities of his own character. Montaigne died in one thouſand five hundred and ninety-two.

The footſteps of Montaigne were followed by PETER CHARRON [a], a native of Paris, who was born in one thouſand five hundred and forty-one, and died in one thouſand ſix hundred and three. He wrote a treatiſe "On Wiſdom;" a work which abounds with ingenious and original obſervations on moral topics, but gives a gloomy picture of human nature, and of ſociety.

A valuable treatiſe "On Morals" was publiſhed at Leyden, in one thouſand five hundred and ninety-three, by ABRAHAM SCHULTET [b], a divine of Heidelburg. It conſiſts of two books; the former of which is "On a Virtuous Life;" the latter, "On a Happy Life." The great merit of this work is, that it is free from the uſeleſs ſubtleties, with which moſt of the writings of this period are encumbered.

The ſubſequent period abounds with moral writings of various kinds; among which we muſt mention, with peculiar diſtinction, Lord Bacon's Eſſays, which is full of judicious and uſeful obſervations on life and manners. To theſe may be added, the ethical writings of PLACCIUS [c], a native of Lubeck, particularly his "Inſtitutes of Moral Medicine [d];" and his "Moral Philoſophy [e]." This writer was, if not the firſt, certainly among the firſt, who diſtinguiſhed the ſcience of ethics from that of juriſprudence, and attempted to aſſign each its proper limit. But theſe ſubjects were afterwards more fully and ſcientifically handled by Grotius and Puf-

[a] Bayle.
[b] Reimann. Hiſt. Lit. G. p. iv. p. 598. Freker. Theat. p. 424.
[c] Fabricii Vita Placcii in Theatr. Pſeudon. Leibn. Ep. vol. iv. p. 188.
[d] Hamb. 1675. [e] Helmſtadt. 1677.

fendorf,

fendorf, whoſe eminent ſervices, in this and other branches of ſcience, entitle them to particular notice.

HUGO GROTIUS [a], or HUGO DE GROOT, a native of Delft, in Holland, was born in one thouſand five hundred and eighty-three. He gave early proofs of a ſuperior genius, in the Latin verſes which he wrote before he was nine years old. At twelve years of age, he was admitted into the univerſity of Leyden, where he made a rapid progreſs in theology, juriſprudence, mathematics, and other ſciences. Under the celebrated Scaliger, he acquired much philological knowledge; and at fifteen, he publiſhed an edition of Capella, with notes, which obtained him the applauſe of the critics. In one thouſand five hundred and ninety-eight, he accompanied the Dutch ambaſſador to France, where he became acquainted with many learned men, and was introduced to Henry IV. Though early engaged in civil affairs, he did not ſuffer them to interrupt his ſtudies. He wrote a treatiſe "On the Freedom of the Seas," which gave his countrymen ſo high an opinion of his abilities, that, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and fifteen, they entruſted him with an embaſſy to the court of Great Britain, to ſettle a diſpute concerning the right of fiſhing in the Northern ſeas. This journey introduced him to the acquaintance of many learned Engliſhmen.

In the theological diſputes between the Arminians and Calviniſts, which ſo long diſtracted the United Provinces, Grotius publicly appeared on the ſide of the Arminians; and, with other friends to toleration, took ſuch ſpirited meaſures to ſcreen them from perſecution, as inflamed the reſentment of the oppoſite party; and after a long ſtruggle, which terminated in the decree of the ſynod of Dort, condemning the Arminian tenets, he was brought to trial, and received a ſentence of confiſcation of goods, and perpetual impriſonment. He was accordingly confined in the fortreſs of Louveſtein, in South Holland. Conſcious that his conduct had not merited ſuch puniſhment, Grotius bore his confinement with great compoſure, and relieved the tedioufneſs of ſolitude by literary labours; of which

[a] Schudtii Vit. Grot. Francf. ad Moen. 1722. Bayle. Niceron.

the

the principal were "A Latin Verſion of Stobæus," and an invaluable treatiſe "On the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion." This latter work has been univerſally read and admired, and has been tranſlated into eleven different languages[a].

When Grotius was beginning to deſpair of regaining his liberty, he obtained an unexpected reſcue by the meritorious ingenuity and heroiſm of his wife. During his whole confinement, which had now continued from May, one thouſand ſix hundred and nineteen, to March, one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-one, that excellent woman had endeavoured to deviſe means for her huſband's eſcape. At laſt, ſhe ſhut him up in a cheſt, in which books had been brought into his apartment, herſelf, in the mean time, remaining in the priſon; and he was, in this manner, conveyed to the houſe of a friend at Goreum; whence, in the habit of a maſon, with his rule and trowel, he eſcaped out of the town. Grotius, thus releaſed by his wife (who was herſelf, upon her petition to the States-General, in a few days ſet at liberty) fled out of Holland into Brabant, and afterwards to Antwerp, where he remained ſome time in concealment. Through the intereſt of the French ambaſſador in Holland, and other friends, he at length ſettled in Paris, whither he was followed by his wife and children, and where he enjoyed the friendſhip of many eminent men, who aſſiſted him in proſecuting his literary deſigns.

During this exile, Grotius, at the requeſt of his learned friend Peireſc, undertook, and completed, his great work, *De Jure Belli et Pacis*, "On the Rights of War and Peace." His deſign, which extended beyond the limits of the title prefixed to the work, was to ſettle the grounds of the rights of men in civil ſociety. The natural rights of men he founds upon the ſocial principle in human nature; the rights of nations, upon the conventions of ſtates. The doctrines which he advances, he ſupports by a connected train of reaſonings deduced from acknowledged principles, and confirms by authorities from antient writers, from the Civil Law, and from the

[a] French, German, Engliſh, Daniſh, Swediſh, Dutch, Greek, Arabic, Perſian, Indian, and Chineſe.

Scholaſtics.

Scholaſtics. His eclectic ſpirit clearly appears, in the general maxim which he lays down concerning antient ſyſtems; that, "as there never was any ſect ſo enlightened, as to ſee the whole truth, ſo there never was any one ſo erroneous, as to be entirely deſtitute of truth." The work, which was firſt publiſhed at Paris, in one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-five, ſoon engaged the univerſal attention of ſcholars and ſtateſmen [a].

After remaining eleven years in France, Grotius was, by Cardinal Richlieu, deprived of a penſion which he had enjoyed during the greater part of the time; upon which he determined to hazard a return to Amſterdam. But, though his friends were numerous, he ſoon found that the party of his enemies was ſtill too powerful to allow him a peaceful ſettlement in his own country. An order being iſſued for ſeizing his perſon, he found it neceſſary to withdraw from Holland, and determined to retire to Hamburgh. Here he remained till, after refuſing repeated ſolicitations from ſeveral potentates to engage in public affairs, he was prevailed upon, in one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-four, by the court of Sweden, to go as ambaſſador to France.

It is to the leiſure which Grotius enjoyed during his ſecond reſidence in France, that the world is indebted for many of his valuable works, particularly his learned and liberal commentaries upon the ſcriptures. But theſe literary occupations ſo far interrupted his attention to civil affairs, that the Swediſh miniſter thought it neceſſary to ſend another agent to Paris; which ſo diſpleaſed Grotius, that he requeſted to be re-called. Upon his return to Stockholm, he was graciouſly received, and liberally rewarded by the queen; but, either through an apprehenſion of ſuffering by court-intrigue, and through the love of literary retirement, he declined all public offices, and determined once more to hazard a return to his native country. Setting ſail for Lubeck, a ſtorm aroſe, and the veſſel was driven upon the coaſt of Pomerania. Grotius, during the paſſage,

[a] Thomas Hiſt. Jur. Nat. p. 68. Groening. Bibl. Jur. Gent. p. 251. Bibl. Juris Imperant. p. 16.

fell ſick; and, after his landing, was conveyed, by a tedious journey of eight days, to Roſtock; where he died, in one thouſand ſix hundred and forty-five, leaving behind him an immortal name, for the elevation and extent of his genius, the variety and depth of his learning, the uprightneſs of his character, and the important ſervices which he had rendered to religion and philoſophy.

The ſucceſs with which Grotius attempted the improvement of juriſprudence led SELDEN[a], a learned Engliſhman, born in one thouſand five hundred and eighty-ſeven, and educated at Oxford, to form a new ſyſtem of the law of nature and nations, on the baſis of the Jewiſh inſtitution, which he ſupported with a vaſt diſplay of Oriental learning; but the work is rather a commentary on the Hebrew code, than an inſtitute of natural law[b].

The edifice of juriſprudence begun by Grotius was finiſhed by PUFFENDORF[c], a German, born at Flah, near Chemnitz, in one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-one, and educated at Leipſic. The Swediſh ambaſſador at the court of Copenhagen engaged him to undertake the education of his ſons; but he was ſcarcely entered upon his new ſtation, when, a war breaking out between Sweden and Denmark, Copenhagen was beſieged, and Puffendorf was made priſoner, and kept in confinement eight months, without books, or the converſation of his friends. In this ſolitude, he diligently revolved in his mind the different doctrines of Grotius and Hobbes on the law of nature; and, having long before rejected the Peripatetic notion, that moral ſubjects do not admit of demonſtration, he determined to attempt the conſtruction of a ſyſtem of ethics on evident and indubitable principles.

After his releaſe, Puffendorf, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and fifty-nine, removed, with his pupils, to the Hague. Here, by the aid of diligent ſtudy, and the converſation of learned men, he ſo far accompliſhed his deſign, as to publiſh "Elements of Juriſpru-

[a] See Wilkins's Life of Selden, prefixed to his works.
[b] Thomas Hiſt. Jur. Nat. p. 68 88. Puff. Erid. Scand. p. 200.
[c] Thomas Hiſt. Jur. Nat. p. 90, &c. Niceron. t. xviii.

dence,"

dence," written after the geometric manner. The work was dedicated to the elector Palatine, who entertained ſo high an opinion of the author's abilities, that he appointed him profeſſor of the law of nature and nations, in the univerſity of Heidelburg. This chair he filled with great credit and ſucceſs; at the ſame time proſecuting his ſtudies with indefatigable induſtry. At the requeſt of the chancellor of Sweden, he afterwards removed to the univerſity at Lunden, where he taught juriſprudence, and wrote his celebrated treatiſe "On the Law of Nature and Nations." No ſooner was this work known, than it at once raiſed a numerous hoſt of enemies, who reproached the author as an enemy to religion and government, and a ſeducer of youth, and who, in ſhort, loaded him with every kind of obloquy. Puffendorf, however, vindicated his doctrine and character ſo ſucceſsfully, that his adverſaries were ſilenced, and his public honours continued and increaſed. He was appointed hiſtoriographer to the king of Sweden, and wrote a "Hiſtory of the Affairs of Sweden, from the Commencement of the Reign of Guſtavus Adolphus." The title of Baron was alſo conferred upon him. His honours and labours were terminated by death, in the ſixty-third year of his age.

The ſtrength of Puffendorf's genius, the clearneſs of his diſcernment, the accuracy of his judgment, and the variety and depth of his erudition, are clearly ſeen in his elaborate treatiſe *De Jure Naturæ et Gentium*, "On the Law of Nature and Nations." His ſyſtem was erected on the ſame foundation with that of Grotius, the ſocial nature of man. Religion he conſiders as a principle which ſerves to ſtrengthen the bonds of civil ſociety. In order to give the work, as much as poſſible, the force of demonſtration, he careſully defines moral terms, inveſtigates the moral nature of man, conſiders the diſtinct qualities of moral actions, and derives from theſe ſources the ſeveral duties of men towards themſelves, towards each other, and towards God. Our limits will not permit us to relate, in detail, the contents of this great work; and it is the leſs neceſſary, as the author himſelf has left a clear and elegant compendium of it in his

treatiſe *De Officiis Hominis et Civis*, "Of the Duties of a Man and a Citizen." Theſe works have been generally read and admired, and have been tranſlated into ſeveral languages. If the larger treatiſe be at preſent leſs known than formerly, it is probably owing to its extreme prolixity, the effect of an unneceſſary accumulation of quotations and references to the antients [a].

That branch of philoſophy which treats of POLICY, or CIVIL GOVERNMENT, has, from the time of the revival of letters, been the ſubject of frequent diſcuſſion. The modern Peripatetics, after the example and upon the principles of Ariſtotle, have endeavoured to accommodate the art of government to the actually ſubſiſting ſtate of communities. Others, who have deſerted the Stagyrite, and ſpeculated with eclectic freedom on queſtions of policy, have treated the ſubject in various ways, ſyſtematic or miſcellaneous. To enumerate all theſe in the preſent work would be impracticable: we ſhall mention a few of the principal.

Among the learned of the ſixteenth century, a name of ſome celebrity in this branch of philoſophy is JOHN BODIN [b], a French lawyer, born at Angier, and educated in the univerſity of Thouloufe. Thuanus relates, that Henry II. of France, who was a lover of letters, frequently converſed with him. He accompanied the duke of Alençon into England. He wrote a treatiſe "On States," which is much applauded by Thuanus and others, and was publicly read in the univerſity of Cambridge; it is chiefly valuable for the immenſe variety of examples and authorities which the writer has collected [c].

Another political writer of this period is the Spaniſh Jeſuit, BALTHAZAR GRATIAN [d], who died in one thouſand ſix hundred and fifty-eight. Moſt of his pieces, of which "The Courtier," and "The Oracle," are the principal, have been tranſlated into other languages. His obſervations are not always conſiſtent with the

[a] Thomas, Hiſt. Jur. Nat. l. c. Bibl. Jur. Imp. l. c.

[b] Lyſer de Vit. Bodin. 1715. Appar. Lit. Witteb. col. ii. p. 312. Bibl. Juris Imp. p. 95. Bayle.

[c] Lond. 1606.

[d] Alegamb. Bibl. Soc. Jeſ.

true principles of morality; but they prove the author to have been a ſhrewd obſerver of men. To a cautious and judicious reader, they may ſuggeſt many curious and uſeful ideas.

We may here alſo mention TRAJAN BOCCALINI[a], a native of Rome, an ingenious and elegant writer, who employed his wit in ſatiriſing the follies and vices of princes and courtiers, and particularly in detecting the errors of the Spaniſh government. His principal works are, "Tales from Parnaſſus," and, "The Political Touchſtone."

But for knowledge of the corrupt arts of policy, and the intrigues of courts, no writer is ſo famous as NICHOLAS MACHIAVEL[b], a Florentine, who flouriſhed at the beginning of the ſixteenth century. In his political conduct, Machiavel was an enemy to deſpotiſm. He violently oppoſed the tyranny of the Houſe of Medicis, and was thrown into priſon on ſuſpicion of having been concerned in a conſpiracy againſt it; but the charge not being made good, he was releaſed, and ſoon afterwards received an annual ſtipend for writing "The Hiſtory of the Affairs of Florence." In a ſubſequent conſpiracy againſt the Medicean Cardinal, afterwards Pope Clement VII. he again fell under ſuſpicion, in conſequence of his having, in writing, exhibited before his countrymen the example of Brutus and Caſſius, to incite them to a ſtrenuous aſſertion of their liberties. Though not convicted of any treaſonable offence, he was deprived of his annuity, and lived in poverty till the year one thouſand five hundred and twenty-ſix, when he expired, in the forty-eighth year of his age.

Machiavel's principal works are, "Diſſertations on the firſt Decad of Livy;" "A Hiſtory of Florence;" and, "The Prince." It is to this latter work chiefly, that this writer owes his celebrity; but what is the proper character of the piece, or with what deſign it was written, has been much diſputed. Many have underſtood it to be a ſyſtem of corrupt policy, written with the ſerious purpoſe of

[a] Erythræi Pinacoth. i. p. 272. iii. p. 223. Bayle.
[b] Jovii Elog. c. 87. F. Chriſt. de N. Mach. Vit.

inſtructing princes and ſtateſmen in all the intrigues of ſtate, and the arts of oppreſſion; and conſequently have not ſcrupled to call Machiavel the preceptor of tyrants. But, ſince the author was, in his political conduct, an enemy to deſpotiſm, it is perhaps more reaſonable to conſider "The Prince" as a ſatirical work, intended to pull off the maſk from the face of tyranny, and, by expoſing its baſe and miſchievous ſtratagems, to render it hateful to mankind. The work is indeed dedicated to the Houſe of Medicis; but this might be only an expedient for concealing more effectually the author's deſign. If it ſhould be thought, that in thus laying open the myſteries of courts, Machiavel furniſhed a manual of political iniquity, it is to be remembered, that the arts of falſe policy, and the machinations of ambition and tyranny, have been known and practiſed where Machiavel's "Prince" has never been read [a].

The pernicious maxims of deſpotiſm have, ſince the days of Machiavel, been often refuted, and the true principles of government eſtabliſhed, by Sydney, Locke, Monteſquieu, and many other able writers, whoſe names would appear with ſplendor in a Hiſtory of Civil Policy.

[a] Bacon de Augm. Scient. l. vii. c. 2. Arnd. Bibl. Polit. p. iii. See Clarend. Hiſt. Reb. Book X.

SECT.

## SECT. 3.

### OF MODERN ATTEMPTS TO IMPROVE NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.

THE illuſtrious Lord Bacon, in turning the attention of philoſophers from the ſpeculative and hypothetical to the practical and experimental ſtudy of nature, opened an extenſive field of enquiry, little known to the antients, which has ſince been cultivated with aſtoniſhing ſucceſs. To enumerate all the celebrated names which have appeared in this claſs of modern philoſophers; to relate the moſt intereſting particulars of their lives; to trace the progreſs of their reſpective reſearches; to report the advances which have been made in the ſeveral departments of phyſical knowledge, the new facts which experiment and obſervation have brought to light, and the general truths which they have eſtabliſhed; to point out the *deſiderata* which yet remain, and deduce from things already known, hints for further improvement; to execute all this with diligent accuracy, and ſound judgment, would be a great and meritorious work, well deſerving the beſt exertions of the moſt enlightened philoſopher. But ſuch an undertaking will be eaſily perceived to be far beyond the limits of the preſent work. Nothing further will be expected in this place, than that we briefly review the lives and labours of a few of thoſe philoſophers, who, from the revival of letters to the commencement of the preſent century, have eminently diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their inquiries and diſcoveries in natural philoſophy.

That ſpirit of innovation which, in other branches of philoſophy, was diſcouraged as dangerous to the eſtabliſhed ſyſtems, was early permitted in phyſics. Towards the cloſe of the ſixteenth century, Teleſius, in Italy, advanced new doctrines; ſeveral philoſophers in France

France ventured to contradict the phyſics of the Peripatetic ſchool; and in England NATHANIEL CARPENTER[a] wrote a treatiſe entitled, *Philoſophia libera*[b], "Free Philoſophy," in which many paradoxical notions were advanced, ſufficiently remote from the received doctrines of the ſchools.

At the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, a philoſopher appeared in Great Britain, to whom natural philoſophy is much indebted, both becauſe he had the courage to rely upon his own powers, and to recede from the Ariſtotelian doctrines, to which the Britiſh ſchools at that time ſuperſtitiouſly adhered; and becauſe he engaged, with wonderful induſtry and ſucceſs, in the deſign of inveſtigating the cauſes of natural appearances by experiment. GILBERT[c], born at Colcheſter in one thouſand five hundred and forty, wrote a treatiſe, entitled, *Philoſophia nova de Mundo noſtro ſublunari*, "New Philoſophy concerning our ſublunary World:" and he made, at a great expence, and with incredible perſeverance, a courſe of experiments on the magnet, the reſult of which he relates in his treatiſe, *De Magnete magneticiſque Corporibus*, "Of the Magnet and Magnetic Bodies." He maintains, that the magnetic virtue is placed by nature in the terreſtial globe, and that the earth is a vaſt magnet. Gilbert acquired great and general reputation by this work; and his doctrine was afterwards applied by Halley to explain the variation and dipping of the magnetic needle.

The firſt modern, among the Germans, who appears with any diſtinction in the claſs of natural philoſophers, is DANIEL SENNERT[d], a phyſician, who was born at Breſlaw in one thouſand five hundred and ſeventy-two, was educated at Wittenburg, and died in one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-ſeven. He wrote *Hypomneuma Phyſica*, "Minutes of Phyſics," in which he contradicts many of the Ariſtotelian principles. He was the firſt philoſopher who introduced into the German ſchools the ſtudy of chemiſtry, freed from

[a] Wood Athæn. Oxon.
[b] Oxon. 1636.
[c] Morhoff. Polyh. t. ii. p. 410.
[d] Witt. Mem. Med. p. 89. Bayle.

the

the fanciful hypotheſes of the Paracelſians. His works are voluminous: they are printed in ſix volumes[a].

After the time of Lord Bacon, many philoſophers, upon his principles, and after his example, made uſe of the art of chemiſtry as an inſtrument in the inveſtigation of nature. Among theſe was Sir KENELM DIGBY[b], an Engliſhman, born at Gothurſt, in Buckinghamſhire, in one thouſand ſix hundred and three, and educated at Oxford; who, in the midſt of military ſervices, induſtriouſly proſecuted phyſical researches, and, particularly, ſpared neither labour nor expence in order to make himſelf maſter of the ſecrets of chemiſtry. Theſe he applied to the improvement of medicine, which he practiſed with great ſucceſs. Aſſuming rarefaction and condenſation as phyſical principles, he endeavoured, in a diſtinct treatiſe "On Plants[b]," to explain the proceſs of vegetation. He alſo wrote "On the Nature of Bodies," and, "On the Immortality of the Soul."

Chemiſtry was from this time ſtudied and practiſed by many other eminent phyſicians and philoſophers, among whom the name of BOERHAAVE ought to be mentioned with peculiar diſtinction, both on account of the improvements which he made in this art, and the pains which he took to ſhew its utility, not only in medicine, but in the general ſtudy of phyſics. He died in one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty-eight, aged ſeventy years.

One of the moſt induſtrious and ſucceſsful interpreters of nature, which the ſeventeenth century, ſo fruitful in great men, produced, was ROBERT BOYLE, deſcended from the illuſtrious family of the Boyles, in Ireland. He was born at Liſmore, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-ſeven. After travelling through France, Italy, and Switzerland, to extend his acquaintance with the works of nature and art, he fixed his reſidence at Oxford, where he devoted himſelf to the ſtudy of medicine and natural philoſophy. It was during his reſidence here, that the deſign was formed and

[a] Lugd. 1676. fol.

[b] Wood Athæn. Oxon. Bullart. Acad. des Scien. t. ii. p. 1137. Bayle.

completed,

completed, by himſelf and ſeveral other philoſophers, of eſtabliſhing a ſociety for the improvement of natural knowledge. After its eſtabliſhment in London under the patronage of Charles II. and under the name of the Royal Society, Boyle removed thither, and employed the remainder of his days in reſearches into nature. He died, much lamented by all the friends of ſcience and virtue, in one thouſand ſix hundred and ninety-one [a].

Boyle poſſeſſed every advantage for the proſecution of phyſical enquiries; an extenſive intercourſe with the philoſophical world, a fortune adequate to the expence of experiments, great induſtry, a ſound judgment, and an ardent thirſt after knowledge: and his ſucceſs was equal to every expectation which theſe circumſtances might create; as fully appears from his own account of his experiments on Air, on Hydroſtatics, on Colours, on the Atmoſphere, on the human Blood, and other ſubjects. This great man was no leſs celebrated for his perſonal virtues, than for his knowledge of nature. Probity, modeſty, humanity, and piety, were prominent features in his character. His religious temper appears in many of his writings, and was particularly ſhewn in the reverence which he expreſſed for the name of God, which he is ſaid never to have mentioned without a pauſe.

There is no claſs of men, to whom natural philoſophy is more indebted, than to mathematicians. Theſe have largely contributed to its improvement, by the diligence and accuracy with which they have made and regiſtered aſtronomical obſervations, and by the pains which they have taken to ſubject the known laws of motion to arithmetical calculation, and geometrical demonſtration, and hence to deduce mathematical principles of phyſics. Out of the numerous body of mathematical philoſophers, we muſt only ſelect the great names of Copernicus, Tycho Brahe, Kepler, Galileo, and Newton.

[a] His works are printed in five volumes, folio, London, 1744.

NICHOLAS COPERNICUS[a] was born at Thorn, in Pruſſia, in one thouſand four hundred and ſeventy-two. Having acquired, during the courſe of his education at Cracow, a fondneſs for mathematical ſtudies, and particularly for aſtronomy, he went to Bologna, to proſecute theſe ſtudies under an eminent aſtronomer of that univerſity. Here he obtained ſuch diſtinction, that he was appointed profeſſor of mathematics at Rome. Returning, after ſome years, to his native country, he obtained a canonry in the cathedral church of Frauenburg, and in the leiſure which this ſituation afforded him, purſued his aſtronomical ſpeculations. Perceiving the Ptolemaic ſyſtem (which ſuppoſes the earth to be fixed in the center, and the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, to revolve about it in concentric circles) to be inconſiſtent with the *phænomena*, and encumbered with many abſurdities, he had recourſe to the Pythagorean hypotheſis, which places the ſun in the center of the ſyſtem, and makes the earth a planet, revolving annually with the reſt about the ſun, and daily about its own axis. Upon this ſyſtem, compared with the obſervations which had been made by others and himſelf, he proceeded to aſcertain the periodical revolutions of the planets, and wrote his treatiſe *De Orbium Cæleſtium Revolutionibus*, "On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Bodies," in which he demonſtrated them geometrically.

A doctrine, which explained the celeſtial *phænomena* with ſo much ſimplicity, could not fail to engage the attention and admiration of aſtronomers and philoſophers. But, on account of its apparent inconſiſtency with ſome paſſages of ſcripture, it was rejected by many divines, and cenſured in an expreſs decree of the Romiſh church. Nevertheleſs, the doctrine daily gained ground, and is now univerſally received. Copernicus died in one thouſand five hundred and forty-three.

In order to remove the offence which was taken by ſo many learned men againſt the doctrine of Copernicus, a Daniſh aſtronomer, TYCHO BRAHE[b], invented a ſyſtem between the Ptolemaic and

[a] Gaſſend. Vit. Cop. Wiedler. Hiſt. Aſtron. Adam. Vit. Phil.
[b] Gaſſend. Vit. Tych. Br.

Copernican. This philoſopher, born at Knudſtorp, in Sweden, in one thouſand five hundred and forty-ſix, was educated for the profeſſion of the law, firſt at Copenhagen, and afterwards at Leipſic; but relinquiſhed that profeſſion, and gave himſelf up to the ſtudy of aſtronomy. After various journies, in which his aſtronomical knowledge procured him great reputation, the king of Denmark, through the recommendation of the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, furniſhed him with a houſe, an obſervatory, and an aſtronomical apparatus in the iſland of Huen in the Sound; and appointed him an annual ſtipend, on condition that he ſhould devote himſelf to aſtronomy. Here he continued his obſervations for many years. But at length the king of Denmark, offended at the philoſopher, as it is ſaid, on account of his having pretended to cure diſeaſes by ſecret means, deprived him of his ſalary. Tycho Brahe, upon this, removed to Prague, where he was patronized by Rodolphus II. and had for his aſſiſtant in aſtronomical calculations the celebrated Kepler. In this place he died, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and one.

The ſyſtem of Tycho Brahe ſuppoſed the earth quieſcent, and the ſun, with the whole heavens, to revolve about it with ſuch a complex motion, that while the earth is the center of the ſun's orbit, the ſun is the center of all the planetary orbits. The author of this ſyſtem was preparing a geometrical demonſtration of its agreement with the celeſtial *phænomena*, when death put an end to his labours. Tycho Brahe was a man of violent paſſions, impatient of contradiction, intemperate, libidinous, and ſuperſtitious. He only deſerves to be remembered on account of his aſtronomical obſervations, and his ſyſtem of the celeſtial motions, which, however, being the mere fiction of an ingenious brain, periſhed with its author.

Science was leſs indebted to Tycho Brahe than to his colleague, JOHN KEPLER [a], a German, born in one thouſand five hundred and ſeventy-one, at Wiel, in the dutchy of Wirtemburg, and educated at Tubingen. His early and uncommon proficiency in mathematical

[a] Gaſſend. t. v. p. 451. 471. Bayle. Weidler l. c. c. 15. p. 414.

learning

learning recommended him to the attention of the univerſity of Gratz, in Stiria, as a proper perſon to occupy the mathematical chair. From this time aſtronomy became the chief object of his attention; and, in one thouſand five hundred and ninety-five, he publiſhed *Myſterium Coſmographicum*, "The Myſtery of Coſmography;" in which he undertook to demonſtrate, upon geometrical principles, the admirable proportions of the celeſtial orbs, and to explain the reaſons of their number, magnitudes, and periodical revolutions; a work abounding with clear and accurate mathematical reaſoning. At Prague, whither he was driven, about the year one thouſand ſix hundred, by the troubles and perſecutions of his own country, Kepler, with his family, notwithſtanding his perſonal abilities and merit, and his connection with Tycho Brahe, was reduced to poverty. At length, through the indulgence of the emperor, he was recalled to his native country, and taught mathematics, firſt at Lints, and afterwards at Sagan, in Sileſia. He died in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-one.

For the particulars of Kepler's great diſcoveries and improvements in aſtronomy, we muſt refer the reader to his works. We cannot, however, omit to remark, that this penetrating philoſopher ſuggeſted hints in natural ſcience which Des Cartes afterwards aſſumed as his own, and diſcovered truths, which ſerved as a firm foundation for ſubſequent improvements in the great edifice of mathematical aſtronomy. Kepler found, that every primary planet deſcribes an elliptic orbit, in one focus of which is the ſun; that, in equal times, equal areas are deſcribed by a line drawn from the ſun to the planet; and that the ſquares of the periodical times of the planets are as the cubes of their diſtances from the ſun. He was alſo acquainted with the principle of gravitation, and knew that revolving bodies endeavour to fly from their orbit in a tangent. But, not knowing how to apply the principle of gravitation to the explanation of the laws of the celeſtial motions which he had diſcovered, he aſcribed them to the influence of a diſtinct animating principle, or ſoul, which he ſuppoſed to reſide in each planet.

Contemporary with Kepler was GALILEO GALILEI [a], a native of Florence, whoſe aſtronomical inventions and diſcoveries have immortalized his name. Deſtined by his father for the medical profeſſion, he was educated in the ſchools of Piſa: but he ſoon diſcovered ſo ſtrong a predilection, and ſuch uncommon talents, for aſtronomical ſtudies, that he was permitted to follow the natural bias of his mind without any profeſſional reſtraint. Having been well inſtructed in the Greek tongue, he read Euclid, Archimedes, and other antient mathematicians in the original. His reputation as a mathematician became ſo great, that the duke of Tuſcany appointed him, before he was twenty-ſix years of age, to the mathematical chair in the univerſity of Piſa. Afterwards, in the year one thouſand five hundred and ninety-two, at the invitation of the republic of Venice, he removed to Padua.

With the ſtudy of mathematics, Galileo united that of phyſics, particularly the doctrines of mechanics and optics. Being informed, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and nine, that Janſen, a Dutchman had invented a glaſs, by means of which diſtant objects appeared as if they were near, he turned his attention to the ſubject; and, after ſeveral attempts to apply his ideas on the doctrine of refraction to practice, he invented and conſtructed an optical inſtrument, by means of which, as he himſelf ſays, objects appeared magnified a thouſand times. Turning his TELESCOPE towards the heavens, he diſcovered unheard-of wonders. On the ſurface of the moon he ſaw lofty mountains and deep vallies. The milky way he diſcovered to be a crowded aſſemblage of fixed ſtars, inviſible to the naked eye. Venus he found to vary, in its phaſes, like the moon. The figure of Saturn he obſerved to be oblong, conſiſting of three diſtinct parts. Jupiter he ſaw ſurrounded with four moons, which he named Medicean ſtars. And on the ſun's diſk he perceived ſpots, from the motion of which he inferred, that the ſun revolves about its axis. The book, in which theſe wonderful diſcoveries were recorded, Galileo dedicated to the duke of Tuſcany, who was

[a] Viviani Vit. Gal. Act. Phil. v. iii. p. 261. 400.

ſo

ſo delighted with his countryman's ingenuity and ſucceſs, that he wrote him a congratulatory letter, and gave him the title of the philoſopher and mathematician of Tuſcany. The whole aſtronomical world applauded his attempts, although not a few were ſecretly inclined to ſuſpect, that his ſuppoſed diſcoveries were only the amuſing dreams of a brilliant imagination.

Galileo now began to inquire to what uſeful purpoſes his new diſcoveries might be applied, and ſoon perceived, that, by means of obſervations which he was now able to make upon the Satellites of Jupiter, geographical longitudes might be found. He engaged the Duke of Tuſcany to apprize the King of Spain of the great benefits which navigation might derive from this diſcovery; but no regard was paid to the ſuggeſtion.

A comet appearing in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and eighteen, Galileo, in order to correct the prevailing errors of philoſophers upon the ſubject of celeſtial *phænomena*, wrote a treatiſe which he called, *Syſtema Coſmicum*, "The Syſtem of the World," in which he ſhewed the perfect agreement of the Copernican ſyſtem with the appearances of nature. The publication of this treatiſe, though preceded by another, in which it was proved, from the authority of the fathers, and other orthodox divines, that the language of ſcripture is not to be ſtrictly followed on queſtions merely phyſical, raiſed a general alarm among the bigots of the Romiſh church. This incomparable philoſopher was, in one thouſand ſix hundred and fifteen, cited before the Court of Inquiſition, accuſed of hereſy, and thrown into priſon. Well-knowing that any juſtification of himſelf, or explanation of his doctrine, would be fruitleſs, Galileo retracted the obnoxious tenet, that the ſun ſtands ſtill: and, after five months confinement, was releaſed. His work was cenſured, and prohibited.

In one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-ſix, this ingenious and induſtrious philoſopher reſumed his deſign of meaſuring geographical diſtances in longitude, and communicated his plan to the States General of the United Provinces. By their order, the plan was examined, and the neceſſary calculations were made for drawing the

the tables. But a misfortune, which at this time happened to Galileo, interrupted the laudable deſign. After the aſtronomical labours of twenty-ſeven years, this uſeful philoſopher loſt his ſight. The papers which he had drawn up were ſent to Holland; and it was ſtill hoped that he might furniſh further inſtructions towards completing the deſign; but, about the beginning of the year one thouſand ſix hundred and forty-two, a ſlow fever, occaſioned by the pain which he ſuffered in his eyes and limbs, releaſed him from envy and perſecution. The light which Galileo caſt upon natural philoſophy by his aſtronomical inventions and improvements, which are doubtleſs in a great meaſure to be aſcribed to his knowledge of mathematics, entitle him to a place in the firſt claſs of mathematical philoſophers. He diſcovered, that in the deſcent of falling bodies, the ſpaces deſcribed are as the ſquares of the times; and that the motion of projectiles is in the curve of a parabola.

From the time of Galileo the practice of applying mathematics to the improvement of phyſical knowledge became general; and many excellent geometricians aroſe, who ſubjected the *phænomena* of nature to mathematical calculation. Gregory de St. Vincent, who enlarged the boundaries of the higher geometry, applied the properties of the hyperbola to aſtronomy. Des Cartes, Wallis, Huygens, and others, purſued a ſimilar track. Since the ſublime inventions of the Differential Calculus by Leibnitz, and of the Method of Fluxions by Newton, natural philoſophy has received continual improvement by the labours of Leibnitz, L' Hoſpital, Varignon, the Bernouillis, Cotes, Saunderſon, Maclaurin, and other eminent mathematicians. But the firſt luminary in this bright conſtellation, by the univerſal conſent of philoſophers, is the immortal Newton.

ISAAC NEWTON[a] was born at Woolſtrope, in Lincolnſhire, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and forty-two. He received his firſt inſtruction at the grammar ſchool at Grantham. He gave early

[a] Eloge par Fontenelle. Pemberton's Review, præf. Hiſt. of the Royal Society. Life of Newton, Lond. 1728. Biog. Brit. Gen. Dict.

indications

indications of that ſublime genius, which afterwards performed ſuch wonders, in his inſatiable thirſt after knowledge, and the almoſt intuitive facility with which he firſt conceived the theorems of Euclid. Though not inattentive to claſſical ſtudies, he directed the chief exertions of his penetrating and exalted underſtanding towards mathematical ſcience, in which, not contented with a perfect comprehenſion of whatever had been already done by others, he was wonderfully aſſiduous and ſucceſsful in inveſtigating new truths.

The Univerſity of Cambridge boaſts the honour of having educated Newton. His firſt preceptor was the celebrated geometrician Iſaac Barrow. In one thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-ſeven, Newton took his degree of Maſter of Arts, and was ſoon afterwards admitted Fellow of Trinity College, and appointed Lucaſian Profeſſor of Mathematics. In one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-eight, he was choſen repreſentative in the convention parliament for the univerſity, and continued to adorn this high ſtation till the diſſolution of this parliament in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and one; he was alſo appointed Maſter of the Mint, and in this poſt rendered ſignal ſervice to the public. In the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and three, he was elected Preſident of the Royal Society, and remained in that office as long as he lived.

Whilſt Newton gave many proofs of his aſtoniſhing capacity for mathematical reſearches, he ſhewed himſelf poſſeſſed of a mind equally capable of extending the knowledge of nature, by the reports which he made to the Royal Society of many curious and important experiments in natural philoſophy. In the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-one, his papers on the properties of light were read to that ſociety, from which it appeared that colour, which had hitherto been explained by ingenious but unſupported hypotheſes, was in fact owing to a property in the rays of light hitherto unobſerved, their different degrees of refrangibility. Theſe papers were afterwards completed; and, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and four, the whole was publiſhed in three books,

under the general title of "Optics; or, a Treatiſe of the Reflections, Refractions, Inflections, and Colours of Light."

The reſult of this great philoſopher's ſucceſsful endeavours to ſubject the *phænomena* of nature to the laws of mathematics, was firſt communicated to the public in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-ſeven, in the immortal work entitled, *Philoſophiæ naturalis Principia mathematica*, "Mathematical Principles of Natural Philoſophy:" this was ſucceeded by ſeveral treatiſes purely mathematical, in which the wonderful genius of this great geometrician is further diſplayed. His Method of Fluxions was firſt publiſhed in one thouſand ſeven hundred and four.

In the midſt of his philoſophical and mathematical labours, Newton found leiſure to attend to critical inquiries. He wrote a treatiſe "On the Chronology of antient Kingdoms," in which, from a diligent compariſon of various notes of time in antient writers with each other, and with aſtronomical *phænomena*, he concludes, that, in former ſyſtems of chronology, the more remote events of antient hiſtory are placed too far backwards. He alſo wrote commentaries on Daniel, and on the Revelations*.

Notwithſtanding the ſtrenuous exertion of the faculties, which the profound reſearches of this philoſopher muſt have required, he lived to the eighty-fifth year of his age. This glory of the Britiſh nation, and ornament of human nature, left the world in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-ſeven. During his life he roſe to higher reputation, and after his death obtained a greater name, than had been the lot of any former philoſopher. The epitaph under his ſtatue well expreſſes his ſingular merit; it is as follows:

H. S. E.
Isaacus Newton, Eques Auratus,
Qui Animi Vi prope divinâ,
Planetarum Motus, Figuras,

* Newton's Works were publiſhed by Dr. Horſley, ſince Biſhop of St. David's, in 1784. 5 vol. 4to.

Cometarum Semitas, Oceani Æſtus,
Sua Matheſi Facem præferente,
Primus demonſtravit.
Radiorum Lucis Diſſimilitudines,
Colorum inde naſcentium
Proprietates,
Quas nemo antea vel ſuſpicatus erat,
Perveſtigavit.
Naturæ, Antiquitatis, S. Scripturæ,
Sedulus, ſagax, fidus Interpres,
Dei O. M. Majeſtatem Philoſophiâ aſſeruit,
Evangelii Simplicitatem Moribus expreſſit.
Sibi gratulentur Mortales,
Tale tantumque extitiſſe
Humani Generis Decus.
Natus 25 Dec. A. D. 1642. Obiit 20 Mar. 1726.[a]

[a] Here lies interred
ISAAC NEWTON, Knight,
Who,
With an Energy of Mind almoſt divine,
Guided by the Light of Mathematics purely his own,
Firſt demonſtrated
The Motions and Figures of the Planets,
The Paths of Comets,
And the Cauſes of the Tides;
Who diſcovered,
What before his Time no one had even ſuſpected,
That Rays of Light are differently refrangible,
And
That this is the Cauſe of Colours;
And who was
A diligent, penetrating, and faithful Interpreter
Of Nature, Antiquity, and the Sacred Writings.
In his Philoſophy
He maintained the Majeſty of the Supreme Being;
In his Manners
He expreſſed the Simplicity of the Goſpel.
Let Mortals congratulate themſelves,
That the World has ſeen
So great and excellent a Man,
The Glory of Human Nature.
He was born Dec. 25, 1642. Died March 20, 1726.

To give the reader a perfect idea of the philoſophy of Newton, would be to conduct him through every part of his philoſophical works. We muſt content ourſelves with a brief account of the deſign and plan of his *Principia*, and a few miſcellaneous obſervations chiefly extracted from the Queries ſubjoined to his Optics.

Diſſatisfied with the hypothetical grounds on which former philoſophers, particularly Des Cartes, had raiſed the ſtructure of natural philoſophy, Newton adopted the manner of philoſophiſing introduced by Lord Bacon, and determined to raiſe a ſyſtem of natural philoſophy on the baſis of experiment. He laid it down as a fundamental rule, that nothing is to be aſſumed as a principle, which is not eſtabliſhed by obſervation and experience, and that no hypotheſis is to be admitted into phyſics, except as a queſtion, the truth of which is to be examined by its agreement with appearances. "Whatever," ſays he[a], "is not deduced from *phænomena*, is to be called an hypotheſis: and hypotheſes, whether phyſical or metaphyſical, whether of occult qualities or mechanical, have no place in experimental philoſophy." In this philoſophy, propoſitions are drawn from *phænomena*, and are rendered general by induction. This plan of philoſophiſing he purſued in two different methods, the Analytic and the Synthetic; collecting from certain *phænomena* the forces of nature, and the more ſimple laws of theſe forces, and then proceeding, on the foundation of theſe, to eſtabliſh the reſt. In explaining, for example, the ſyſtem of the world, he firſt proves from experience that the power of gravitation belongs to all bodies: then, aſſuming this as an eſtabliſhed principle, he demonſtrates by mathematical reaſoning, that the earth and ſun, and all the planets, mutually attract each other, and that the ſmalleſt parts of matter in each have their ſeveral attractive forces, which are as their quantities of matter, and which, at different diſtances, are inverſely as the ſquares of their diſtances. In inveſtigating the theorems of the *Prin-*

[a] Princip. l. iii. Gen. Schol.

*cipia*,

*cipia*, Newton made uſe of his own analytical method of fluxions; but, in explaining his ſyſtem, he has followed the ſynthetic method of the antients, and demonſtrated the theorems geometrically.

The leading deſign of the *Principia* is, from certain *phænomena* of motion to inveſtigate the forces of nature, and then, from theſe forces to demonſtrate the manner in which other *phænomena* are produced. The former is the end towards which the general propoſitions in the firſt and ſecond books are directed; the third book affords an example of the latter, in the explanation of the ſyſtem of the world.

The laws of motion, which are the foundation of the Newtonian ſyſtem are theſe three: 1. Every body perſeveres in its ſtate of reſt, or of uniform motion in a right line, unleſs compelled, by ſome force impreſſed upon it, to change its ſtate. 2. The change of motion is proportional to the force impreſſed, and is made in the direction of the right line in which that force is impreſſed. 3. To every action an equal reaction is always oppoſed; or the mutual actions of two bodies upon each other are equal, and in contrary directions.

On the grounds of theſe laws, and certain corollaries deducible from them, by the help of geometrical principles and reaſonings Newton, in the firſt book, demonſtrates in what manner centripetal forces may be found; what is the motion of bodies in excentric conic ſections; how, from given *foci*, elliptic, parabolic, and hyperbolic orbits may be found; how the orbits are to be found when neither focus is given; how the motions may be found in given orbits; what are the laws of the rectilineal aſcent and deſcent of bodies; how the orbits of bodies revolving by means of any centripetal force may be found; what is the motion of bodies in moveable orbits, and what the motion of the *apſides*; what is the motion of bodies in given ſuperficies, and the reciprocal motion of pendulums; what are the motions of the bodies tending towards each other with centripetal forces; and what the attractive forces of bodies ſpherical, or not ſpherical. In the ſecond book, Newton treats of the motion of bodies which are reſiſted in the ratio of their velocities; of the motion of bodies reſiſted in the duplicate ratio of their velocities;

of the motion of bodies reſiſted partly in the ratio of the velocities, and partly in the duplicate of the ſame ratio; of the circular motion of bodies in reſiſting mediums; of the denſity and compreſſion of fluids; of the motion and reſiſtance of pendulums; of the motion of fluids, and the reſiſtance made to projected bodies; of motion propagated through fluids; and of the circular motion of fluids.

By the propoſitions mathematically demonſtrated in theſe books, chiefly thoſe of the firſt three ſections, the author, in the third book, derives from the celeſtial *phænomena*, the forces of gravitation with which bodies tend towards the ſun and the ſeveral planets. He then proceeds, by other propoſitions, which are alſo mathematical, to deduce from theſe forces the motions of the planets, the comets, the moon, and the tides; to aſcertain the magnitude and form of the planets; and to explain the cauſe of the preceſſion of the equinoxes.

To this outline of the Principia, we ſhall add the following miſcellaneous obſervations, which may ſerve as a ſpecimen of the OPINIONS of Newton.

The main buſineſs of natural philoſophy is to argue from *phænomena*, without feigning hypotheſes, and to deduce cauſes from effects till we come to the very firſt cauſe, which certainly is not mechanical.

No more cauſes of natural things ought to be admitted, than are known to exiſt, and are ſufficient to explain their appearances.

Therefore natural effects of the ſame kind are to be aſcribed to the ſame cauſe.

Thoſe properties of bodies, which do not admit of intenſion or remiſſion, and which are found to belong to all bodies upon which experiments can be made, are to be regarded as properties common to all bodies.

It is probable, that all the *phænomena* of nature depend upon certain forces, by which from cauſes not yet known, the particles of bodies

bodies are either mutually impelled towards each other, and cohere according to regular figures, or mutually repel and recede from each other.

Bodies and light mutually act upon one another.

All fixed bodies, when heated beyond a certain degree, emit light, and ſhine, and this emiſſion is performed by the vibrating motion of their parts.

Fire is a body heated ſo hot as to emit light copiouſly: and flame is a vapour, fume, or exhalation, heated red hot, that is, ſo hot as to ſhine.

The rays of light, in falling upon the bottom of the eye, excite vibrations in the *tunica retina*, which, being propagated along the ſolid fibres of the optic nerve to the brain, cauſe the ſenſe of ſeeing.

The heat of a warm room is conveyed through a *vacuum* by the vibrations of a much ſubtiler medium than air, which, after the air is drawn out, remains in the vacuum. It is by the vibrations of this medium, that light is refracted and reflected, heat communicated. This medium is exceedingly more elaſtic and active, as well as ſubtile, than the air; it readily pervades all bodies, and is by its elaſtic force expanded through the heavens. Its denſity is greater in free and open ſpace than in compact bodies, and increaſes as it recedes from them. This medium, growing denſer and denſer perpetually as it paſſes from the celeſtial bodies, may, by its elaſtic force, cauſe the gravity of thoſe great bodies towards one another, and of their parts towards the bodies. Viſion, hearing, and animal motion, may be performed by the vibrations of this ſubtile elaſtic fluid, or ether.

The ſmall particles of bodies have certain powers, virtues, or forces, by which they act, at a diſtance, upon one another, for producing a great part of the *phænomena* of nature; as in the attractions of gravity, magnetiſm, and electricity.

The ſmalleſt particles of matter may cohere by the ſtrongeſt attractions, and compoſe bigger particles of weaker virtue: and many of theſe may cohere, and compoſe larger particles, whoſe virtue

virtue is ſtill weaker, and ſo on for divers ſucceſſions, until the progreſſions end in the biggeſt particles, on which the operations in chemiſtry, and the colours of natural bodies, depend, and which by cohering compoſe bodies of a ſenſible magnitude.

The particles of different bodies cohere with different degrees of force; whence ſome are volatile, eaſily rarefying with heat, and condenſing with cold, whilſt others are fixed, and not ſeparable without a ſtrong heat, or fermentation. Thoſe particles recede from one another with the greateſt force, and are with moſt difficulty brought together, which, upon contact, cohere moſt ſtrongly.

Nature is very conformable to herſelf, and very ſimple, performing all the great motions of the heavenly bodies by the attraction of gravity which intercedes thoſe bodies, and almoſt all the ſmall ones of their particles, by ſome other attractive and repelling powers which intercede the particles.

The *vis inertiæ* is a paſſive principle, by which bodies perſiſt in their motion or reſt, receive motion in proportion to the force impreſſing it, and reſiſt as much as they are reſiſted. By this principle alone there never could have been any motion in the world. Some other principle was neceſſary for putting bodies into motion; and now they are in motion, ſome other principle is neceſſary for preſerving the motion: for from the various compoſition of two motions, it is very certain that there is not always the ſame quantity of motion in the world.

Since the variety of motion which we find in the world is always decreaſing through reſiſtance, there is a neceſſity of recruiting it by active principles, ſuch as are the cauſe of gravity, and of fermentation, to which almoſt all the motion we meet with in the world is owing.

It is probable, that God in the beginning formed matter in ſolid, maſſy, hard, impenetrable moveable particles, of ſuch ſizes and figures, and with ſuch other properties, and in ſuch proportion to ſpace, as moſt conduced to the end for which he formed them; and that theſe primary particles being ſolids, are incomparably harder than

than any porous bodies compounded of them, even ſo very hard, as never to wear, or break in pieces, or be liable to a change in their nature and texture. It is alſo probable, that the changes of corporeal things conſiſts only in various ſeparations, and new aſſociations and motions of theſe permanent particles, produced by certain active principles, ſuch as that of gravity, and that which cauſes fermentation and the coheſion of bodies.

By the help of theſe principles, all material things ſeem to have been compoſed of the hard and ſolid particles above-mentioned, variouſly aſſociated in the firſt creation by the counſel of an intelligent agent: for it became him who created them to ſet them in order; and it is unphiloſophical to ſeek for any other origin of the world, or to pretend that it might ariſe out of a chaos by the mere laws of nature; though being once formed it may continue by thoſe laws for many ages. For while comets move in very excentric orbs, in all manner of poſitions, blind fate could never make all the planets move one and the ſame way in orbs concentric, ſome inconſiderable irregularities excepted, which may have ariſen from the mutual actions of comets and planets upon one another, and which will be apt to increaſe, till this ſyſtem wants a reformation. Such a wonderful uniformity in the planetary ſyſtem muſt be allowed the effect of choice. And ſo muſt the uniformity in the bodies of animals. Was the eye contrived without ſkill in optics, or the ear, without knowledge of ſounds?—The firſt contrivance of thoſe very artificial parts of animals, the various organs of ſenſe and motion, and the inſtinct of brutes and inſects, can be the effect of nothing elſe than the wiſdom and ſkill of a powerful everliving agent, who, being in all places, is more able by his will to move the bodies within his boundleſs uniform ſenſorium, and thereby to form and reform the parts of the univerſe, than we are by our will to move the parts of our own bodies. And yet we are not to conſider the world as the body of God, or the ſeveral parts thereof as the parts of God; he is an uniform being, void of organs, members, or parts, and they are his creatures, ſubordinate to him, and ſubſervient to

his will. God has no need of organs; he being every where preſent to the things themſelves.

It appears from *phænomena*, that there is a being incorporeal, living, intelligent, omnipreſent, who in infinite ſpace, as it were in his ſenſory, ſees the things themſelves intimately, and thoroughly perceives them, and comprehends them wholly by their immediate preſence to himſelf.

This moſt beautiful ſyſtem of the ſun, planets, and comets, could only ariſe from the counſel and dominion of an intelligent and powerful being. And if the fixed ſtars be centers of ſimilar ſyſtems, theſe being all formed by like wiſdom, muſt be ſubject to the dominion of one: eſpecially ſince the light of the fixed ſtars is of the ſame nature with the light of the ſun, and all ſyſtems mutually give and receive light.

God governs all things, not as the ſoul of the world, but as the Lord of the univerſe. The Supreme Deity is an eternal, infinite, and abſolutely perfect being, omnipotent and omniſcient; that is, his duration extends from eternity to eternity, and his preſence from infinity to infinity; he governs all things, and knows all things which exiſt, or can be known. He is not eternity or infinity, but eternal and infinite: he is not duration or ſpace, but he endures, and is preſent; he endures for ever, and is preſent every where. Since every portion of ſpace is always, and every indiviſible moment of duration is every where, certainly the Maker and Lord of all things cannot be never or no-where. God is omnipreſent not virtually only, but ſubſtantially, for power cannot ſubſiſt without ſubſtance. In him all things are contained and move, but without reciprocal affection: God is not affected by the motion of bodies, nor do bodies ſuffer reſiſtance from the omnipreſence of God.

It is univerſally allowed, that God exiſts neceſſarily; and by the ſame neceſſity he exiſts always and every where. Whence he is throughout ſimilar, all eye, all ear, all brain, all arm, all power of perceiving, underſtanding, and acting; but in a manner not at all human;

in a manner not at all corporeal; in a manner to us altogether unknown. As a blind man has no idea of colours, ſo we have no idea of the manner in which the Moſt Wiſe God perceives and underſtands all things. He is entirely without body and bodily form, and therefore can neither be ſeen, nor heard, nor touched; nor ought he to be worſhipped under any corporeal repreſentation. We have ideas of his attributes, but what the ſubſtance of any thing is we are wholly ignorant. We ſee only the figures and colours of bodies; we hear only ſounds; we touch only external ſuperficies; we ſmell only odours; we taſte only ſavours: of their internal ſubſtances we have no knowledge by any ſenſe, or by any reflex act of the mind: much leſs have we any idea of the ſubſtance of God. We know him only by his properties and attributes, by the moſt wiſe and excellent ſtructure of things, and by final cauſes; and we reverence and worſhip him on account of his dominion. A God without dominion, providence, and deſign, is nothing elſe but Fate and Nature.

Many learned mathematicians, and celebrated writers, have attempted to illuſtrate and explain different parts of the writings of Newton: and, on the other hand, ſome have ventured to call in queſtion the ground of his philoſophy.

It has been objected, that Attraction, the firſt principle in the Newtonian philoſophy, is in reality one of thoſe occult qualities which Newton profeſſes to reject. But to this it is ſatisfactorily replied, that the power of gravity is not an unknown cauſe, ſince its exiſtence is proved from the *phænomena*. The Newtonian philoſophy does not require, that the cauſe of gravitation ſhould be explained. It merely aſſumes an incontrovertible fact, that bodies gravitate towards each other according to a known law, and, by the help of geometrical reaſoning, deduces from this fact certain concluſions. Newton himſelf gives this explanation of the uſe which is made in his philoſophy of the principle of gravitation, and expreſsly aſſerts, that it is enough for him that gravity really exiſts, though its cauſe be not certainly known. "I uſe the word

attraction," ſays he "for any endeavour of bodies to approach each other, whether that endeavour ariſes from the action of bodies mutually ſeeking each other, or mutually agitating each other by ſpirits emitted, or whether it ariſes from the action of the æther, or air, or any other medium whatſoever, corporeal or incorporeal, in any manner impelling bodies floating therein towards each other. In the ſame general ſenſe I uſe the word Impulſe, not conſidering the ſpecies and phyſical qualities of forces, but their mathematical quantities and proportions, conſequent upon any condition ſuppoſed: then, in phyſics, we compare theſe proportions with the *phænomena* of nature, that we may know what conditions of thoſe forces anſwer to the ſeveral kinds of attractive bodies." In fine, no words can be more explicit than thoſe in which Newton diſclaims all reliance upon hypothetical principles, or occult qualities, and makes experience the only foundation of his philoſophy.

But we are ſtepping beyond the province of the hiſtorian. The curſory view we have taken of the doctrine of Newton, and of what was done by his predeceſſors in experimental philoſophy to improve the knowledge of nature, may ſuffice to ſhew the vaſt extent and importance of this branch of philoſophy, and to induce the reader to enquire, what diſcoveries have been made, in the boundleſs fields of nature, ſince the days of Newton: and further than this it is not our buſineſs to proceed; for we undertook, not to delineate minutely the ſeveral regions of philoſophy, but to draw a GENERAL MAP of the PHILOSOPHICAL WORLD.

APPENDIX.

# APPENDIX.

## HINTS RELATIVE TO THE MODERN STATE OF PHILOSOPHY IN ASIA.

### I.

THE inhabitants of ASIA are, in general, with reſpect to religion, either Mahometans or Pagans. Many traces of opinions, formerly received from the Saracens, are to be found among the Perſian and Indian Mahometans. There are ſtill remaining in Perſia writings of Greek and Latin philoſophers, tranſlated into the Perſian language[a]. The antient Oriental doctrines are taught among the Suſians, who aſſert, that the univerſe is produced from the ſubſtance of deity, and make God the material and formal cauſe of all things, and creation and deſtruction the expanſion and retraction of his ſubſtance: a doctrine more ſimilar to the philoſophy of Zoroaſter, than to the theology of Mahomet[b].

[a] Chardin's Travels, P. iii. p. 108.

[b] Bernier Suite des Memoires ſur l'Emp. de Mogoul, p. 302—3. Bayle Dict. t. iv. p. 254. Art. Spinoza. Burnet Archæol. App.

Of the TARTARS, thoſe who border upon the Turkiſh empire are Mahometans; the religion of thoſe who inhabit the more remote regions is unknown. Their prieſts are called Lamæ, and their high prieſt, Dalai Lama. They believe their Great Lama to be immortal; and ſome aſſert, that he is the great philoſopher Föe returned to life. This philoſopher is, through almoſt all Aſia, ſaid to have frequently appeared among men. It is probable, that his doctrines penetrated into Tartary [a].

Through the extenſive regions of INDIA, the groſſeſt ſuperſtition and ignorance prevail. From comparing the theological tenets of different Indian nations it appears, that they commonly embrace the emanative ſyſtem, which ſuppoſes innumerable divine natures proceeding from the fountain of deity, and preſiding over different parts of the univerſe. This doctrine was probably diſſeminated by ſome antient impoſtor, who pretended to be himſelf a divine emanation of this kind, and whom his ſuperſtitious followers have worſhipped as a divinity [b].

If the account given of BUDDAS, the celebrated Indian philoſopher, be compared with what is ſaid by the modern inhabitants of Siam concerning Somonacodom, and by the Chineſe and Japaneſe of XEKIAS, who after his death was called FÖE, or FOTOKI, little doubt will remain, that theſe are only different names of the ſame philoſopher, who faſcinated the whole Northern and Eaſtern region of Aſia, as well as part of the Southern, with his pantheiſtic doctrine. It is probable that he lived about ſix hundred years before Chriſt. There is little doubt, that he firſt appeared in the Southern part of India, among the nations ſituate on the borders of the Indian ocean, and thence diſſeminated his philoſophy, by means of his diſciples, to all India. It is related, that he ſpent twelve years in ſolitude, where he was inſtructed by the *Tolopoin*, called by the an-

[a] Moſhem. Hiſt. Eccl. Tartar. Duhalde Hiſt. Chin. t. iv. p. 467.

[b] Conf. Locke Eſſ. l. i. c. iii. § 15. La Croze Chriſt. Ind. l. vi. p. 645. Loubere Itin. Siam. t. ii. p. 395. Bayle, Art. Rugger. Not. D. Burnet Arch. p. 543. Univ. Hiſt. de Siamens.

tients

tients *Hylobii*, that is Sylvan Hermits; and that, in his thirtieth year, he devoted himſelf to contemplation, and attained to the intuitive knowledge of the firſt principles of all things, from which time he took the name of Föe, which ſignifies *ſomething more than human*. His myſtical philoſophy he is ſaid to have delivered to innumerable diſciples under the veil of allegory. The Japaneſe add, that in his contemplations, during which his body remained unmoved, and his ſenſes unaffected by any external object, he received divine revelations, which he communicated to his diſciples [a].

Buddas, or Xekias, in his exoteric doctrine, taught the difference between good and evil; the immortality of the ſouls of men and brutes; different degrees of rewards and puniſhments in a future world; and the final advancement of the wicked, after various migrations, to the habitations of the bleſſed. Amidas, who, according to the Chineſe, is Xekias himſelf, preſides in theſe habitations, and is the mediator, through whoſe interceſſion bad men obtain a mitigation of their puniſhment. Theſe dogmas are contained in an antient book, called Kio, which all the Indians beyond the Ganges, who follow the doctrine of Xekias, receive as ſacred, and which is illuſtrated by innumerable commentaries [b].

Very different was the doctrine which Xekias at the cloſe of his life delivered to his eſoteric diſciples. He inſtructed them, that Vacuum, or Void, is the principle and end of all things, ſimple, infinite, eternal, but deſtitute of power, intelligence, or any other ſimilar attribute; and that to be like this principle, by extinguiſhing all paſſion and affection, and remaining abſorbed in the moſt profound contemplation, without any exerciſe of the reaſoning faculty, is the perfection of happineſs. The firſt principle in this ſyſtem cannot be pure nihility, which admits of no properties; probably, it is Firſt Matter, without variable qualities, whence all things are

[a] La Croze Chriſtianiſm. Ind. l. vi. Bayle Dict. Art. Brachmans. Sonnerat. Kempfer. Hiſt. Jap. t. i. p. 56. t. ii. p. 59.

[b] Kempfer. Arnold. in Add. ad Roger. Jan. Gent. c. 6. p. 579. Couplet Diſſ. pr. ad Confuc. p. 31. Acta Erud. 1688. p. 257.

ſuppoſed

ſuppoſed to ariſe, which is not to be perceived by the ſenſes, but contemplated as the latent divinity, infinitely diſtant from the nature of viſible things, yet the origin of all ſubſtances. The emanations from this fountain became, in the popular theology, objects of the groſſeſt ſuperſtition and idolatry [a].

The doctrine of Föe, or Xekias, was embraced by innumerable diſciples. Among theſe, one of his moſt eminent ſucceſſors was Tamo, a Chineſe, who was ſo entirely devoted to contemplative enthuſiaſm, that he ſpent nine whole years in profound meditation, and was on this account deified [b].

The Bramins aſſert that Xekias had neither father nor mother. No Indian city claims the honour of his birth. He ſeems to have been a foreigner from ſome neighbouring maritime country. As he firſt appeared as a philoſopher in the Southern part of India, it is probable that he was a Lybian, who had been inſtructed in the Egyptian myſteries, and who ſettled in India with ſome Egyptian colony. It is not improbable, that at the time when Cambyſes conquered Egypt, and diſperſed almoſt the whole nation, this impoſtor paſſed over into India, and, propagating his doctrine among an ignorant and ſuperſtitious people, became an object of univerſal veneration.

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## II.

ON the coaſts of COROMANDEL and MALABAR, the Brachmans, or Bramins, a peculiar race, who boaſt of a divine deſcent, are the theologians and philoſophers of the country. They reſemble, in many particulars, the antient Therapeutæ of Egypt. It is probable,

[a] La Croze l. c. p. 652. Kempfer. Couplet. l. c.

[b] Minorelli Obſ. in Juvenci Error. de Rebus Sin. p. 145. Kempfer. &c. l. c. Univ. Hiſt. v. xxi. § 356. p. 637. 671. Semler. Pref. Univ. Hiſt. v. xxiii. Guyon Hiſt. des Ind. Or. Par. 1744.

that the Bramins received their inſtitutions from the Egyptians, at the time when Egypt came under the power of Greece, eſpecially as the learned language of this race abounds with Greek words. Theſe Indian prieſts claim the ſole charge of religion, the law of which is contained in a ſacred book called the Veda, which no laic is permitted to touch [a].

Among the Malabars is a ſingular ſect of Bramins called the theoretical, who, laying aſide all idolatrous worſhip, give themſelves up entirely to the moſt rigorous mortification, affect enthuſiaſtic ecſtacy and quietiſm, and hope to reſemble the divine nature, by putting off all animal paſſion, and remaining, as long as poſſible, in a ſtate of perfect inaction, both of body and mind. Other ſects approach, in different degrees, towards atheiſm.

The Malabars have ſome practical knowledge of aſtronomy; which they appear to have derived from the Egyptians, as they call the ſigns of the Zodiac by the antient Egyptian names [b].

The ſubſtance of the Malabaric theology is; that the Eſſence of Eſſences, or the Supreme Infinite Subſtance, wants figure, and cannot be comprehended or moved; that it fills all things; poſſeſſes the higheſt wiſdom, truth, knowledge, and purity; is infinitely good and merciful; creates and ſupports all things; and deſires the happineſs of man, which will be attained if this Great Being be truly loved and revered; that he cannot be repreſented by any image, and his attributes alone can be expreſſed; that he is only to be contemplated in a ſtate of entire abſtraction and tranquility of mind; and cannot be worſhipped, but through the medium of inferior divinities; that, in creating the world, God ſeparated the active and paſſive virtues which had hitherto remained abſorbed within himſelf; that the two principles, *Tſchiven*, the maſculine or active virtue, and *Tſcaddi*, the feminine or paſſive virtue, were the parents

[a] La Croze Hiſt. Chriſt. *Ind.* l. vi. Roger. Jan. Nat. ad Gentil. Ziegenbalg. et Soc. Miſſion. relat. Malab. Burnet Archæol. p. 541. Bayle. Brachm. Fabr. Diſſ. de Brachm. Syllog. Opuſc. p. 333.

[b] Lettres Curieuſes et Edifiantes. Rec. x. Rel. Miſſ. t. i. p. 200. 1022.

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of the other ſubordinate gods; that the ſouls of brutes and men have the ſame origin, and after being confined in one body for a time, paſs into another; and that, on account of their common origin, it is unlawful for men to kill inferior animals [a].

Theſe, and many other tenets held by the Malabarian Indians, evidently coincide with the antient oriental doctrine of emanation. The morality which ſprung from this ſource is deeply tinctured with fanaticiſm and enthuſiaſm [b].

## III.

FOHI was one of the firſt and moſt celebrated legiſlators of CHINA; but little is known of the methods by which he civilized his country. An antient book, called Yekim, which is ſtill preſerved in China, is aſcribed to Fohi; but it is written in hieroglyphics; and no one has been able to give a ſatisfactory explanation of its contents. The moſt probable conjecture is that of Leibnitz, that it was intended to teach the art of numeration. Several ſucceſſive emperors carried forward the work of civilization, particularly by means of moral allegories, fables, and poems. The antient Chineſe wiſdom is contained in two diſtinct collections called *U-kim*, "The Five Books," and *Su-cu*, "The Four Books;" which, beſides the enigmatical book of Fohi, contain laws, precepts, poems, memoirs of princes, and inſtitutes of rites and ceremonies. Theſe have been commented upon by Confucius, Memcius, and other philoſophers [c].

[a] La Croze, p. 586—611. Roger, p. 249. 283. &c. Relat. Miſſ. p. 354. 604. 895. &c. Burnet Arch. App. [b] Barthrouherri Sententiæ Bramanæ.

[c] Fouquet. Tab. Chron. Sin. Kortholt. de Phil. Sin. Leibn. App. adverſ. Germ. Theodic. Reimann. Sciagraph. Phil. Sin. Spizelius de Re liter. Sin. Bulfinger Specim. Doct. Vet. Sin. Grao. de Theol. Sin. Navarett. de Regno Sin. Renaud. et Minorell. Obſerv. ad Errores Juvencii de Reb. Sin.

To this firſt period of the Chineſe philoſophy ſucceeded another, in which it aſſumed a more artificial form, under LI LAO KUIN, or LAO-TAN, who flouriſhed ſix hundred years before Chriſt. He delivered many uſeful precepts of morality, and obtained great authority both among the Chineſe and Japaneſe.

The moſt celebrated antient philoſopher of China is CON-FU-CU, or CONFUCIUS. He was born of an illuſtrious family, in the reign of the emperor Lu, about five hundred and fifty years before Chriſt. At fifteen years of age, he engaged in the ſtudy of the antient learning of his country, and diſcovered ſuch uncommon wiſdom, that he was early advanced to the office of miniſter of ſtate. Finding all his endeavours to reform the corrupt manners of the court ineffectual, he retired from his public ſtation, and inſtituted a ſchool, in which he is ſaid to have had ſeveral thouſand diſciples, to whom he taught morals, the art of reaſoning, and the principles of policy. His life is ſaid to have been in every reſpect worthy of the character of a philoſopher. He lived to the age of ſeventy-three [a].

By his ſage counſels, his moral doctrine, and his exemplary conduct, he obtained an immortal name as the reformer of his country. After his death, his name was held in the higheſt veneration; and his doctrine is ſtill regarded, among the Chineſe, as the baſis of all moral and political wiſdom. His family enjoys by inheritance the honourable title and office of Mandarins; and religious honours are paid to his memory. It is, nevertheleſs, aſſerted by the miſſionaries of the Franciſcan and Dominican orders, that Confucius was either wholly unacquainted with, or purpoſely neglected, the doctrine of a future life, and that in his moral ſyſtem he paid little regard to religion [b].

[a] Couplet. Diſſ. pr. ad Confuc. S. Bayer. Muſ. Sin. t. ii. p. 214. 246. Kempfer. t. ii. l. iii. c. 6. p. 67.

[b] Spizel. de rebus lit. Sin. p. 31. 119. Ep. Leibnitz. v. ii. p. 283. Buddæus de Superſtit. de Mort. apud. Sin. Anal. Phil. p. 287. Hiſt. Cultus Sinen. Col. 17 6. Ant. de S. Maria, v. ii. Ep. Leibn. p. 275. Arnold. Prax. Mor. Jeſuit. t. 3, 6, 7. Leibnitz. Præf. noviſſ. Sin. Clerici Sylv. Phil. c. ii. § 7.

Confucius was followed by Mem-ko, or MEMCIUS, who flouriſhed about three hundred years before Chriſt, and other philoſophers, who wrote books of popular and uſeful learning. But in the third age after Confucius, the emperor Chi-hoam-ti, or Ching, ordered all philoſophical books to be burned, and inflicted death upon many philoſophers. A few remains of Chineſe wiſdom were, however, preſerved, and, in the more enlightened dynaſty of Han, were brought to light. The deſtruction of antient writings under Chi-hoam-ti, renders all Chineſe records doubtful, which are of earlier date than two hundred years before Chriſt [a].

The third period of the antient Chineſe philoſophy commences from the time when the doctrines of Föe, already diſperſed through India, paſſed over to China. This happened about ſixty years after the birth of Chriſt, when the idol Föe, under which the memory of Xekias is worſhipped, was brought among the Chineſe. This new ſuperſtition was accompanied with doctrines of morality, and with myſtical precepts, which inculcated fanatical quietiſm as the only way to perfection. This fanaticiſm of Föe overſpread the whole country like a deluge, and continues to this day. In the third century, a peculiar ſect aroſe, who gave themſelves up entirely to the contemplation of the Firſt Principle of Nature, and who thought, that the nearer they approached to the perfect inaction of inanimate bodies, the more they reſembled the deity [b].

About the tenth century, two philoſophers, CHEM-CU and CHIMCI, appeared, who introduced metaphyſical doctrines nearly reſembling thoſe of the Stoics; whence a new ſect aroſe, called Ju-Kiao, or the Sect of the Learned [c].

This was the ſtate of the Chineſe philoſophy when the Jeſuit miſſionaries, French mathematicians, and other Europeans, in the ſixteenth century, viſited China, and for a long time obtained much attention and reſpect. The emperor Kam-hy encouraged the ſtudy

[a] Carpzov. de Memcio Sin. Lipſ. 1743. Martinii Hiſt. Sin. l. vi. p. 240. Spizel. l. c. p. 40.

[b] Couplet. l. c. Minorelli, p. 147. [c] Leibn. ep. ad Remond. Ep. t. ii.

of European learning, particularly mathematics, anatomy, medicine, and aſtronomy. He himſelf, for ſeveral months, received daily inſtruction in aſtronomy from the mathematician Verbieſt. European philoſophers had free acceſs to his empire and court. But ſince his time little indulgence has been ſhewn to Chriſtian travellers [a].

The obſcurity of the antient Chineſe books, the dubious credit of the reports brought to Europe by the Jeſuit miſſionaries, and the imperfect acquaintance of Europeans with the Chineſe language and writings, render it difficult to aſcertain the preſent ſtate of opinions in China. Their notion of deity has been a ſubject of much diſpute. Some aſſert that their Xang-ti ſignifies a ſupreme creator and ruler of the world; others aſcribe to the Chineſe a ſyſtem of nature nearly approaching to atheiſm; whilſt others maintain their doctrine to be, that there is in the viſible heavens a *living* and powerful nature, like the ſoul in the body, who has produced other ſecondary divinities, the rulers of the world, through whom the ſupreme deity is to be worſhipped. Leibnitz is of opinion that the Li of the Chineſe is the chaotic ſoul of the world, and their Taikie the ſoul of the formed univerſe, in fine, the deity of the Stoics [b].

The moral and political philoſophy of the Chineſe, as derived from Confucius, conſiſts of detached maxims and precepts for the conduct of life.

## IV.

THE JAPANESE nation appears to be of equal antiquity with the Chineſe. The firſt period of the hiſtory of both is equally fabulous. Fohi, the Chineſe legiſlator, is alſo celebrated by the Japaneſe as one

[a] Leibn. noviſſ. Sinica. Dentrecolles Lettres edifiantes, Rec. 17. 23.

[b] Martin. Hiſt. Sin. l. i. c. 9. p. 16. Wolf. de Sapientia Sinica. Renaudot. Diſſ. Act. Phil. v. ii. p. 785. Minorell. contr. Juv. p. 126. Kortholt. Præf. Du Halde Hiſt. Chin.

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of the founders of their monarchy. They honour the memory of Confucius. At the time when the doctrine of Xekias was introduced into China, the book Kio, containing the inſtitutes of his philoſophy, was brought out of India into Japan by a Xekian prieſt. The Jeſuit Vilela, in one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-two, writes from Japan, that the Japaneſe ſuperſtitions are the ſame with thoſe of the Indian Bramins, and were received from an Indian teacher of the kingdom of Siam; and that their temples are ſimilar to thoſe which he had ſeen in the iſland of Ceylon; which confirms what was before obſerved concerning the origin of Xekias [a].

If the Japaneſe ſuperſtitions be compared with thoſe of Egypt, it will appear exceedingly probable, that they originated with the Egyptian prieſts, and paſſed over from Egypt to India, and thence to China and Japan.

[a] Acoſta de Rebus a Soc. Jeſ. in Oriente Geſt. Dilling. 1571, 8vo. Epiſt. Japan. a Maffeio edit. Craſſeti Hiſt. Eccl. Jap. Kempfer. Hiſt. Jap. Bayle, Art. Japan.

FINIS.

ERRATA to VOL. II.

Page 2. l. 16. after *miſſionaries* add Note; *Carneades, Diogenes, and Critolaus: ſee vol. I. p.* 249. P. 62. l. 15. for *catachetical* read *catechetical*. P. 221. l. 14. read *excuſed from entering*. P. 280. l. 3. for *Gods* read *God*. P. 378. l. 5. for *power* read *powers*. P. 391. l. 31. for *were* read *was*. P. 430. l. 19. for *concerned* read *convinced*. P. 531. l. 27. for *form* read *forms*. P. 591. l. 29. for *and* read *or*.

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